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THE

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Nº CV. *OCTOBER* 1901.

ART. I.—CRITICISM AND THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. *Encyclopædia Biblica.* Vol. I., p. 37: 'Acts of the Apostles.' By PAUL W. SCHMIEDEL, Professor of New Testament Exegesis, Zürich. (London, 1899.)
2. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D. Vol. I., p. 25: 'Acts of the Apostles.' By the Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, Rector of Welwyn, Herts. (Edinburgh, 1898.)
3. *A Dictionary of the Bible.* Edited by Sir WILLIAM SMITH and Rev. J. M. FULLER. Second Edition. Vol. I. Pt. 1, p. 25: 'Acts of the Apostles.' By the late Right Rev. JOSEPH BARBER LIGHTFOOT, D.D., Bishop of Durham. (London, 1893.)
4. *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter.* Editio Philologica auctore FREDERICO BLASS. (Göttingen, 1895.)
5. *Acta Apostolorum sive Lucæ ad Theophilum liber alter, secundum formam quæ videtur Romana.* Edidit FREDERICUS BLASS. (Lipsiæ, 1896.)
6. *Der abendländische Text der Apostelgeschichte und die Wir-Quelle.* Von AUGUST POTT, Adjunkt im Königl. Domkandidatenstift zu Berlin. (Leipzig, 1900.)
7. *Der Aposteldecret* (*Act. xv.* 29) *und die Blass'sche Hypothese.* Von ADOLF HARNACK. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1899, p. 150.

And other works.

IT is difficult at the present day to define and acquire a right attitude towards criticism, not only in Biblical matters, but

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in many other departments of literary investigation. Criticism has a way of being very self-assertive, and shows a confidence in its own conclusions which is hardly consistent with their variability. It is often irreverent. Not merely does it consider nothing too sacred to be free from its attacks—this is, from certain points of view, perfectly legitimate—but also it shows by its manner, not merely its disbelief in, but also its contempt for, established beliefs. It is scornful of those who reject its conclusions, and is inclined to build up a sort of unorthodox orthodoxy, against the antagonists of which it showers the anathemas which come from the consciousness of superior intellectual insight.

Such an attitude naturally builds up an equally determined attitude on the other side. Anyone who is a firm believer in the truth of certain opinions naturally resents an attack which is often virulent and unrelenting. He is told that it is only the outworks or the excrescences of his faith which are in danger; but the attacks are obviously and clearly directed against all that he holds to be essential. He is not prejudiced in favour of criticism, and when he comes to examine it he finds that, although it is quite convinced that most things should be disbelieved, it is not always agreed on the reason for disbelieving. He finds that the same critics who condemn his beliefs are equally confident in condemning the opinions of their predecessors, who in their day attacked established opinions with just the same self-confidence. He begins to wonder, therefore, whether the present phase of criticism may not equally rapidly pass away. He has read Harnack's condemnation of the Tübingen school. He remembers that there was a time, not so long ago, when he was looked upon as inadequately endowed with intelligence because he dissented from its conclusions, and he begins to wonder whether some future critic will not speak as contemptuously of later destructive criticism. He sees how little constructive theology, how little that satisfies the needs of a man's soul and will be a guide to his life, criticism can give. He knows that the world requires a Gospel; and so he hardens his heart and stops his ears, and is resolved to hold tenaciously to what he has received, without taking the trouble to test or to correct it, and he uses the old-fashioned weapons of orthodoxy and anathematizes the heretic.

Yet criticism has its place and its functions, and it is just when it is anathematized that it begins to be dangerous. The present writer remembers a conversation with a Russian

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monk in which, after some discussion on the Reformation, the latter argued substantially as follows: 'St. Paul says, "Even if an angel from heaven should come down and bid you change the Christianity that I have taught you, you should not do so." Now, you in the Church of England acknowledge that you changed something at the Reformation. We in the Russian Church have never changed anything at all. Our system is the same as it was in the days of the Apostles.' Now, we know that this statement is absurd; we know that the customs of the Eastern Church have been continually undergoing a process of modification, and that the change is none the less real for having been made unconsciously; yet it is only by the use of criticism that the attitude of the Russian monk can be proved to be erroneous. A Church which would refuse to accept the *Pseudo-Decretals*, or the interpolated passages in the *De Unitate* of Cyprian, can never adopt a *non-possumus* attitude to criticism. Criticism can never do its proper work unless it be free, and must be met, when wrong, neither by the suppression of opinion nor by ecclesiastical anathema, nor by *a priori* reasoning, but by its own weapon—'criticism'—more correctly applied.

The function of criticism is to keep religion true. If beliefs are handed down from generation to generation without any check or safeguard, there will be an inevitable tendency for them to become altered and corrupted. In many cases it is just those bodies which are most conservative and are slowest to make an effort to change which alter most rapidly, for there is always going on a steady modification of opinion of which we are unconscious. We none of us are able to grasp religious truth in its entirety; the very best expositions of it that we can make are invariably one-sided; we hand on a tradition necessarily imperfect to our children, and they in turn hand on what they have been unconsciously continually modifying to their children. Hence, unless there is a continual mental effort of self-criticism, there will be a steady process of deterioration. In a normal and healthy society this process is always going on. Whenever it ceases for a time the change becomes rapid, and the remedy required may be violent. The rapid corruption of the Mediæval Church necessarily created the Reformation; and that was a movement preceded by and built on criticism. We are apt to look on the Oxford Movement as a protest against criticism. A protest against certain forms of criticism it was; but it was also itself an appeal to criticism. It was a

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condemnation of current religious conceptions in the light of primitive Christianity.

We may now venture to define what criticism does. There is in every Christian nation and in every religious community a current belief. Criticism asks the question: Is this conception true? We may put the question in two ways. We may ask, Is this true Christianity? Examined in the light of the records of the founding of our religion, of the life and teaching of our Lord, and the writings of the Primitive Church, Is what I believe what was then taught? And there will always be some who will go a step further and will ask, Is Christianity true, or in what sense is Christianity true?

The motive for asking the question is not always the same. It may be pure partisanship or a genuine desire for truth. There are some who desire to prove Christianity untrue because they imagine Christian belief is detrimental to human progress, or because they desire to escape from the restrictions of its moral code. There are some, again, who are violently and relentlessly opposed to this or that ecclesiastical system, and will seek for every argument which may be used against it. But it is equally true to say that there are many who are nervously anxious to know whether Christianity be true or not; who, eager to be able to believe in a future life, are wondering whether, after all, it is true that one rose from the dead to convince men of the judgment to come; or who, perplexed by the conflicting and rival claims of different bodies, are seeking some clear guide to show them what they are to accept. So on all sides there is free inquiry in the air, and the inevitable result is that many are perplexed, and many who are not perplexed are anxious.

To what we have written so far there is one objection which we feel may be raised. You have neglected the power and the duty of faith. If a man has faith he neither doubts nor questions his creed; our faith is the source and reality of all religious life. It is quite true that a man of true faith and real religious life, whose convictions are based not merely on evidence, but on personal experience, who knows, because he has felt, the truth of his religion, will not be in danger of being disturbed by these questions, and will regret many discussions which seem to him futile. But the reality of our faith does not, after all, guarantee the whole contents of our creed (for persons of very varied beliefs have been intensely genuine in their faith), nor make our religious convictions necessarily correct. Earnestness does not make us infallible.

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It should be those who know most certainly the importance of their religion to their life who should be most careful that their creed is true, and that they are not injuring the value of the message that they are attempting to teach to others by allowing their own mental indolence to mix up with it what is not of its essence. It is just the man who is most loyal to the Christian faith who will be most anxious that its influence should be least hampered by having mingled with it what is not part of Divine revelation.

If our reasoning be correct, criticism is an essential and healthy element in every religious system and in every human mind. It is the process by which religious belief is kept pure. We have no right to regret its existence. It must be able to work freely, for otherwise it will be probably just what is most open to its attacks that will be most sedulously guarded from it. It must be met, not by condemning its doubts, but by criticizing them by its own methods. But there are some things which may be justly demanded. A critic must be honest, he must be reverent, and he must have a strong sense of responsibility. He must be reverent because he ought to realize that he is dealing, in Biblical matters, directly or indirectly with the fundamental truths of life. The questions at issue, the belief in a future state and in a judgment to come, the religious sanction of the moral law, the spiritualization of the whole of human life by the Incarnation, are of transcendent importance. No one whose mind and judgment deserve to be heard should deal with such matters without the deepest feeling of reverence, and without a full sense of responsibility. To recklessly publish guesses which are little more than 'happy thoughts,' to question everything, without reason or without judgment, to write as if the only object was to shock the more orthodox mind, to show neither discretion nor hesitation in putting forward novelties, is not good scholarship nor wise criticism. It does not in any way further the cause of truth; it discounts the value and results of sober criticism, and defeats all the objects for which free inquiry really exists.

In our last number we gave some account of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. How far it may fall under any of these strictures we must leave to others to determine. We propose to devote ourselves to what we believe to be a more practical work. We believe that a good deal that has been written both in that volume and in other places has created a certain amount of vague uneasiness with regard to the writings of the New Testament, and more especially the words of our

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Lord. There is often a dogmatic assertiveness which may not be justified, but demands examination. We propose to devote a certain number of articles to examine carefully recent criticism on the New Testament, and to try and estimate its value. We cannot profess to be altogether without prejudice in our investigation, although we do not believe that we are any more prejudiced than those who seem so anxious to destroy. There is, moreover, one scientific presupposition which we feel that it is justifiable to hold. Christianity is a fact; its teaching, its early history, the records of its founder are facts. No theories, no criticism, no reconstructions are tenable or possible which fail to explain its origin. Even if all the early history and literature concerning it are condemned as fabulous, the fact of its existence remains. Unless those who reject our current beliefs are able to give some adequate account of how a phenomenon otherwise unparalleled in history came into being, we shall certainly be justified in showing some hesitation about accepting their conclusions. It will take a great deal to make us believe that myths alone are in themselves an adequate cause of Christianity.

We propose to begin with the study of recent criticism on the Acts of the Apostles, and completeness demands that we should say something about the text. There is, perhaps, a tendency among us to lay too much stress on textual problems. Common sense as well as scholarship naturally demands that we should take some care that we possess the document which we are studying in the form in which it was written, and there we must begin. But it is easy to become absorbed in the minutiæ of texts, and we may find that life has slipped away before we have time to explain what has been so laboriously constructed. Yet, as our readers know well, the textual problems of the Acts are full of interest. Practically we possess the book in two forms. In the Vatican MS. and allied authorities we have a short, concise, well-written narrative; in the Codex Bezæ and certain other MSS., although not always consistently, we have the same narrative, but the style is more lengthy; there are constant paraphrases, additions of words or phrases, sometimes even of new matter. The former text is that represented by Westcott and Hort's edition, and lies at the basis of the Revised Version. The latter, generally if erroneously called the Western Text, has been edited for us by Professor Blass. What are the relation and origin of these two? In the year 1895 the last-mentioned scholar, Professor of Classics in the University

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of Halle, published a very remarkable edition of the Acts, in which he revived the theory that the larger edition represents St. Luke's rough copy and the shorter edition his own revision. His exposition was brilliant and the theory had much to recommend it; but for the past five years it has been the subject of careful and elaborate investigation, and the examination that it has undergone does not, we believe, make it more tenable. Some leading scholars, such as Professor Zahn, have indeed accepted it, but the balance of argument seems to us against it. Professor Harnack has studied a number of passages in a series of papers read before the Berlin Academy, and his conclusion is that the Western Text is in all cases later and derived. The arguments against it are well summed up by Mr. Page in an appendix to the last edition of his well-known Commentary on the Acts; and Professor Schmiedel in the article on the Acts in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has condemned it at a length quite out of proportion to the rest of his article. Our own examination has convinced us that these criticisms are sound; but it must not be overlooked that the problem is complicated by the fact that the hypothesis of Blass has been labelled 'apologetic.' One of the principal arguments in favour of it is the belief that some of the variants of the Western Text, equally with the ordinary reading, imply the hand of an eye-witness. It presupposes and supports the Lucan authorship. This has not induced scholars in this country to be too eager in receiving it; in fact, most of the criticism against it here that we have seen comes from those who accept St. Luke's authorship, but it has made some Continental critics very severe. When an hypothesis has been labelled apologetic it is in danger of receiving that scant measure of justice which is meted out to those who are held to be conservative critics.

Before we pass on to wider problems we may express our own conclusions concerning the results of textual criticism. To justify them in detail would not be consistent with our present purpose. The text as edited by Westcott and Hort represents substantially but not absolutely the text as it left the author's hand. The English editors have probably been wrong in rejecting some of the readings contained in the authorities called Western, for these MSS. (although much corrupted) represent an independent tradition from the archetype. Western readings apart from these are corruptions of a type quite normal in ancient literature; they are glosses, paraphrases, corrections; are early in origin, and in some cases the result of translation. This early origin makes them

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indirectly a testimony both to the comparatively early date of the text and to the possibility of attaining it in a pure form. We have no right or justification in a difficult passage to assume the existence of glosses or corruptions to explain difficulties.[1] Moreover, as far as we can see, there is no support for the attempts that have been made—a brilliant one is that contained in the work of Pott we have placed at the head of our article[2]—to connect the variations with any theory of sources. Whatever was the date of the Acts, it came in a definite literary form from one author, and the variations of the MSS. are the result of the faults or misfortunes of later copyists, to a large extent the product of a time before the book had been definitely received as Scripture and its text had become accepted as something sacred.

We pass to the more important questions. Who was the author of the Acts of the Apostles? The ordinary answer is St. Luke. There is a definite proof with certain definite stages.[3] It is admitted almost universally that the third Gospel and the Acts are by the same author, even in the form in which we possess them. The next stage is based on the 'we' sections. We are accustomed to accept the argument as on the whole fairly satisfactory, which explains the existence of these sections by the hypothesis that the author of the Acts was one of St. Paul's companions who accompanied him during certain portions of his journeys, and that the change of person is thus accounted for quite naturally. Let us now hear how Professor Schmiedel in the article already referred to in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* treats this argument:

'The section in which, as an eye-witness, the writer gives his narrative in the first person plural (xvi. 10–17; xx. 5–15; xxi. 1–18; xxvii. 1–xxviii. 16) may be implicitly accepted. But it may be regarded as equally certain that they are not by the same writer as the other parts of the book.'[4]

There is a tone of certainty about these words which is

[1] A very unnecessary instance is contained in a note by Mr. G. A. Simcox in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II., July 1901, p. 586. It is perfectly easy to evade and escape every difficulty and prove anything if we are at liberty to treat any passage which conflicts with our own theories as a gloss. Only, if we have reason for suspecting our text to be so bad, it is not worth while to trouble ourselves about the matter at all.

[2] A very careful examination of this theory will be found in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II., April, 1901, p. 439, by Mr. A. V. Valentine-Richards.

[3] It may be found worked out in detail in Bishop Lightfoot's and Mr. Headlam's articles in the two Bible dictionaries.

[4] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 37.

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absolutely unjustifiable from a scientific point of view. An opinion at variance with this is held not only by authorities such as Bishop Lightfoot, who would probably be dismissed by Professor Schmiedel as an apologist, but whose learning and judgment are obviously of far greater weight than are his own, but also by Renan and Harnack. What right has Professor Schmiedel, then, to be so certain? Does he not realize that he is writing in a manner which will make any thoughtful scholar look upon his judgment as worthless. It would be perfectly legitimate for any Christian apologist to maintain the thesis that St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and if his arguments were good they would demand respectful attention; but if he began by asserting that the Pauline authorship was certain he would be looked upon as a writer who did not know what he was talking about. Professor Schmiedel does not deserve any greater indulgence or leniency. An apologist may normally demand the same scientific accuracy of statement that he is expected and desires to show himself. At any rate, he may look for some solid and substantial argument to justify this sweeping statement. Professor Schmiedel considers thirty short lines sufficient for his purpose. The following is the remainder of the passage:

'In the sections named the book shows acquaintance with the stages of travel of almost every separate day, and with other very unimportant details (xx. 13; xxi. 2, 6; xxviii. 11); outside these limits it has no knowledge even of such an important fact as that of Paul's conflicts with his opponents in Galatia and Corinth, and mentions only three of the twelve adventures catalogued so minutely in 2 Cor. xi. 24 f., cf. 23 (Acts xiv. 19; xvi. 22–23 f.). Even had the writer of the book as a whole (assuming him to have been a companion of Paul) been separated from the Apostle—remaining behind, *e.g.*, in Macedonia, during the interval between xvi. 17 and xx. 5—he would surely afterwards have gathered the needful details from eye-witnesses and embodied them in his book, instead of satisfying himself with such extraordinarily meagre notes as we have in xviii. 21–23, xx. 1–3, and xvi. 5–8. Even were he following an old journal he could never have passed over so many important matters in silence simply because they were not to be found in his notes. Further, he contradicts the Epistle to the Galatians so categorically that if we assume his identity with the eye-witness who writes in the first person, we are compelled to adopt one of two courses. We must either make Galatians non-Pauline or pronounce the writer of Acts as a whole to be a "tendency" writer of the most marked character.'[1]

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 37.

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We hardly think that this passage, which is considered sufficient, will appeal to our readers as very conclusive. Surely, the difference in detail between the 'we' sections and other parts of the Acts is just exactly what we should expect if the author was present in the one case and dependent upon second-hand information in the other cases. Professor Schmiedel does not seem to realize the ordinary hypothesis which, to our mind, adequately explains the facts. The author of the Acts joined St. Paul at Troas, and accompanied him to Philippi; there he was in company with him during the earlier events recorded, but was not himself put in prison. He remained at Philippi, of which place he was perhaps a native, until St. Paul returned there, and was one of those who accompanied him to Jerusalem and Rome. During the remainder of the Acts he was St. Paul's companion. Those events during which he was with St. Paul, notably the shipwreck, he describes in the first person plural; those events, such as the audiences of St. Paul before Felix and Festus, when if present he was only a spectator, he narrates, as was natural, in the third person. The difference in detail will surely be adequately explained in this way, and in this way only, and the many hypotheses as to sources which profess to find traces of the 'we' sections in other parts of the book are thus quite inconsistent with the facts. But, further than this, the argument from silence or from omission is surely most unsubstantial. Let us suppose for a moment that all the twelve adventures enumerated in 2 Cor. xi. 24 were described in the Acts. Would not Professor Schmiedel have at once argued that the writer had the passage before him, and had inserted these adventures so as to harmonize with it? It is obvious that much of St. Paul's life has been passed over or touched on very shortly, and that for two very sufficient reasons. The first, that the author did not consider the facts relevant to his purpose. He passes very lightly over the events in xviii. 21–23, xx. 1–3, and xvi. 5–8, because the apostle was merely going over old ground. It is quite possible that he knew very little about the troubles in Galatia and Corinth; but, in any case, it was quite unnecessary to refer to them, as the whole question had been settled, so far as the Church as a whole was concerned, in the discussion at Jerusalem. A second reason was that of space. The author of the Acts was as much limited in space by the size of a papyrus roll as is the writer of an article in this Review by the demands of the Editor. He naturally selected those incidents which were most important, or on which he had

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special knowledge. Completeness was impossible, and criticism which demands it is absurd. When we write a biography there are often years of a man's life which may be summed up in a few words. We may have known a person well during his later years, and be very slightly acquainted with lengthy periods during the early part of his career. There is nothing in the omissions which on any rational theory will prevent the whole work from being by a companion of St. Paul.

But it is argued that the contradictions between the Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians are fatal to the historical character of one or the other, and reference is given most definitely to the same writer's article on the Council of Jerusalem. The subject has been often discussed, and may seem to many tedious, but we are bound not to shirk any difficulty that there may be. It is more necessary to do so because the methods of historical criticism which are often used by Biblical critics seem to us to be of a character which would be looked upon as quite inadmissible in profane history. The interpretation of the first two chapters of the Galatians bristles with obscure points. Where the meaning is obviously uncertain we have no right to claim that our own interpretation is certainly correct, and then accuse the book of the Acts of being historically valueless because it disagrees, not with the Galatians, but with our interpretation of that Epistle. The ordinary and natural process would be to see how far the two narratives illustrate one another, not to aim at interpreting them so that they differ.

It is well known that the fifteenth chapter of the Acts and the second chapter of the Galatians both describe a visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem and discussions concerning the position of the Jewish Christians. It is argued that these two narratives refer to the same event, and that the discrepancies are so fundamental that both cannot be historical. We might state at once that it is not yet proved that they refer to the same event, and if they do not all difficulty vanishes.[1] We have certainly no right to be positive, but we may express our own opinion that they are identical; and, at any rate, we will take that as the most unfavourable hypothesis. The first difficulty, then, is, Why does St. Paul not mention the second visit to Jerusalem recorded in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25? We will give the answer in Professor Schmiedel's own words. St. Paul, he tells us, 'was bound in the interests of truth to mention

[1] This is, for example, Professor Ramsay's opinion. He identifies the visit in Galatians ii. with that recorded in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25.

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all the occasions on which he had come in contact with the original Apostles.'[1] As the Acts tell us definitely that on that occasion it was the presbyters that he saw, and introduces a narrative which explains why, about that time, Peter, and probably other Apostles, had retired from Jerusalem, there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that St. Paul on that occasion did not come in contact with any of the Apostles. In this case, on Professor Schmiedel's own showing, it would not have been necessary for him to mention the visit.

We pass now to the two narratives. It is obvious that the whole purpose of the two is different. The Acts is a formal account of what the author looked upon as an epoch-making event in the history of the Church. He gives a narrative of a great public debate. In the Epistle St. Paul has merely to state the results of the visit so far as they bear on the points at issue with the Galatians, and it is not his business to give a full account of both the public and private meetings. On this point Professor Schmiedel does not find a discrepancy. 'So far there is no inconsistency between Galatians and Acts; both knew of meetings of both kinds.'[2] Where, then, does the difficulty come in? The answer is in the decree:

'The crucial question, however, is, was any final decision arrived at in a public assembly? If the decision was not in Paul's favour, the claims of truth and of prudence alike must have led him to mention it. Much, however, of what is recorded in Acts—*e.g.* the speech of Peter (xv. 7–11)—points very clearly to a decision in Paul's favour; and to pass this over in silence would have been folly. The picture, therefore, in Acts of a decisive public assembly is entirely incorrect.'[3]

We may make the point quite clear. In Gal. ii. 6 St. Paul says that they who were of repute imparted nothing to him. It is argued that, therefore, the decree contained in the Acts could not have been passed. Here, then, we have the point at issue. Is St. Paul's language in Galatians consistent with this formal decision? We believe it is. St. Paul tells us (Gal. ii. 2) that he laid before (*ἀνεθέμην*) those who were of repute the Gospel that he preached to the Gentiles: that is, his scheme of Christianity, including of course salvation through Christ and the needlessness of performing the works of the law. He then goes on in ver. 6 to tell us that those who were of repute imparted to him nothing in addition (*προσανέθεντο*). This is exactly true. The conference

[1] *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 916.
[2] *Ibid.* i. 920. [3] *Ibid.*

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accepted the position that if a man desired to be saved there was no need to keep the law. They added certain moral and social observances which were necessary for enabling Jewish and Gentile Christians to live together. These may well have been part of what St. Paul had enjoined before, but even if they were new they did not touch the main point at issue. At any rate, the Epistle to the Corinthians shows that to abstain from things offered to idols was the normal Christian custom. St. Paul does not there, as Professor Schmiedel seems to think, allow it, or say that it may be done. He assumes that the Christian conscience forbids it. What he does say is that it may be perfectly true, as is argued, that the matter is not wrong in itself, and that there is no need to be over-scrupulous and make inquiries, but that for the sake of others even the most extreme scrupulousness may be right (1 Cor. viii. 13). The whole argument implies just the sort of position created by the decree. A recognition that the social customs and law of the Jews are not necessary for salvation, but that in certain matters the Church and the individual Christian must regulate their conduct in a way to suit those who had been brought up in Jewish prejudices. If there was no decree forbidding the eating of things offered to idols, why did any difficulty arise on the question?

There are many other questions of detail on which we might discuss Professor Schmiedel's views. There is no doubt that there are differences between the language of the Acts and Galatians, but the differences are not contradictions. It is necessary in order to make them discrepancies first of all to find an interpretation which is inconsistent with the Acts, and then to condemn the latter document for disagreeing with our own interpretation. But what really lends weight to all this minute criticism—in our opinion, hypercriticism—is the belief that underlies it, of a strong antagonism between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, and between the attitude of St. Paul and the older Apostles which is ignored in the Acts. Looking at the question, then, broadly, we believe that so far as this antagonism existed, it is quite honestly recognized and described by the Acts. We learn from the fifteenth chapter that the Judaizing party was formidable; we learn from the words of the decree (xv. 24) that they claimed, as we also gather from St. Paul's Epistles, to represent the Church at Jerusalem; we learn also that they remained until the end a powerful element in that Church (Acts xxi. 20). If we turn to the Epistle to the Galatians we learn that St. Paul's position was definitely

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accepted by the older Apostles, and although on one occasion he has to rebuke St. Peter, it is because he was acting inconsistently with his former conduct and professions. We have no evidence of any fundamental antagonism. But we have, we would submit, further evidence for the complete victory at an early date of the freedom of the Gospel in the subsequent history of Christianity. We know from Justin Martyr that there existed in his time bodies of Judaizing Christians, but they are quite outside the ordinary currents of Church life. There is no evidence of any doubt on the points at issue existing within the Church. There is, moreover, absolutely no evidence of any controversy on the subject within the Church after the days of St. Paul. The evidence has to be invented by putting at a later date documents which claim to belong to an earlier period. All evidence that we have represents this period of conflict as over, and Catholic Christianity (as it is sometimes called) as definitely accepted. This would not have been possible if there had been unsolved questions left for the next generations, and if the other Apostles had not in substance accepted the position which we know of as that of St. Paul. For the Church at large these problems, as the Acts represent, were concluded ; for a few years the extreme faction continued to exist in Jerusalem, as we know from the Acts, and emissaries from them troubled the churches founded by St. Paul. St. Paul completed his theological argument in the Romans, which has the tone of being written after the conflict is over. By the time of the Epistles of the Captivity new troubles are beginning to arise, and by the end of the century, when Clement of Rome writes, the whole question of works and faith was so remote as to be largely incomprehensible. After the Council of Jerusalem Judaizing Christianity existed only for those who naturally clung to the Jewish observances in which they had been brought up. After the fall of Jerusalem Jewish Christians became only a sect.

The argument so far has been to prove that there is nothing in the narrative of the Acts inconsistent with its authorship by a companion of St. Paul, that in fact, its composition at a later date could have been hardly possible. Let us now ask whether we have any strong positive arguments. There is one test—we believe, a decisive one—to which we may bring the question. We will start with a quotation from Professor Schmiedel :

'But there is one charge from which [the author of the Acts] cannot be freed, viz. that he has followed the method of retaining

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the "we" without change. In the case of so capable a writer, in whom hardly a trace can be detected, either in vocabulary or in style, of the use of documents, this fact is not to be explained by lack of skill, such as is sometimes met with in the Mediæval Chroniclers. The inference is inevitable that he wished—what has actually happened—that the whole book should be regarded as the work of an eye-witness.'[1]

Professor Schmiedel admits a complete unity of style in the work. If anyone will take the trouble to examine the language of the 'we' sections, he will find that both in language and expression they are absolutely at one with the remainder of the Acts and with the third Gospel. At the risk of being tedious we will take a single section, Acts xvi. 10–17, and examine the vocabulary. Those who have not taken the trouble to work out the subject will hardly realize how marked is the style. In verse 10 the word *ὅραμα* seems a very obvious one, and we are somewhat surprised to find that while it occurs eleven times in the Acts we only find it once elsewhere in the New Testament. The remaining words in the verse are quite commonplace and are used throughout the New Testament, but they are all common in St. Luke's writings—*εὐαγγελίσασθαι*, for example, which we should not pick out as a special word, occurs twenty-five times in Acts and Luke and only twenty-one elsewhere. In verse 11, *ἀναχθέντες* occurs in this particular sense thirteen times in Acts and twice in St. Luke, not at all elsewhere; *κἀκεῖθεν* nine times in Acts and once elsewhere; *ἐπιούσῃ* five times in Acts, not at all elsewhere. There is one word, *εὐθυδρομήσαμεν*, which is peculiar to the 'we' sections, but then it could only be used of a sea voyage of which the author had exact details. In the next verse there is only one word distinctive, *διατρίβοντες*, which occurs nine times in the Acts and once elsewhere; *οὗ* seems a very ordinary word, but it occurs fifteen times in Luke and Acts, and only twelve times elsewhere; *νομίζειν* seems ordinary Greek, but it occurs nine times in Luke and Acts and only six times elsewhere; *συνελθεῖν* seems an ordinary word, but it occurs seventeen times in Acts and Luke and only fourteen elsewhere, and of these eight are in 1 Corinthians, where it is used technically of attending divine service. The expression *ὀνόματι* in this sense occurs twenty times in Acts, six in Luke, and only three elsewhere; *σεβόμενος τὸν Θεόν* occurs six times in Acts, and not elsewhere; *διανοίγειν* occurs seven times in Acts and Luke, once elsewhere. The author of this

[1] *Enc. Bibl.*, i. 39.

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section has just the same love of compound words as the author of the Acts: παραβιάζεσθαι (once in Luke), παρακολουθεῖν (once in Luke); ἐργασίαν occurs in Acts and Luke five times, elsewhere once; παρέχειν, Acts and Luke nine times, elsewhere seven; καταγγέλλειν, Acts eleven, elsewhere six. The only unusual words are μερίς, κολωνία, προσεύχη, πορφυρόπωλις, πύθωνα, and μαντευομένη, all of which are obviously technical expressions which would be used rightly here and not elsewhere. In the narrative there is not the slightest trace of change of vocabulary, or change of style; with the exception of the change of persons, the whole flows on quite uninterruptedly.[1]

Now how can we explain this? Perhaps the writer introduced the first person for the sake of deception, and invented these sections as well as the others. But if he did so how does it happen that he managed to make just these sections so lifelike and detailed? But, perhaps, as Professor Schmiedel suggests, he incorporated these sections from a diary, and carefully avoided changing the person. But he must obviously have rewritten the whole most carefully as the unity of style shows. Can we really believe that he in the most elaborate manner rewrote the whole of that section in his own style (as Professor Schmiedel would have us believe) without obliterating any of the characteristic touches which proclaim the eye-witness and yet preserved the first person for the sake of deception? Surely no sober critic is likely to believe that. But the ordinary and common hypothesis is the most natural one: that the writer of the whole work is also the author of the 'we' sections, and that he quite naturally, and perhaps almost unconsciously, uses the first person in describing those incidents which happened when he was with the Apostle. To the vast majority of historical students this explanation will seem to be the only one that explains adequately all the facts. It is significant of the bias with which Professor Schmiedel writes, that while he refers to this unity of style in order to bring what we believe to be a quite gratuitous accusation of deliberate deception against the writer, he totally ignores and does not even think it necessary to deal with the argument from it for unity of authorship which has appealed to a long line of able critics as convincing. There is no fairness, nor any power of seeing both sides of an argument. He is not a critic, he is a partisan.

Granted that the author of, at any rate, the 'we' sections,

[1] See *Horæ Synopticæ*, by the Rev. Sir John C. Hawkins, pp. 13 f.

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was a companion of the Apostle, who was he? Tradition says St. Luke; St. Luke also satisfies the conditions, and is the only known companion who does. But Professor Schmiedel is naturally not satisfied with this.

'The most suspicious fact is that whilst Luke, if we may trust Col. iv. 11, 14, was, like Titus (Gal. ii. 3), uncircumcised, the writer of the Journey Record not only uses Jewish specifications of date (Acts xvi. 13, xx. 6 f., xxvii. 9) and goes to the synagogue or the Jewish place of prayer (xvi. 16), but also includes himself (xvi. 13) among those who taught there. . . . We must thus, perhaps, abandon all attempt to ascribe the Journey Record to any known companion of Paul.'[1]

We have little doubt that the author of the Acts and the third Gospel was a Gentile Christian who was a diligent student of Jewish history and customs, and we do not doubt that the passage referred to implies that St. Luke was uncircumcised; but we fail to see why one who was not a Jew should not refer to Jewish fasts and feasts where they represented the dates which regulated the movements of his companions. They went to the Proseuche on the Sabbath, because on that day others would come there; they sailed on their journey after the days of unleavened bread, because the Jewish section of the party, and St. Paul among them, would naturally keep the feast. So he also mentions the fast in Acts xxvii. 9, because it was observed in some form by St. Paul, who did not come forward with advice until the religious ordinances were accomplished. Both these references imply that St. Paul did not personally throw off the religious ordinances and customs in which he had been brought up, and which for him had become part of his ordinary habits. Nor was there any reason why he should not accompany St. Paul to the Proseuche. Gentiles were not excluded even from the synagogues, and there would be nothing to prevent him from going with St. Paul and his companions to the meeting-place of the very small Jewish community, which seems to have consisted almost entirely of women, and there engaging with others in conversation.

As against these arguments, which do not appear to us as very weighty, we may mention one small point which seems to imply that the author of the 'we' sections was a Gentile. From chapter xxi. we gather not only that he was of the party which went up to Jerusalem, but also that he accompanied St. Paul when he visited St. James and the Elders

[1] *Encl. Bibl.*, i. 44.

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(xxi. 18); but when, in v. 26, he proceeds to describe the manner in which St. Paul carried out the advice that had been given him, and visited the temple, he definitely implies that he was not with him. No doubt he was one of the Greeks mentioned in ver. 28, although he carefully suppresses his own name. We feel that there is still no reason for refusing to accept St. Luke as the author.

So far we have examined the arguments by which Professor Schmiedel has attempted to overthrow what we venture to consider the established theory—namely, that the author of the Acts was a companion of St. Paul. We will now suggest three additional reasons for thinking that it must have been written not later than the first century. The first is the relation to the Pauline Epistles. This is an argument on which Professor Harnack lays great stress; he writes as follows:

'On the other side there are two considerations which make it unadvisable to go beyond the last years of Domitian's government. In the first place, although the author is acquainted with the preaching of St. Paul (xiii. 38 ff.), the Pauline letters are not used either as sources for the history, or as material for the teaching, and there is not a single letter the use of which by the author can be proved. . . . The fact is most remarkable, inconceivable in my opinion, if the author wrote in Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, or Rome, and is an urgent reason for not going beyond the first century. Consider how intimately [Clement], Barnabas, Ignatius, and Polycarp are acquainted with the Pauline Epistles, and how constantly they use them. The expedient that the author has not wished to use them owing to his tendency, is untenable, both as regards his teaching (Acts xiii. 38, 39), and undoubtedly so as regards the narrative.'[1]

Let us hear now what Professor Schmiedel has to say on this subject:

'The total influence of all these tendencies not having been so great as to lead the author wholly to disregard the matter supplied to him by tradition, it has often been supposed possible to affirm that he had no such tendencies at all. The inaccuracies of the book are in this case explained simply by the assumption that the writer was not in possession of full information, and that in a naïve yet still unbiassed way he first represented to himself the conditions of the apostolic age, and afterwards described them as if they had been similar to those of his own, when the conflict of tendencies in the primitive Christian Church had already been brought to an end. Certain it is that in his unquestioning reverence for the Apostles, it was impossible for him to conceive the idea of their having ever been at variance with one another. On the other hand, it cannot possibly

[1] Harnack, *Die Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur*, i. pp. 248, 249.

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be denied that he must at the same time have either passed over accounts that were very well known to him or completely changed them. It is hard to understand how any one can airily say that to this writer, a Paulinist, the Pauline Epistles remained unknown. Paradoxical as it sounds, it is certainly the fact that such a lack of acquaintance would be more easily explicable had he been a companion of Paul (a supposition which, however, it is impossible to accept) than it is on the assumption that he lived in post-apostolic times. It is conceivable, though not probable, that Paul might sometimes have been unable to communicate his epistles to his companions before sending them off. But a companion of Paul would at least be familiar with the events which are recorded in the Epistles—events with which the representation in Acts is inconsistent. If we are not prepared to declare the whole mass of the Pauline Epistles to be spurious, and their statements about the events to which they allude unhistorical, there is no way of acquitting the writer of Acts from the charge of having moulded history under the influence of "tendency." Only, this tendency must be understood as being simply a consistent adherence to the view of the history that he had before he studied his sources.'[1]

The whole of this paragraph is to our mind exceedingly curious. It is both acute and perverse. But it clearly puts before us the two alternatives. If the writer was a companion of St. Paul, it is comprehensible that he should have shown so little acquaintance with the Epistles. But Professor Schmiedel thinks it inconceivable that he should have been a companion. He recognizes, therefore, that the author must have known the Pauline Epistles, and that he deliberately refrained from making any reference to documents which were inconsistent with his point of view. Now, it is perfectly conceivable that a writer with a thesis to defend, and a complete disregard for historical truth, should have altered or omitted what did not suit his purpose; but what is inconceivable is that if he wrote when the Pauline Epistles had begun to be treated as authoritative, he should have shown no certain trace of acquaintance with them by a single quotation, or a single definite resemblance in phraseology. That is to our mind impossible. We are left, then, with the only possible alternative, that the author of the Acts, being a companion of St. Paul, obtained his knowledge, not from the Epistles, most of which probably he had never seen, but from personal intercourse.

A second line of argument might be chosen from the undeveloped theological language. We shall have to speak more of this, perhaps, on another occasion. It will be sufficient at present to mention only one point. If we take the

[1] *Encl. Bibl.*, i. p. 42.

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text of the Revised Version or of Westcott and Hort, we shall find that the name Χριστός is hardly ever used as a personal name; it is almost always a title. The writer shows that he belongs to a generation which recognized that it was still necessary to prove that Jesus was the Messiah. There may be one or two cases where the word has become, or is becoming, a personal name, but they are doubtful. Now compare this phraseology with that of such an early writer even as Clement of Rome.[1] By that time Jesus Christ or Christ will be used almost as we use either, and the old point of view is being forgotten. We do not like to speak with certainty, but we imagine much help in dating early Christian literature may be found in a careful examination of technical theological language.

A third argument may be based, we believe, on the complete absence of any reference to monarchical episcopacy. But on this point we must hear Professor Schmiedel again:

'If Acts xx. 18–35 has many ideas in common with those of the Pastoral Epistles, the indiscriminate use of πρεσβύτεροι and ἐπίσκοποι (xx. 17, 28) shows that the author has not yet reached the stage in the development of Church government which characterises the First Epistle to Timothy, the latest of the Pastoral Epistles, which wishes to see the Bishop, conceived of as a sole ruler, and represented in the person of Timothy as apostolic vicar, set over the presbytery (1 Tim. v. 1–19). The date of the Acts must, accordingly, be set down as somewhere between 105 and 130.'[2]

This extract will, like many others we have given, supply abundant food for reflection. When Christian literature has been arranged in a manner quite different from what we are accustomed to consider possible, it may oblige us to go very far forward to find some common ground to stand on. However, we may take it that Professor Schmiedel recognizes that there are no signs of a developed episcopacy in the Acts; we may take it, again, that he considers the Church organization, as presented to us, is less highly developed than that in the Pastoral Epistles, or, at any rate, in 1 Timothy. If this much be admitted, we must state that to us it is quite impossible on purely scientific grounds to put the Acts later than the end of the first century, or, in fact, so late. Our starting-point must be the Ignatian letters, and let us remember that it is now quite impossible for Professor Schmiedel, if he pays any regard to critical literature, to ignore them or place them at a very late date. They cannot be placed much later than the

[1] *Cf.* Clem. Rom. i. 24, 36, 38, 46, &c.
[2] *Enc. Bibl.* i. 49.

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age of Trajan. No one who reads them can doubt that they represent a very marked development on the Pastoral Epistles. To account for such a difference in the same locality there must be at least a generation. We cannot, in arguing with Professor Schmiedel, assume the genuineness of anything. But as the Pastoral Epistles are quoted by Polycarp, and as they represent a point of view clearly earlier than Ignatius, and as the Acts are certainly not later in their reference to organization than the Pastorals, it is impossible to put St. Luke's writings later than the close of the first century. For our part, we feel confident that as the stages of Church history are more clearly marked out, and as the undeveloped character of the language of the Acts is more clearly examined, it will become constantly more difficult to place the date later than the year 80. Most of the definite dates for later Christian literature accepted by Professor Harnack may be considered certain, and it thus makes much that Professor Schmiedel writes antiquated and valueless. He, like some of his friends, will persist in remaining blind to results which have already undermined his position.

Let us try and sum up our argument so far as it has gone. We have confined ourselves to going over rather well-known ground. In the face of a renewed attack, we have felt the need of asking ourselves whether the old arguments which made us believe that St. Luke was the author of the Acts must be given up. We have found the assailant acute and minute in his methods and very self-confident, but we have not found anything very formidable. We find old prepossessions which we have long ago convinced ourselves are unhistorical about the parties in the early Church; we find a great deal on the other side quietly ignored; we have found criticism which will not support what is expected of it. We do not, therefore, feel any hesitation in adhering to our old beliefs, and we remember that they have received very considerable authority on their side in recent years. In old days we could quote Renan as accepting the Lucan authorship; now we may record how Professor Ramsay, who had originally accepted Tübingen theories, found himself driven to this conclusion by archæological investigation; how Professor Blass, a classical scholar, has come fresh to the study of the work with the methods learnt in profane literature, and how in vigorous and racy Latin he laughs at the cobwebs which the theologians, *i.e.* those whom we should call the critics, have spun—an offence for which he will never be forgiven; and how Harnack has put 93 A.D. as the *terminus*

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ad quem for the Lucan writings. We have thus two lines of argument—one for early authorship, one for apostolic authorship; and they combine to make us feel confident that St. Luke was the author of the Acts, and to think that it must have been written between the years 65 and 80. More precisely than this we do not at present feel inclined to fix the date. We have here a solid historical point gained, and this settles for us approximately the date of St. Luke's Gospel, and probably also that of St. Mark.

We must in conclusion guard our readers, still more our critics, from thinking that we claim to do more than we have done. The authorship by St. Luke is quite compatible with deficiency in historical accuracy, and with an incorrect conception of at least the earlier periods of Christian history. There are still many questions left for discussion. We hope that we may be able at some future time to turn to these, and we are glad to look forward to able assistance in our attempt. One thing more we hope that we may have done, and that is made our readers feel that they need not be too anxious to trust, or too ready to fear, Professor Schmiedel. We have allowed him to speak for himself. We have, we believe, treated him perfectly fairly, and we doubt very much whether our readers will be inclined to listen to him more patiently than we have done.

ART. II.—FATHER HECKER AND AMERICANISM.

The Life of Father Hecker. By the Rev. WALTER ELLIOTT. Second Edition. (New York, 1894.)

THE name of Father Hecker has been of late somewhat prominent in Roman Catholic circles, especially in America; and not unknown among Anglicans in England. He and the Society of St. Paul, which he founded, have been assailed and venerated as the source of the movement called 'Americanism.' The aim of that movement is to find room within the strictest obedience to the Holy See for individual liberty and national spirit. It ought not to be confused with that so-called 'Liberal Catholicism,' of which the tendency is more or less to limit the claims of ecclesiastical authority. Hecker has no affinity to those Roman Catholics who, if Mr. Mivart's account be trustworthy, accept the letter of Catholic doctrine,

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while reading into it a meaning which is little else than deism. On the contrary, he accepts from the heart the Infallibility of the Pope and all that it involves. But his thesis is that God's inspiration is given not only to the Church but also to the individual, and that, as the inspiration comes in each case from the same source it must be consistent with itself. It is therefore the conviction of Hecker that the infallible Church is not so much the restrainer of individual thought from vagaries as it is the atmosphere in which individual thought will most luxuriantly grow. If it is pointed out to him that this is not a correct description of the modern Roman Church, which has certainly not been distinguished by a liberal air of inquiry or action, his answer is that, since the Revolution of the sixteenth century, the task assigned by God to the Roman Church has been the perfecting of discipline in order to exclude heresy; but that, her discipline having been completed by the declaration of the infallibility of her head, she can now turn her attention to the task of fostering the development of individualism and nationalism, which she was forced for a time to lay aside.

No genuine Anglican Catholic can view this theory without respect and sympathy. His own experience has taught him to value the liberty of individual thought which he enjoys, and he will desire the extension of it to his brethren in another part of the Lord's family. At the same time, he will confess that there is among ourselves a sad lack of the necessary discipline, in the absence of which liberty is apt to become licence; and he will not grudge the wish that Rome may be enabled to gain that which England has enjoyed, while preserving that which England has greatly lost. The reconciliation of liberty and order cannot indeed be impossible, since God inspires both. Yet he thinks that the history of the Roman Church since the decree of infallibility gives little support to his wish. That decree does not seem to have been the starting-point of a renewed liberty. Encyclicals do not breathe the spirit of freedom; and Roman Bishops do not seem to use their powers of repression with increased caution. Obedience to the system of St. Thomas rather than the imitation of his intrepid spirit has been inculcated on the Church; and a ready censure has fallen on the heads of the few theologians who have dared to study for themselves the problems of the composition of Holy Scripture, or the light which modern history throws on the question of Anglican Orders. Free inquiry is not stimulated by the knowledge that delators are always at hand to accuse

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whatever is new as certainly untrue, at the bar of a Congregation of probably not very learned Italian prelates. Our own attention was first called to the subject of Hecker's movement by the first (we hope it was also the last) number of a journal called the *True American Catholic*, which purposes to 'protect the true Catholic faith from the infernal machinations of a sect, who, under the name of Americanism, attacks and attempts to destroy the real foundations of Christianity.' 'This infernal sect . . . has as much Catholicism in it as Mohammedanism has Christianity;' its leader, Archbishop Ireland, who contributes a preface to the work before us, is a 'millionaire Bishop without conscience and without religion;' and even Cardinal Rampolla is charged with being bribed with 'the American yellow metal.'[1] Since this interesting journal appeared, Americanism, Hecker, and Ireland have been acquitted or condemned by the supreme authority, according as men please to interpret the rather vague dictates of infallibility; but if they have been acquitted it was on the express ground that they were not guilty of any freedom of thought. Nor, indeed, do we find in Hecker's life any instance of that liberty of which he is represented as the champion, except that his Community shared the freedom of the Oratorians as to solemn vows, that he encouraged the singing of vernacular hymns, and that his language was not that of a trained theologian, a character which never belonged to him, but that of racy American common sense. When we read the remarks of the journal to which we have referred, we hoped to find Hecker an original thinker, and we were disappointed; but we were not wrong in thinking that a man whom such a writer condemned was probably a good and sincere man. We found him, indeed, a man of serious limitations; but we felt ourselves enriched by the contemplation of a noble character, and were instructed as to faults in our own Communion which we, at least, are free to confess and try to amend. And our desire to share our interest and profit with our fellow-Churchmen leads us to offer the result of our studies to them.

In the year 1800, a brass-founder named John Hecker migrated from Prussia to New York. There he married Caroline Freund, failed in business, and died in 1860. Their third son, and fourth and last child, Isaac Thomas, was born in 1819. From his mother, a woman of excellent sense and deep devotion, who became a Methodist, he received religious impressions which endured through all his life; and from his

[1] *The True American Catholic*, Roma, February 4, 1899.

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childhood he had a consciousness of 'having been sent into the world for some especial purpose' (p. 8). His early education was interrupted by his father's lapse into poverty; and about the age of eleven he began to work under his brothers in a bakery. Baptismal grace, the influence of a good mother, and the discipline of hard work, preserved his childhood from wrong; and in later days he could tell a friend that 'he had never used drink in excess, never sinned against purity, never told a lie; and he certainly never was dishonest' (p. 11).

The person who, next to his mother, exercised the greatest influence over the lad, was a Dr. Brownson, once a Unitarian minister, and a friend of Channing. Under his guidance young Hecker threw himself with characteristic zeal into the movement for social and commercial reform. The persons with whom he was associated revered our Lord as the model social Reformer, while they had little or no faith in Him as the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, and the Source of Divine Life. To them Hecker owed (p. 26) a gradual change in his view of Christ, which was gain as well as loss: 'Until then the Saviour of men had been represented to him exclusively as a remedy against the fear of hell: His use seemed to be to furnish a Divine point to which men might work themselves up by an emotional process resulting in an assurance of forgiveness of sin and a secure hope of Heaven' (p. 26). It was a gain when he learned to regard our Lord as the Regenerator of society, even though the time was not yet come for him to discern in Him not the Deliverer from penalty but the Saviour from sin.

In his zeal for social reform, Hecker joined one of those social colonies which form so interesting a feature of American life. These are usually associated with Spiritism, or some other esoteric doctrine; but at Brook Farm, in Massachusetts, there was no such bond. The members included Protestants of all sorts and a few Roman Catholics. They were not socialists in a technical sense, but they shared a common table, and contributed to the common stock, not money, but such labour and instruction as each was able to bring. Without a creed, they regarded Christ as their pattern, and aimed at embodying, so far as they understood it, His kingdom. The author of Hecker's *Life* gives generous testimony to the benefits received by the half-educated young man from the refined and intellectual conversation, the pure and high aims, and the partial experience of life in community which he enjoyed at Brook Farm. Hecker himself, though at this time he did not profess faith in the Son of God, was deeply

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in earnest in his search after God, strict in his conduct, instant in prayer, an ascetic vegetarian in his diet. He already recognized celibacy as the form of life to which he was called, though his reverence for human nature saved him from the Gnostic disgust for marriage which has entangled many such theorists; and, in fact, there is evidence that in his twenty-fifth year he was greatly attracted by some lady whom his biographer, with commendable reticence, does not attempt to identify.

The desire to overcome this attraction, and the craving for a less pleasant form of life, drew Hecker, after some seven months, to remove to a similar community founded at Fruitlands by Bronson Alcott, whose name is best known in England by the charming stories written by his daughter. Of Alcott and his egotistic conceit Hecker formed a very unfavourable impression; and after two months he returned to New York, and to a share in his brothers' now prosperous business. But trade was not congenial to him. He does not seem to have discovered the way in which commerce can be carried on to the glory of God. He continued his philanthropic schemes; but his great concern was with the development of his own soul, with which he found even philanthropy hardly consistent. At a later date he writes: 'Thank God! He led me into the Catholic Church. If it hadn't been for that I should have been one of the worst cranks in the world' (p. 102); and there is reason to think his estimate of himself just. Yet there is, to our mind, something infinitely pathetic in his diary written at this time. It shows the young, half-educated tradesman, safeguarded by no Catholic tradition, unsupported by any Creed, strengthened by no Sacraments, yet earnestly seeking God and His Face, and, according to the promise, not seeking in vain. He speaks of the 'constant presence of invisible beings who affect my sensibility, and with whom I converse, as it were, in thought and feeling, but not in expression' (p. 110). Those who are acquainted with the more devout side of Spiritism are not unfamiliar with such sights. We are among those who regard Spiritism as a perilous rushing into regions which God has opened to us only through His Son come in the flesh; and we believe that a man who, disregarding the Incarnation and the extensions of it in the Church and the Sacraments, seeks commerce with spirits, is not only in danger of wilful deception, but is also likely to fall into the snares of Manicheism. But this conviction does not cause us to forget that many of these seekers are earnest and devout in their search after God, and

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deserve a more appreciative treatment than they are likely to receive from a priest who has not studied their peculiar form of mysticism. It has been the happy but arduous task of the present writer to deal with a number of such persons; and, ill as he has discharged this ministry, he feels bound to regret that in the Anglican Church he has found few who are prepared to deal with them at all. In this respect Rome had more to offer Hecker than England. To her credit, she has not been oblivious of the varieties of spiritual life, has recognized that abnormal tempers and experiences are not alien to the religion of the Incarnation, and has provided more appropriate help than that of treating the unusual as fatuous or dangerous.

By this time young Hecker had discovered the fundamental reason of his discontent with Protestantism. In common with Moehler and Mozley, he regarded as the starting-point of Lutheranism the doctrine of the total depravity of fallen man. There are few more emphatic warnings against the exaggerated use of religious language than the way in which Luther's zeal for the declaration of man's sinfulness and need of grace led him to rebel against Catholic tradition and indeed Christian morality. The Catholic tradition teaches that man was created not only innocent but in the enjoyment of such a presence of the sanctifying Spirit as enabled him to bring forth fruits well pleasing to God. To use a figure, the fruit-tree was not only created with an aptitude for producing fruit after its kind, but it was also planted in a climate in which that aptitude could have its fulfilment. By the Fall, man lost that gift of the Holy Spirit —the tree was transplanted to a cold and barren soil; but he did not forfeit the nature with which he was created—the fig-tree, though it could no longer ripen figs, did not become a bramble. Accordingly, there are in fallen man traces of his original righteousness—a reason not entirely blinded, a heart not wholly selfish, a will not altogether captive. Above imperfection, indeed, he cannot rise, but his virtues are not for that reason unreal. In every nation there are those who fear God, and work righteousness, and are, therefore, acceptable to Him; though they need the renewed presence of the Holy Spirit to ripen the fruit which else remains immature. According to Luther, the ruin was far more fundamental. Man's nature itself was changed, so that it became essentially bad: the fig-tree was not only starved, but turned into a bramble; the golden chalice was not only battered and defiled, but converted into lead. Whatever apparent virtues

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remained in the man were only fallacious—'splendid sins.' So entire was man's corruption that nothing remained in him to which the Holy Spirit could appeal, and on which He could work for the restoration of real holiness. Salvation, then, was not the making man righteous, but the reputing of him as righteous; and justifying faith was not the response of the soul to the power of Divine Life brought within its reach, but the mere acceptance of delivery from the due reward of sin on the score of the substituted Death of Christ.

It is not easy for us to realize that this was the ground-idea of Protestantism. In England, perhaps, the land of compromises, it was never very widely held. Rather, our national tendency has been towards a sort of Pelagianism, which thought that man was quite competent without grace to be as good as he need be; though this modern Pelagianism differs from the ancient for the worse, inasmuch as self-reliance taught the old Pelagians to strive hard for the virtue of which they held themselves competent, whereas the modern doctrine lowers the requirements of God to that which man can easily attain. But we must remember that Hecker was not an Englishman, but a German; and the Germans, a speculative race, have held much faster to the scholastic foundation of Protestantism. To Hecker, an intelligent and generous man, this doctrine of total depravity was a libel on humanity. He had known many men who made no profession of religion, yet lived a virtuous and noble life. Was he to call their virtue a delusion? If even he, with limited powers of perception and love, could see much in these men to approve and honour, was it possible that the tender eye of God could see in them nothing that was not loathsome? The very foundation of the constitution of his country claimed for men rights which could not belong to abject degradation; and Hecker learned a more generous theology from Washington than from Luther.

We find him, then, alienated from the sect in which he had been brought up, and for a time attached to no religious body. But he was too consistent in his belief in the inspiration of man to be content to remain, like Emerson and others, permanently outside all Churches. The social instinct is too noble a part of man for him to dream that the Holy Spirit, who inspires the individual, has no inspiration for society. Nor, again, could he be content with a sect which should be organized just to embody the tenets of its founder. Such a sect is, after all, no more than a projection of its founder's mind on a larger scale; and, individualist as he was, Hecker

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perceived that the individual could only develop in a society wider than himself. If the Christian religion is more than man's conjecture about God, it requires a witness to receive it wider than the individual; universal truth involves a universal recipient. More generous than Emerson, he felt the need of a society in which truth should be a common possession. As the individual and the State are neither identical nor mutually exclusive, but mutually supporting, so he discerned the necessity of a religious Society in which the inspiration of the individual should flourish. The Church and the individual must be no more antithetical than the nation and the individual, but complementary.

In this theory we hold that Hecker was entirely right. His error seems to us to lie in his failure to see that in a very imperfect world defects have to be taken into account on both sides. Suppose that all Christians were perfect saints, sincerely desiring to know God, and entirely obedient to so much as they know of Him, then it would be reasonable to expect also a perfect Church, accepting the same revelation, only in a more extended form, inasmuch as many minds can receive fuller truth than any single mind. Perfect men and a perfect Church would balance each other. But we have to deal with very imperfect men, full of indolence, conceit, unfaithfulness. We have found Hecker disposed to take too generous a view of humanity; and his biographer allows (p. 420) that he may be justly charged with 'too easily crediting unworthy men who prated to him of liberty and the Holy Spirit.' To our eyes he seems to show a similar credulity with regard to the Roman Church. There is no indication that he ever engaged, or was competent to engage, in a serious investigation of the Roman claims at the bar of Holy Scripture, history, or reason. There is surely something of audacity when a young tradesman, imperfectly educated, not yet a member of the Roman Communion, nor decided to enter it, 'told' an Anglican bishop that 'though the Church of Rome may commit errors in practice, she had not committed any in principle' (p. 136). We are inclined to ask what knowledge of history or of dogmatic theology enable him to make this rather bold assertion, while he was yet an inquirer. Indeed, there are no signs that at any part of his life he engaged in a serious investigation of the matter. He was, no doubt, an earnest student of the Bible for purposes of edification, but of study for the purpose of theological illumination there is no record. When he does quote a text to establish the infallibility of

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the Church he misquotes it; for he renders her Founder's promise that 'the gates of hell should not prevail against her' as a promise that 'the gates of hell should never prevail against her.' To some readers there seems to be between Christ's words and Hecker's interpretation all the difference that there is between final victory and perpetual immunity—between resurrection and exemption from death. As regards the appeal to history, we are far from saying that the verdict is unambiguous, or that it lies entirely on the one side or the other; but we complain that we see no sign that Hecker himself ever acted on the principle, stated by him near the end of his life, that 'no man can intelligently become a Catholic without examining and deciding the historical question;' and we apprehend a wide ingress for rationalism in the proposition with which he continues: 'Back of this is the consideration that the truths the Church teaches are necessarily in harmony with my reason—nay, that they alone solve the problems of reason satisfactorily, and answer fully to the wants of the heart' (p. 128). There is a good deal of difference between 'reason' and 'my reason'; and a person who enters the Church on such individualistic grounds is not unlikely to leave it on similar grounds when he thinks it does not answer to his personal needs.

To Hecker the Anglican communion does not seem to have offered much attraction. It will be remembered that it had no ancestral claim on him, a German by descent and character. Nor, indeed, had she very much to commend her. She had always called herself episcopal, but in America, from the time of the early colonists until 1784, she had been without bishops. By a ridiculous fiction America had been deemed part of the diocese of London. The discipline, or rather the lack of it, had been what might be expected: the clergy were few, for ordination could only be obtained by a long and costly journey to England, on which one-fourth of those who essayed it might expect death by shipwreck, pirates, or disease. We ought to pay our deep respect to the struggling Church for having sent any men on this arduous mission, when we remember that in our colonies at the present day hardly a man is to be found who presents himself for Holy Orders, and those prosperous and independent communities are content to lean on England for their supply of clergy. Confirmation, which was greatly disused in England, was impossible in America. The appeal of the colonies for an episcopate, for which the prudence of Archbishop Laud had made provision in 1638, was rejected

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by the very different bishops of the Hanoverian period, who did not accept St. Peter's opinion that they 'ought to obey God rather than men.' Yet it would be unfair to cast the whole blame on the bishops of that generation, who had grown up in a tradition of allowing the interference of Cæsar in the things pertaining to God. Nor was the demand of the colonies for bishops by any means unanimous, for many even of the clergy dreaded that an episcopate would introduce the whole system of Establishment as it was understood in England. In the struggle for independence the Anglican Church had placed herself, on the whole, on the unpatriotic side. Her unhappy adoption of the ambiguous term 'Protestant' in her title had encouraged the impression, which there was little in her practice to dispel, that she was only one of the many sects which had sprung up at the Reformation. There was little in such a society as this to attract a stranger like Hecker, beyond the beauty of its services, which he always admired. He could not love a society which seemed to commit itself to Protestantism, with its degrading doctrine of total depravity, which kept the Sacraments in a corner, which had never claimed or had abdicated the claim to be the national Church. The light of the Catholic revival had indeed begun to shine on the western shores, and Hecker was for a short time attracted; and we are tempted to wonder whether, if his search for the Church had taken place fifty years later, he would not have found his home in a communion which believes itself to be inspired but not to be infallible, which owns the fact of schism and does not dissemble its share in the general sin of Christendom, which encourages individual thought and action while holding fast to the tradition of the Creed, and thus goes some way towards the desired reconciliation of liberty and authority. That he did not find this home is no blame to him; but it is surely no slight blame to us and to our fathers, whose timid reticence as to the Catholic Faith, and shameful subservience to the powers of the world, may have lost to the Anglican Church so admirable a convert.[1]

At last Hecker's decision was made. His conditional baptism in the Roman Church took place in 1844. In the

[1] For details about the Anglican Communion in America we are indebted to the *History of the American Episcopal Church from the Planting of the Colonies to the End of the Civil War*, by the Rev. S. D. McConnell, D.D. (New York, 1890). This admirable and lucid short history may be compared to the work of Mr. Wakeman; though its tone is, to us, not quite so satisfactory.

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following year he journeyed to Belgium, in order to join the ranks of the Redemptorist Fathers.

The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer was founded in 1742, by S. Alfonzo Liguori, with the object of reclaiming by means of missions the people of the kingdom of Naples, who were sunk in ignorance and vice. It had been extended to Northern Europe a few years later by S. Clement Hofbauer, who, like Hecker, had begun life as a baker. His immediate successors had established the Novitiate at S. Trond, in Belgium, between Brussels and Liège. Hither came Hecker with two companions; and the American novices caused their superiors no little perplexity by continually asking why this thing was forbidden, that permitted; and Hecker, especially showed a boldness of speculation on metaphysics and ethics which was at least unconventional. On one occasion, when he was engaged in his regular thanksgiving after Communion, 'suddenly God stopped him, and he was told not to pray that way any more.' It seemed as if the Divine Voice spoke to him: 'Cease your activity. I have no need of your words when I possess your will. 'Tis I, not you, who should act . . . . I cease to act when you begin, and begin to act when you cease' (p. 209).

We have no claim to speak with authority on the secret matter of the soul in prayer; yet we venture on a few remarks on this topic, because it seems to illustrate the character of Hecker, and the influence of scholasticism on spiritual philosophy. It is the weakness of scholasticism that it tends to distinguish things which are essentially identical. To borrow a phrase, it tends to accentuate differences of species into differences of genus. In the present case, we should maintain the generic identity of all sorts of prayer. In all sorts there are two constituents—there is the presence of the Holy Spirit, without whom no prayer can ascend, and there is the co-operation of the human mind. The key of the mystery is in the Incarnation, in which human nature is seen, not passive under the sway of the Divine Personality, but actively co-operating therewith. To talk of a 'passive state of prayer' is, to our mind, to use language which has a monophysite ring about it; and it may be remembered that competent writers have detected a monophysite tone in the Roman denial of the reality of the natural substances in the Holy Eucharist,[1] and in the denial of a human and fallible side to the Church. There are, indeed, moments when the consciousness of the Holy Spirit praying within us is so

[1] Gore, *Body of Christ*, p. 113.

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overpowering, that there seems no place left for the co-operation of man; just as there are moments when the Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament is so vividly realized that the outward signs seem to vanish. But we must jealously remember that impressions are not to be taken as tests of reality. It would be fatal to forget that, though God be All in all, yet the 'all' in which He dwells and reveals Himself is no phantom, but a real thing, which He has endued with being in order that He might reveal Himself in it. Is there not, perhaps, something of the old enemy, total depravity, lurking in this denial of human co-operation in the highest form of prayer? We think, then, that Hecker's guides were wise in distrusting his tendency to ignore, in this respect, the human side of prayer. This tendency was not, indeed, in accordance with his usual belief in the dignity of the creature; but possibly it was related to a less admirable side of his character, which his individualism had fostered—the opinion that he was called to a work which no other man could do, and must be led by paths which other men could not tread. We do not need any very deep self-analysis to remind us that conceit is by no means incompatible with religion, and that there is for the very holiest men some danger of a sort of spiritual hysteria, which makes them view themselves as interesting exceptions to general rules.

In the discipline which was necessary for dealing with this danger we are free to confess that Hecker found more help in the Roman Church than he would probably have found in the English. It is the natural effect of a schism that, as neither party carries off all the good, so each party has some advantages over the other. We shall never consider it a test of loyal Anglicanism to deny that in some respects the Roman part of our Lord's family is superior to ourselves She excels us in the systematic training of souls. We too often deal with them in the rough-and-ready way in which we deal with technical education. If a young man with Hecker's peculiar character were to apply to an English priest, the chances are that he would be set before the bar of common sense, advised to avoid all that was peculiar in his religious habits, and directed to the discipline of dry parochial work. We do not think such treatment would be entirely amiss. If it did not alienate him it would very likely brace him; but it would tend to reduce him to a level conformity with other men, and to deprive him of his natural characteristics. If he were a saint he might rise above this depressing discipline,

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and even be stronger for the repression; but in most cases he would lose that peculiar tone of spiritual character which is as desirable in the concert of the Church as a variety of instruments is in an orchestra. There is an unfortunate narrowness in our field of clerical life, which leads to monotony of character: very few of our clergy are trained to anything else than the routine of parochial duty. The Roman Church is wiser in this respect. She opens careers of usefulness to men who have not the gifts which make a good parish priest. She provides a sphere for those who are called to a life of contemplation or to the almost exclusive service of the pulpit or the confessional. If Hecker had been an Anglican, he would no doubt have made an excellent parish priest, but it would have been at the cost of all that was individual in him. In the Roman Church his special gifts found a special place: a tradition of spiritual training developed (not without danger, indeed) that which was peculiar in him; he felt that he was so far understood that he was not forced into an uncongenial mould; he became the founder of an important religious Order and movement.

His novitiate ended in 1846; Hecker was transferred to the House of Studies at Wittem, in Holland. And here he suffered from the recurrence of a mental trouble which had affected him four years before: 'Study became impossible,' and he felt a 'strong inclination to doze and slumber' (p. 145). He himself attributed this trouble to supernatural influences; but we imagine that a physician would assign, as the cause, his nervous tension, insufficient food and diminished sleep. In this way his friend Brownson regarded the matter, giving him wise advice not to indulge in reverie, but to command himself; and now his superiors at Wittem seem to have taken a similar view. To a temperament like Hecker's the drudgery of study was naturally distasteful. He wished to see for himself, and it was irksome to spend time on learning what other people had seen. Though he was a considerable reader we do not think he was ever a student. He had little aptitude for methodical reading, for weighing evidence, for correcting or amplifying his own views by those of others. Many a clever schoolboy has the same distaste for study, which a wise tutor corrects by urging on him that his own perceptions of truth are necessarily imperfect, and need enlargement by the knowledge of the perceptions of others. It would be wise to inquire in such cases, as always when a person thinks himself exceptional, whether there is not some conceit which takes the guise of a special call. Of

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such a defect there may be some trace in his sensitiveness to ridicule (p. 208), and his almost comical distress at being denied a holiday and told off to 'clean the stair-way.' 'It would nearly kill me to obey,' he says, later, 'such was my disappointment, grief, and humiliation' (p. 208). It was probably not a bad discipline for him that, alike at Wittem and at Clapham, whither he was sent in 1848, most of his superiors seem to have treated his peculiarities as faults rather than inspirations.

Having been ordained priest by Wiseman, he returned to America in 1851. And now the active period of his life began. The chief occupation of the Redemptorists is the preaching of missions, alike for the conversion of non-Catholics and for the edification of the faithful. 'To practical people like Americans there is no oral or written evidence of the true religion so valid as the spectacle of its power to change bad men into good ones. Such a people will accept arguments from history and from Scripture; but those of a moral kind they demand: they must see the theories at work' (p. 238). For work of this kind Hecker was admirably fit. His religion was real, and he had a keen zeal to make his hearers good. He was, indeed, no deep theologian, nor was he an eloquent orator—and a person who frequently heard him tells the present writer that his sermons were often lacking in matter; but he was a man of prayer, who knew God himself, and used a gift of homely speech to bring others to the same knowledge.

His submission to the Roman Church did not in any way lessen his attachment to the nation to which he belonged. Indeed, Brownson and others thought his estimate of the natural virtues of American citizens too optimistic. It was natural that he and those who were under his influence were anxious that, when a new house was to be founded at Newark, it should be distinctly nationalist in tone, with English-speaking fathers, who should have their own language in common use. But of this desire the Rector of the Order, living in Rome, was suspicious; and Hecker was deputed by his brethren to visit Rome in 1857, in order to urge their views upon the authorities. His journey was regarded as an infringement of the vows of obedience and poverty; and immediately on his arrival he was expelled from the Order. No more serious charge was made against him; and we are not competent to discuss the justice of his expulsion on such grounds. It will be remembered that Rome at that time was in closest league with despotic governments, and at war with

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a nationalist movement at home. It will be remembered also that, about the same date, Wiseman was engaged in controversy with the Redemptorists, whose conservatism led to the establishment of the Oblates of St. Charles. Hecker's cause was warmly espoused by Cardinal Barnabò; and Pius IX., who was never wanting in shrewdness, took the wise step of releasing all the American Fathers from their vows as Redemptorists, and permitting them to form a new Congregation immediately subject to the Holy See. The new society was established in 1858, under the name of the Missionary Priests of St. Paul the Apostle, and Hecker was chosen the first Superior.

The wisdom of the course thus taken seems to us obvious. The unity of the faith does not imply identity of temper. In the conduct of a Religious Order there must be cases in which an American will reasonably take a different view from an Italian; and there are cases in which the opinion of persons living on the spot is better than that of Superiors living at a distance. And the possibility of strain is increased rather than diminished by modern facilities of communication. When letters were slow, and personal visits rare, a considerable discretion was necessarily left to subordinates at a distance. It was so in secular matters, when a general or a governor was entrusted with a task, and left almost without supervision in the execution of it. Now the telegraph follows him to the field or the province, and he can hardly take an important step without reference to home. Hecker was not a man who could work under constant interference. He had an intense belief in the guidance given to the individual, and in secular matters, as in spiritual, his 'first and fundamental rule of direction was to have as little of it as possible' (p. 321). His ideal of the Paulists was 'a body of free men who love God with all their might, and yet know how to cling together' (p. 291). How far this ideal has been realized in the Community can hardly be tested by the work which lies before us—it is too much of a eulogy to impress us as unbiassed. That there were trials and difficulties in the new society is only to be expected in any labour for the glory of God; yet it is only by chance references that we hear of their existence, and of their details we possess nothing. It was, no doubt, a work of delicacy to narrate Hecker's mistakes of 'too easily crediting unworthy men who prated to him of liberty and the Holy Spirit,' while those men themselves might be still living, and when the writer might have been a partner in the fray. To say that Father Elliott is

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not the best of witnesses in such a matter is by no means to charge him with disingenuousness; for the most sincere of men may fail to see certain facts, or may be restrained by prudence from narrating them. Yet we are hampered by the lack of further information than that which he gives us. That the Society has been rich in efforts to make the great American nation obedient to Christ is beyond doubt; and to us this is a more important matter than to know whether it has succeeded in being loyal at once to liberty and to Rome.

It would be tedious to relate at length Hecker's various labours, alike in preaching and in publishing books and newspapers. It was natural that a man of his shrewdness should discern and use the important influence of journalism in the United States. In 1869 he was called from his ordinary work to attend the Vatican Council in the double capacity of Procurator for Bishop Rosecrans, of Columbus, Ohio, and theologian to Archbishop Spalding, of Baltimore. With his sanguine temper he hoped that the Council would legislate largely for the general needs of the Church; whereas circumstances limited it to the definition of Papal Infallibility. In this dogma he was a believer; but his biographer leaves it uncertain whether he regarded the definition as opportune. At any rate, the air of controversy was distasteful to him, and he left Rome three months before the decree. He accepted the decision heartily. The Roman Church, he urged, had been driven by controversy with Protestantism to lay special stress on the principle of authority. 'The definition of the Vatican Council completes and fixes for ever the external authority of the Church,' so that now the attention of the Church and her children can 'be turned more directly to the divine and interior authority of the Holy Ghost in the soul' (p. 365). Whether there are any hopes of his expectation being fulfilled we will not now discuss. We venture to urge that it was unbecoming and childish in a person whose theological learning and capacity were so limited to cast scorn on 'the stupid Döllingerites' and their 'insane opposition to the definition of the Vatican' (p. 366).

From Rome Hecker returned, in June 1870, to America and his former work; but a sad change was at hand. He was but fifty-one years of age, but his strength had long been failing. Dyspepsia, headache, insomnia, claimed him as their victim; and together with them came a strange alteration of character. The vigorous, confident, sanguine man became depressed and unfit for the lightest work. He could not say

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Mass without breaking into uncontrolled sobs; even the reception of Holy Communion laid such a strain upon him that it rendered him unable to attend to necessary duties; and at one time he was obliged to abstain from it for months (p. 413). His religion had been of a remarkably cheerful type: it seemed 'to have no penitential side' (p. 374); but now he became the prey of the deepest sadness and fear of the Judgment of God. At the same time that he was unable to undertake the least work he was harassed by the most intense desire for labour, and by haunting schemes of projects which he was unable to attempt. Into this spiritual discipline we dare not enter; the Word of desolation from the Cross hallows such trials beyond the boldness of speech. It is a comfort and an encouragement to learn that though God slew him, yet did he put his trust in Him. The physical nature of his malady is not stated in the biography, except that we are told that there was not the softening of the brain which was at one time apprehended, and that for the last few years he was subject to *angina pectoris*. We owe to the kindness of a physician the conjecture that he was probably afflicted with ossification of the brain, together with peripheral neuritis. That his illness was in part due to the excessive austerity of his earlier life is admitted by Hecker himself, and by his biographer (p. 372). A great part of the seventeen years of this penance he spent, with little relief, at various health-resorts in Europe; and in 1873–4 he took a journey, with somewhat better results, to Egypt and the Holy Land. On his return, a visit to Rome in its new condition was rather depressing to him; but he was cheered by the elevation to the Cardinalate of his old friend, Archbishop McClosky, the first American to receive that honour. He took it to be a token that 'every nation will be represented in the College of Cardinals in proportion to its importance, and in this way the Holy See will represent by its advisers the entire world' (p. 390): a sanguine hope, which receives a strange comment in the latest appointment of Cardinals, which secures to Italy a majority of thirteen in the election of the next Pope. He certainly did not abandon his conviction that the Latin type of character, nourished by the Roman Church in her struggle with Protestantism, is not adapted, in its inculcation of the passive virtues and its distrust of individual inspiration, to win back the modern world. A tract to this effect, though approved by the Roman censors of the press, was at the last moment withheld from publication by the authorities, who held it to be inexpedient. We read with some surprise that,

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in spite of this decision, a man so loyal as Hecker allowed it to be published anonymously in London, and translated into French. He seems to ascribe the writing of it to the guidance of the Holy Ghost (p. 396). Very probably; but is there not here some indication of the probability of a strain between authority and the conscience?

When cure was manifestly impossible, the sick man allowed himself to be brought back to the country which he loved, though the mere thought of resuming any portion of his former work was intolerable. For a time he dwelt in the house of his brother George, now a prosperous man of business, who himself had joined the Roman Church. Thence he removed, in expectation of immediate death, to the house of his community. But he was yet to linger for nine years—years of undiminished physical distress, and of almost unbroken spiritual misery; though we are fain to hope that communion with his brethren and a small amount of literary work were not without some degree of solace. At last the release was at hand. On September 15, 1887, he received the last Sacraments; but he revived, and it was not until December 22, 1888, that he entered into rest.

We trust that we have been able to manifest the sincere veneration with which we regard Father Hecker. We love his patriotism, and we love still more his conviction of the willingness of God to address the spirit of man, and of the capacity of man's spirit to receive the Word of God; in which he reminds us of that rarest of saints, Catherine of Genoa, towards whom he nourished a very tender devotion, and of whom we have endeavoured to give some account in a previous number of this *Review*.[1] But we cannot honestly regard him as a great thinker or a man of learning; and we think that Father Elliott is misled by a natural but excessive estimate of his friend. In other respects we are not able to give very high praise to this work. Notice has already been taken of the lack of information on some interesting points. We complain also of a ponderous style, of clumsy arrangement, of the want of chronological data, and (an unpardonable fault in the eyes of a reviewer) of the absence of an index. On the other hand, we are glad to give the writer the praise of perfect candour; and, though we think his attitude towards the members of other communions narrow, it is never uncharitable.

We cannot end without giving a short survey of the controversy about 'Americanism,' which has arisen in connexion

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1897.

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with Father Hecker. On this topic we get no help from Father Elliott; for his book was published some years before the controversy broke out. But we find the information we desire in another, and a much shorter, *Life* of Hecker, by Mr. Sedgwick, which, except on this point, contains nothing that is not given by Father Elliott, but puts its information in a much more vivid and interesting way.[1]

We learn from Mr. Sedgwick that the ideas of Nationalism expressed in Father Elliott's work at first excited little notice in America, where a similar line was taken by many eminent ecclesiastics, some of whom took a part in the Chicago 'Parliament of Religions,' in 1893, with which the Anglican bishops, led by Archbishop Benson, with more dignity and reverence, refused to be concerned.[2] There will always be, in every part of the Church, two tendencies of thought—the one to a cautious conservatism, the other towards innovation or reform; and the *Life of Father Hecker* proved to be the spark which kindled these two schools into controversy. The *Life* was, not very exactly, translated into French, in 1897, and the following year it was assailed with considerable asperity by the Abbé Maignen, of the Congregation of Saint Vincent de Paul, in a book entitled *Le Père Hecker, est-il un Saint?* Cardinal Richard refused his sanction to the publication of this work in Paris; whereupon M. Maignen applied for an *imprimatur* to Father Lepidi, the Dominican Master of the Sacred Palace in Rome.

The Pope, who had some years before commended the Paulists' method of holding conferences with aliens, now intervened in the controversy with a letter addressed to Cardinal Gibbons, who was regarded as one of those who sympathised with 'Americanism.' He begins with an allusion to Hecker's *Life* as having given rise to the expression of certain 'new opinions,' though he refrains from saying that those opinions are expressed in the *Life*, or were held by Hecker. The opinions which are censured are these: That the Church ought to accommodate her doctrines to the circumstances of modern life; that certain doctrines may without blame be ignored; that the Church ought so to relax her supervision as to allow the faithful 'each one to follow out more freely the leading of his own mind'; that the proclamation of Papal Infallibility renders it safe to concede to the faithful a 'wider and freer field both for thought and action.' Of these opinions it is doubtful whether any but the last can be justly

[1] *Father Hecker*, by Henry D. Sedgwick, Jun.; Boston, 1900.
[2] *Life of Archbishop Benson*, ii. 682.

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attributed to Hecker. The Pope continues to censure those who regard 'external guidance' as being 'superfluous, and, indeed, not useful in any sense' for those who are aiming at perfection; but although Hecker, like S. Catherine of Genoa, and other saints, found the internal guidance of the Holy Spirit sufficient direction for himself, he laid down no general rule as to the need of direction. Further, the teaching is censured which exalts the natural virtues over those which the Pope calls evangelical; but certainly Hecker is not subject to the blame of depreciating faith and love when he points out that honesty, truthfulness, and manliness have not received their due prominence in modern Romanism. Finally, those are censured who show contempt for the Religious Life and its vows as unsuited to this age. But here, again, Hecker does not fall under the censure, unless it is to be stretched to cover S. Philip Neri, S. Vincent de Paul, and Manning himself, who thought that a laxer form of Community was better fitted to these times than the older and stricter Rules.

The leaders of the 'American' school loyally accepted the Pope's teaching; and, indeed, except on one point, Hecker would not have recognized his own views among those which were censured. On the other hand, it seems clear that the Pope's authority is cast on the side of conservatism, and that he gives no countenance to any feeling of discontent with the state of the Roman system as it is, and no encouragement to anyone who would desire to bring it more into accord with the needs, the convictions, and the aspirations of free nations of German blood.

Are Hecker's generous hopes, then, to come to nought? Will the Roman Church never succeed in reabsorbing the Teutonic spirit, with its manly independence and love of truth and of liberty? Or will she be enabled to fulfil the difficult task of reconciling authority and freedom? We do not presume to decide. To Hecker, who regarded the Roman obedience as co-extensive with the Catholic Church, and to whom schism was separation *from* the Church, it was natural to expect the Roman Church to be the heir of all God's promises. To us, who regard schism as, in some cases at least, division *in* the Church, there can be no assurance of perfection until every portion of divided Christendom unites in bringing its tribute and receiving its blessing. We do not expect any one portion of the Church to attain to a perfection which is the heritage of the whole. Whether history points in Hecker's direction or in ours we cannot now discuss; but for ourselves we are unable to see any signs of a wider spirit

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stirring in the Roman Communion since the Vatican Council. We have seen that the liberty which Hecker claimed was not large, and yet even that liberty he could obtain only at the cost of disregarding the direction of authority; and we have seen that the Pope has repudiated all thought of concession to the claims of individual liberty. We should, indeed, be thankful if we could entertain the hope that the Roman Church, to which is entrusted by God the care of so many millions of Christian souls, would move in the direction of greater liberty; but, while we confess the guidance of the Holy Spirit as given to every portion of the Church as to every Christian, we can no more expect the perfection of any portion of divided Christendom than that of any individual. We leave the matter in the hands of Infinite Love; and the hope that He may have great things in store for the Roman Church is in some degree justified by the fact that He raises up in her such saints as Father Hecker.

ART. III.—LIVERPOOL CATHEDRAL SCHEME.

1. *Article 'Cathedral,' Encyclopædia Britannica.* (London, 1876.)
2. *Address delivered at the Liverpool Diocesan Conference.* By the Right Rev. FRANCIS JAMES CHAVASSE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Liverpool. (Liverpool, 1900.)
3. *Liverpool Cathedral*: a Letter to the Lord Bishop of Liverpool. By G. H. RENDALL,[1] Principal of University College, and W. M. CONWAY, Roscoe Professor of Art at University College. (Liverpool, 1886.)
4. *St. Nicholas at the Port*: being a Lecture on the place of a Cathedral in City Life. By CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS,[2] M.A., Rector of Wavertree. (Liverpool, 1892.)
5. *History of Modern Architecture.* By JAMES FERGUSSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. (London, 1891.)
6. *Modern Architecture*: a book for Architects and the Public. By H. H. STATHAM. (London, 1897.)

THE Diocese of Liverpool is to be congratulated upon the possession of a splendid opportunity. The proposal to build a Cathedral in the midst of this great centre of commerce and population is indeed no new one; it is one with which

[1] Now Head Master of Charterhouse. [2] Now Dean of Ely.

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the Diocese and city have for many years been familiar. But the scheme has recently been brought again within the region of possibility. A committee has been formed, a site chosen, and a quarter of the probable cost subscribed. The project is naturally one of great interest locally, but the interest of it is also far more than merely local. We believe, indeed, that the Church at large will watch the fate of this proposal with no small measure of attention, and that if the Diocese shows itself resolved to carry the scheme through to an issue that is commensurate with its possibilities, the Bishop and his supporters will receive sympathy and encouragement from all quarters of the Anglican Communion. It is in this belief that we invite the attention of our readers to the proposal at its present stage of development, and also to one or two of the problems which must, in the nature of things, present themselves for settlement ere its completion can be attained. We purpose in the present article to give some account of the history of the project so far as it has gone, and then to offer some considerations on questions of more general interest, such as the style of architecture to be employed, and the possibilities of a modern Cathedral as the spiritual centre of the Church's activities in the Diocese as a whole.

At the middle of the last century there were few people of average judgment who would not have regarded a modern Cathedral in this country as almost a contradiction in terms. The somewhat drastic, but not altogether unnecessary, legislation of 1840, together with the Reports of the Commissioners issued in 1854–5, forms a striking evidence of the extent to which the Cathedrals of this country had become divorced from the main interests of the Church's life. In the common conception they stood for the most part as glorious relics of the past. Removed, as a rule, from the great centres of growing population, enriched by the thousand associations of their long history, by their opportunities of learned leisure, and by the peculiar beauties of their architecture, they still presented, even to those who loved them best, the problem of ancient institutions not always easy to defend on the ground of immediate and obvious utility. The Chapter of Durham, for example, in their reply to the Commissioners expressed the opinion that it was 'of essential moment that the Cathedrals should be brought into closer connexion and more intimate co-operation with the parochial system of their several Dioceses;' while the immense difficulties of effecting this or any similar readjustment may be readily realized by anyone

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who reads in his biography the account of the problems which confronted Dean Church on his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's. In short, it was only the common view which was expressed by Emerson in his essay on 'Religion' in England, when he described the Cathedrals as 'works to which the key is lost, with the sentiment which created them.' And from an entirely different standpoint the same opinion was re-echoed when the late Bishop of Carlisle wrote in 1872 that 'we might as well expect another *Iliad* from a Greek poet as another Cathedral from an English architect.' Indeed the problem was how to defend and use the old rather than how to devise and project the new. What fresh needs, fresh possibilities for Cathedral life and activity might arise in the future was a question with which only a few enthusiastic Churchmen felt they had any manner of concern.

Thus when the Church Congress of 1869 was held in Liverpool and discussed as one of the topics upon its programme 'The Capabilities of our Cathedrals,' there is little reason to feel surprise that the various speakers dwelt rather upon what the Cathedral ought to be and might be than upon its actual present value as a centre of diocesan activity. Dean Howson in the opening paper frankly acknowledged the need for Cathedral reform; while with even more surprising frankness a subsequent speaker admitted that his experience of a residentiary canonry had led him to believe that canons in residence had no spiritual duties at all. It will be allowed that this was hardly the environment and the season in which the scheme for a new Cathedral might be calculated to take root and thrive. The obvious criticism lay so readily to hand, 'Let the Church turn to fuller account the splendid foundations already in her possession before she diverts her energies to the task of adding new Cathedrals to the old.' Nevertheless the suggestion of a Cathedral for Liverpool was made at this meeting of the Congress, and made with no apology for its venture, but rather with an enthusiastic conviction of the possibilities of its success. Mr. Beresford Hope, who through good report and ill had kept firm his faith in the Cathedral as an essential factor in the modern life of the Church, who had rendered the cause yeoman service by the publication of his book, *The Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century*, and who deserves now to be ranked with Archbishop Benson as champion of the ancient foundations in days when criticism of them was at once easy, necessary, and abundant, drew a picture which Liverpool

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Churchmen might still find inspiring, of all that a Cathedral might accomplish if once erected in the midst of their city. The plan of dividing the Diocese of Chester, of creating a separate See of Liverpool, and of replacing the old Parish Church by a less inadequate structure, had already on more than one occasion been proposed and considerable discussion on the subject had taken place. The Congress of 1869 brought the scheme once more before the attention of the locality and of the Church as a whole; the time was not yet ripe, but still the project had made definite advance.

The Bishopric of Liverpool was created in 1880. Dr. Ryle was consecrated Bishop, and an Order in Council determined St. Peter's Parish Church to be the Cathedral Church of the Diocese. The new Bishop, who, though vigorous, was an old man for so exacting a position, had no easy task before him. The Diocese, compact, it is true, in area, was thickly populated, some million and a quarter souls being within its borders. To minister to their wants there were 180 incumbents; the supply of assistant clergy was insufficient, the value of the livings in many cases very small, the whole diocesan organization had to be created and brought into working order; and, to crown all, the Parish Church of St. Peter was utterly unworthy of its new dignity. Even a fine church does not always prove a good Cathedral. The conversion in the cases of Newcastle and Manchester cannot be regarded wholly with satisfaction. But in Liverpool the edifice was a poor one of its type, and even as a parish church left much to be desired. As a Cathedral it was a cause of dissatisfaction to the Churchman for the sake of his Church, and to the citizen for the sake of his city; while the American traveller landing in the Mersey and viewing it as his first example of the English Cathedral could only regard it with blank incredulity and dismay. So obvious was its inadequacy that there is no reason to feel surprise that no more than the sum of 576*l.* was spent upon the alterations necessary for its use as a Cathedral church. For many years it has maintained a reverent standard of daily worship which has been of no small value to the Diocese, and for which all gratitude and honour are due to the present Rector. To that may be added the fact that it stands in a central position. But when this has been said there is little more to be urged in its favour, and it would have been small credit to the Churchmen of the Diocese had they not felt impatient for a structure more worthy of the worship and service of God. As a natural outcome of this the Diocesan Conference of

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1881 discussed at length the question, 'Ought the Diocese of Liverpool to have a Cathedral?' It was urged very truly that the Church does gain in strength by asserting itself in architecture, and that in a building and foundation worthy of their high purpose a remedy might be found for the isolation, congregationalism, and want of unity and solidarity which were in some cases characteristic of the parochial system on its weaker side. It is true that even here, at the very outset of the scheme in its first practical phase, the dissentient voice was heard; it was urged by one speaker with no little force that the proposal should be deferred until provision was made for a greater number of clergy in the Diocese. But on the whole the feeling was strong on the other side, and the Conference resolved by an overwhelming majority that the new Cathedral ought to be. And thus a committee was formed consisting of some 200 members, and so constituted that it was thoroughly representative of the clergy and laity of the Diocese. Sub-committees were appointed—one to deal with the question of the site, another to manage the finances, and a third to consider the question of architecture. By the early part of 1883 the proposal was beginning to take definite shape; it was much discussed, much criticized, and thoroughly 'in the air.' Perhaps the possibilities presented themselves more clearly than the difficulties and problems which they involved for their realization, but at any rate the scheme had been definitely proposed, definitely taken in hand, and the world looked on with some considerable interest to see what the result would be.

We do not believe it would interest our readers for us to describe in detail the various stages by which the scheme as an immediate practical proposal came to be laid aside. Whoever has the desire to do so may, to some extent, follow out its history in the files of the various local newspapers, where he will read correspondence sometimes acrimonious and sometimes not wholly creditable to the writers. It is a chapter of diocesan history which is still mentioned both in clerical and lay circles with some little bitterness and feeling. But inasmuch as the failure of the proposal has been frequently made the subject of strong criticism, and, as we believe, the common opinion about it still is that there was failure where there should have been success, we think it may be worth while to call our readers' attention to one or two of the difficulties and problems which were involved. Some of them are of such a nature that they will probably, under similar conditions, have to be faced again in other quarters,

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and their mention may thus serve for future guidance whenever in other large modern cities men set their hands to build the house of God.

The proposal raised at once the question of the relation of the civic aspirations of Liverpool to the other needs of the Diocese as a whole. The city was in want of a Cathedral: the Diocese needed also churches, funds, and men. Given a great and wealthy town as the centre of a new Diocese, and the problem of these conflicting interests will almost inevitably recur. Now we will at once acknowledge and welcome the sentiment which makes the Churchmen of any important city feel strongly that their own particular community shall not fall behind others in the scale of its provision for the service of God. That sentiment is partly civic, partly religious, but in its way it is a blending of Christianity and citizenship which is good alike for the municipality and the Church. Allowing all weight to the contention of Dr. Rendall and Professor Conway that civic greatness must find expression in truly civic forms, and that the religious life of the community of Liverpool as a whole was wider than that of the Church of England within it,[1] there is still much to admire in the sentiment which makes citizens of no mean city resolve that it is for the credit of their citizenship that God's worship in their midst shall also not be mean. Since the ancient kings of Egypt vied with one another in the vastness of the structures they erected, or since the Republic of Florence declared its resolution to build a Cathedral that should surpass in its beauty the greatest architectural productions of Greece and Rome, human nature has never been altogether able to dispense with competitive ambition as a motive for even its noblest achievements. It is obvious that there are other motives and higher. Our concern at present is only to observe that if a great city desires a great church it is an aspiration to welcome and commend. But as against this, conflicting with this, in some sense the alternative of this, were the needs of the rapidly-growing population, the want of more parish churches, the inadequacy of clerical incomes, the lack of men. Had Bishop Ryle succeeded in guiding the Cathedral scheme to an issue and left these other necessities of his Diocese untouched, his episcopate might have left its evident monument; but it would have been open to serious criticism and the charge of many things left undone. In the latter years of his life the late Bishop always said that he regarded other needs as more pressing, and this conflict of different wants was pro-

[1] *Liverpool Cathedral*, p. 4.

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bably present to his mind from the beginning of his tenure of the See. St. Jerome had felt the same problem when he contrasted the building of elaborate churches with the claims of charity. It had struck Bishop Blomfield in the 'thirties' as he passed from the wealth of St. Paul's to the destitution and wants of the vast population growing up not two miles away. And when the Cathedral proposal came first before the Diocese of Liverpool the consciousness of the many other duties to which the Church was bound to set her hand inevitably had its weight. This, among other causes, told against the scheme, and it is a question which will always need the judgment of the Church's wisest administrators to determine what proportion of her energies, her resources and her attention she can afford to divert to the building of a great and noble House of Prayer. There are conditions under which her spiritual gain by the undertaking of such a task may be great indeed. There are other conditions under which it is her wisdom to realize that the time to build the House of the Lord is not yet come.

To this difficulty must be added the problem of selecting the best out of twenty-three possible sites. The 'Battle of the Sites' is still well remembered locally, and when that was solved the question at once arose of the most appropriate style of architecture for a Cathedral that was to stand in an environment of classical buildings. It would be of little interest to treat at length of these controversies. Not unnaturally the time involved in their discussion caused the public enthusiasm to cool down. Not unnaturally, the sympathies and interest of those who felt strongly the defects of the site chosen were alienated by the choice. An Act of Parliament was obtained in 1885, which authorised the commencement of operations, but time went by and no start was made, till at last the period allowed by the Act elapsed without any actual work being done. A sum of 10,000*l.* was offered in 1887 by the late Sir Andrew Walker, but the offer was not followed up by other promises, and finally it only remained for the Cathedral committee to report in the following year that the scheme was at a complete standstill. When Bishop Ryle addressed his Diocesan Conference a little later he spoke of the proposal as 'sleeping' and 'on the shelf.' And with an outspoken frankness which was one of the late Bishop's characteristics, he added, 'I admit that the position of the scheme is rather humbling after such a large expenditure of time, talk, controversy, and not a little money, on the subject. I am not surprised that Churchmen at a distance, who

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do not understand Liverpool, speak rather scornfully of us.'

To a very large number of people the failure of the proposal at this stage was a matter of acute disappointment and chagrin. The work wanted doing; the Church had set her hand to do it, and the Church had not succeeded. Practical men who have been accustomed in their own personal experience to carry through the enterprises they have undertaken regard such failures with a natural impatience; and if their own names have been associated with the project its miscarriage becomes to them a matter also for personal dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, it may be said without hesitation that on the whole the Church has gained, and the scheme has gained, by the delay. The Diocese is in a far better position for the accomplishment of the task to-day than it was in 1880. The episcopate of the late Bishop was a time of growth, and growth of all kinds is to be measured afterwards, by results. During the last twenty years the number of parochial clergy in the Diocese of Liverpool has risen from 255 to 431. Forty-four new churches have been consecrated. Many churches have been restored, and many smaller buildings for parochial purposes erected. There is a clergy sustentation fund of 25,000*l.*, and the more important section of a Diocesan Church House has already been built and brought into use. The tone of Church life has distinctly improved; and, while there are men who take strongly partisan views in either direction, there is, on the whole, unquestionably a far greater measure of unanimity among the clergy of the Diocese. It cannot with any fair reason be now contended that the opportunity has not yet come. No one to-day can point to projects that have a reasonable claim to prior accomplishment. The time indeed is ripe; and so far the scheme in its revived form has made good progress. Warned by previous experience, the Bishop and his committee wisely made no proposal to the public until they had a site in view which they could unanimously recommend. The position chosen is that of St. James's Mount, and at a public meeting held in the Town Hall on June 17th last this was adopted as the site for the Liverpool Cathedral by an overwhelming majority. To this, as to all the other possible positions, there are objections, and it is well to recognize them. The site involves a departure from the usual custom of orientation. It is not so central by some little distance as other positions, and one, at least, among the latter does offer a splendid vista for a fine west front. Moreover, St. James's Mount is an open space,

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and growing modern cities do well to be jealous of their surrender. But it is accessible; it is an eminence; it is free from noise; its cost will perhaps be 30,000*l.* as against 200,000*l.*, while, if the existing Cathedral church—which would be no longer wanted—were surrendered, and the site of it turned into an open space, there is no question that the net result would be a gain to the town. We have little doubt that this position has been wisely adopted, taking all the arguments into consideration, and we are glad to believe that there is no likelihood of any recrudescence of the old controversy. The plan has started well, and at least one difficulty has been fairly faced and overcome.

Such, up to the present time, is the history of the Liverpool Cathedral scheme, and we believe our readers will watch its development with greater interest from knowing something of its past vicissitudes. The question which now lies immediately before the Bishop and his committee is that of architecture. Many considerations suggest themselves in this connexion. The uses for which the building is to be employed, the *genius loci*, the spirit of the age, and the claims of the various schools of architecture will all demand the most careful attention; nor, as we think, is it wholly an easy matter to decide upon the type of structure most appropriate under the given conditions. In one respect, moreover, those who are in charge of the proposal have a free hand. The site chosen involves the proximity of no large buildings of any very distinctive character. So far, then, that type of architecture which is on its own merits most desirable may be selected without (as in the case of the former site) any very great risks being involved by the nature of the environment. We believe it probable that the competition will again be thrown open, though it is not likely that the committee will fail to bear in mind the merits of the designs submitted in 1885. At the present stage no detailed discussion of this point is possible, but there are one or two suggestions of general architectural interest that have been made in connexion with the scheme, and to which we think our readers will be glad to give some measure of consideration.

We have little doubt that on the whole there will be a certain natural balance of feeling among Church people in favour of the employment of some form of Gothic architecture. The names of the architects selected in the previous competition may be taken as evidence that this was the type of structure which was then regarded as most suitable and natural. It is, of course, the National style. In his book on

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The Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century Mr. Beresford Hope adheres to it without hesitation, while the one precedent of a modern English Cathedral, Mr. Pearson's beautiful work at Truro, forms, so far as it has been carried out, an evidence and omen of possible success. Coleridge defined the principle of Gothic architecture as 'Infinity made imaginable.' It is, *par excellence*, the form in which Christianity has expressed and embodied its faith, its aspiration after dimly realized possibilities, its gift of rest from the world's daily turmoil, and its consciousness of the much that binds man to another world that he does not see. And with all their varieties and points of contrast the Cathedral churches of England have, taken as a class, their distinctive characteristics, which in some measure they have preserved throughout the various developments of Gothic architecture by which they have been affected. The long chancel, the comparatively low roof, the east end square and not apsidal, are among their common features. Thus the typical English Cathedral does exist, as all men recognize, and the permanence of the type may be even exemplified by the Gothic plan upon which St. Paul's, the one exception in point of architecture, eventually was built. The Church, like the nation, has her history behind her; and her history is a heritage of which the Cathedrals are an abiding monument. All that tradition means to a race innately conservative, all the sacred associations that have gathered in centuries of worship round the familiar points of plan and structure, all the intrinsic beauties which it may claim rightfully as its own, are thus so many strong arguments in favour of adherence to the Gothic style. We do not doubt that they will receive their full consideration when the Bishop and his committee come to make their decision. And if there be any departure from the traditional type, it will undoubtedly be their wisdom to make sure that the reasons for their choice are sufficient and are conclusive.

All these arguments will have full weight. Let us look for a moment at what may be said on the other side. In the first place, then, it appears incontestably true, as Dr. Rendall and Professor Conway remark in their *Letter*, that the form of the Gothic Cathedral was developed and defined by the needs of the people for whom it was raised.[1] In other words, at the very basis of the mediæval Cathedral lies the principle of recognizing present wants and present possibilities. To ignore present wants now, in order to reproduce a past form, however beautiful, is therefore to violate a fundamental canon

[1] *Liverpool Cathedral*, p. 7.

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of the generations to which we owe Salisbury and York. We do not hold it probable that the majority of Church people would be by any means in entire agreement with Mr. Statham's chapter on Church architecture.[1] He has little antiquarian and little ecclesiastical interest, and his point of view is radically unlike that of Pugin or of Street. But in his criticisms of the long chancel, of the screen, and of the contracted space at the junction of the transepts and the nave, he speaks only of what all unbiassed observers must acknowledge. When the present Bishop of Liverpool was consecrated in York Minster the choir was unused, and a temporary sanctuary had to be arranged in the nave outside the screen. When a service of mourning was held in Westminster Abbey for General Gordon's death the *Pall Mall* reported that the 'greater number of those present could not join in the services.' Yet surely it is at least one among the functions of a Cathedral in a great city that through it the Church shall have the opportunity of appealing both by word and symbol and by the evidence of her most solemn service to the gathered numbers in her Master's name. In other words, the essentials of such a structure are that the open space at the 'crossing' shall be ample, and offer the maximum of accommodation within the range of the pulpit, and also that the Altar-table shall be so situated that it is visible from as many points as possible, a condition surely of sufficient importance to justify, if need be, the use of the side chapel for the Daily Offices, and the rigorous exclusion of mere sightseers during the hours of service. The Cathedral should be available for God's worship as one splendid whole. Like the ideal Church, it should be truly one, the central purpose and conception never being lost in the diversity of the parts. In this connexion it will be appropriate for us to make some mention of the design sent in during 1885 by Mr. Emerson, the president this year of the Royal Institute of British Architects. A sketch of this design may be seen in Mr. Statham's book,[2] and the detailed Report may be seen by visitors in Liverpool at the Picton Reading Room. Adhering to Gothic architecture, although he departs from the strictly mediæval type of Cathedral, Mr. Emerson secures the two points above mentioned with, as we think, very considerable success. On his plan 1,400 persons could be seated within 100 feet of the pulpit, while the chancel, being of moderate length, renders the Altar-table visible from a considerably wider area than is

[1] *Modern Architecture*, pp. 40–95.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 65.

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usual. Whatever style of architecture be eventually adopted, we believe those two conditions, which are thus secured by Mr. Emerson's design, ought to be treated as essentials. And it has to be acknowledged that they involve to some extent a modification of the typical mediæval plan.

Still more striking, however, is the departure from English precedent to be found in Mr. Emerson's dome. Architecturally, of course, the combination of a dome with a Gothic structure is fully justified by the example of the baptisteries at Florence and Pisa, and of S. Maria del Fiore in the former city. To what extent the surroundings of the site originally selected may have influenced Mr. Emerson in this proposal we cannot say. The main reasons in favour of it, however, as given in his Report, appear equally applicable to the conditions of the present site, or at least sufficiently so to render some notice of them desirable. We are told in the *Parentalia* that Sir Christopher Wren suggested the dome of St. Paul's because he believed that, in such a position as the Cathedral was to occupy, it would possess 'incomparable more grace than it is possible for the lean shaft of a steeple to afford.' So, in effect, says Mr. Emerson. 'In large cities,' he writes, 'like London, Paris and Liverpool, structures of this style [*i.e.* the strictly mediæval style with towers or spires] cannot hold their own, they want mass;' and Mr. Emerson goes on to cite the new Cathedral in Edinburgh as an example of a building which for this reason fails to be externally impressive. On the other hand, he adduces the telling examples of St. Paul's in London, St. Peter's in Rome, S. Maria del Fiore in Florence, and also the Panthéon in Paris to prove that a church with a grand domical central feature does rise with commanding effect even in a city of very wide area. For a form of structure thus externally striking there is also to be claimed the advantage of internal grandeur and the practical consideration that constructionally it is singularly well adapted for the roofing of a large open space at the 'crossing,' such as a modern Cathedral requires. Mr. Emerson's design as a whole did not, of course, pass without criticism when originally suggested. It was said to be externally classic and internally Gothic in its general result, and was accused of a 'want of homogeneous effect when considered in detail.' It was also open to the charge with which all new proposals are greeted by the lovers of the past—that it was an 'experiment,' and that the old was better. It is not our concern to defend its details, which would probably have received considerable modification had

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it been carried into execution; while the fact that it was proposed for a particular site, and for an environment of other structures very definitely characterised, naturally robs it of some of its interest, now that this particular site is no longer in question. We are sure, however, that the letter-press of Mr. Emerson's Report is well worth consideration, in so far as it deals with general principles, while three of the main features of his proposal—the wide central space, the shortened chancel and the dome—have very real advantages as elements in a Cathedral to be erected under modern conditions in a great centre of population. We have noticed this design at considerable length because we believe that in all probability Gothic will be selected as the style—in fact, that the Building Committee has reported in its favour. We feel, therefore, that it is especially incumbent upon us to emphasize the necessity of avoiding anything like mere antiquarianism, and of adapting the new building to the needs and life of a great commercial city of the present day.

One other proposal was put forward with regard to the scheme in its earlier stages, which is of sufficient intrinsic interest to be noticed again. The suggestion was made, we believe, by the late Canon Venables, and certainly from other quarters, that the Diocese of Liverpool should erect its Cathedral on the lines of the design originally suggested by Sir Christopher Wren for the rebuilding of St. Paul's. This design is very fully described in Mr. Fergusson's book,[1] and our readers may remember that its main features were the plan of the form of a Greek Cross, with a central dome of about the same diameter as the present one. There was to have been a detached frontispiece, jointed to the main body of the building by a narrow vestibule or waist, and the whole character of the architecture would have been, of course, classical. The design was submitted in 1673, but owing to the opposition of the Duke of York, and also to its unpopularity with the clergy, it was not adopted, and the estimates formed of its merits appear to have been always various. Wren himself is said to have shed tears at its rejection, and to have declared in private conversation that he set a higher value upon it than upon any other he had made before or since. The design won the admiration of Dean Milman, though he never regretted the prolongation of the nave, while it had the interest of certain points of similarity with some of the famous churches of the Byzantine type. Competent judges have regarded St. Sophia as

[1] *History of Modern Architecture*, ii. 31 *sqq.*

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possessing a more beautifully proportioned interior than any other church yet erected, and the strong point of this design of Wren's was probably also the interior. On the other hand, there has been much adverse criticism of it, and as Wren made a model of his design, which still exists in St. Paul's Cathedral, it is criticism that has more to appeal to than mere proposals on paper. The defects of it are dealt with in some detail in Mr. Fergusson's book,[1] in which he gives also suggestions as to how they may be rectified. Should a purely classical style of architecture be contemplated for the Liverpool Cathedral, this proposal of reviving —no doubt with modifications—a design of which Sir Christopher had himself so high an opinion might be well worth consideration, and in this belief we shall quote at length the passage in which Mr. Fergusson has summed up his criticism and suggestions:

'Assuming, however,' he writes, 'that the external form of the dome would have been modified till it resembled the present one, that the western campaniles would have been introduced, and that the whole design would have been revised in the sense above indicated, the result certainly would have been far more satisfactory than the present design [*sc.* of St. Paul's]. Internally, the gradually increasing magnificence from the principal entrance to the great dome, with nothing beyond but a small choir of the same design and length as the transepts, would have been in perfect taste, while the ever varying perspectives in the great circumambient aisle of the dome would have surpassed those in the great aisle that surrounds the dome at St. Peter's, while, externally, nearly all the faults of the present design would have been avoided.'[2]

The problem of the choice of style is not an easy one, and we leave our readers to find their own solutions. To a large extent the question is one of taste and sympathies, but it has at least this measure of kinship to many of the present-day problems of Christian theology, that it involves some adjustment of the old and the new. Bearing in mind former divisions of opinion in connexion with this scheme, we trust the Diocese of Liverpool will be wisely guided to a definite and happy decision, and that if there be a minority disappointed at the type of edifice selected, they will not the less loyally co-operate for its completion when once the last word has been said on either side.

There remains for discussion the most important topic of our present paper, the purposes, namely, of a Cathedral, and

[1] *History of Modern Architecture*, ii. 33 *sqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* ii. 35.

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its capabilities of diocesan usefulness. For a Cathedral in its essential nature is, as has been remarked, 'both a building and an institution.' We take this opportunity of expressing our strong conviction of the necessity of keeping the latter fact and its consequences in view. For it involves, of course, this: that there must be adequate provision made, before the scheme can be considered complete, for a sufficient endowment to enable the various functions of such an institution to be carried on. Very rightly does the Bishop say in his diocesan address[1] that the building must be worthy of Liverpool and of the Church of England. From the very liberal amount—150,000*l.*—already contributed we have little doubt that the Diocese intends that the scale and dignity of its Cathedral shall be adequate and worthy. But it is a common experience in the present day to find funds given readily for the building of a church, but given in an altogether insufficient measure when the object is the less evident one of an endowment. We trust the Diocese will therefore realize at the outset that the maintenance of the fabric and of the various services—the provision of adequate stipends for the canons and other clergy—the security that when the structure is completed there shall not be a struggle for the means whereby to fulfil its highest purposes, are objects which will demand a very considerable financial effort, quite apart from the funds needed for the original erection. We are indebted to one who speaks with experience for the excellent suggestion that a sum of 10 per cent. should be set aside from the very first for an endowment fund, and in any case the point is one that demands attention. Assuming, however, that the question of finances is settled, what may the Diocese expect a Cathedral to do? and in what ways may the Church's hands be strengthened by such a foundation for the spiritual work entrusted to her? Whatever is to be said in favour of any departure from English precedent with regard to architecture, it is clear that what is needed in regard to the *functions* of a Cathedral, as distinct from its style, is a reversion to type, and a reappropriation under modern conditions of the original purposes for which Cathedrals were designed. To some extent the drifting away of our old Cathedrals from these purposes has been inevitable. Their situations in their respective dioceses, the growth and strength of the parochial system, the other channels of diocesan activity, and above all the complete change in their relations to the Bishop, have all tended to isolate them and to render them in many cases

[1] *Address*, p. 14.

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rather important elements in a particular locality than active forces in the religious life of a whole Diocese. But originally the Cathedral was the mother church of the Diocese. Its chapter were the assessors of the Bishop, the main purpose of its existence was missionary, and as this became less necessary its educative office was evolved. Along each one of these lines we believe it possible that a Cathedral church in Liverpool would make its influence felt with good result. It would be the visible centre of the religious life of the Diocese, expressing by the dignity and scale of its structure what is implied in the common service of God. As the 'mother church,' though latest born, as not only the 'Domus Dei,' but also the spiritual home of the Diocese, it would from time to time gather within its walls men and women of different ranks and callings and of different ways of thought. A Diocese like that of Liverpool, small in area, thickly populated, with a railway system so complete that it is an easy and an inexpensive matter to pass from any one parish to any other, has obvious possibilities of realizing its own corporate existence in ways which are far less practicable in Truro or Carlisle. A great Cathedral would be of effective benefit in the assertion of the unity of the Church as realized in the Bishop's See: '*ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω*' is a principle which not only takes the Bishop round his Diocese, but lays also upon the Diocese an obligation to maintain its conscious fellowship as opportunity allows. To this end a noble house of praise and prayer would exert an influence in several distinct ways, and only when the whole collective result is estimated can its importance as a power for unity be rightly felt. Here, for example, might the whole Diocese find the best expression of its common worship. In an age that is much given to liturgical variety, how beneficial is the constant maintenance of a dignified, reverent, and elevated type of service, neither ignoring nor exaggerating ritual, neither content with less nor demanding more than the Book of Common Prayer, and forming so an abiding protest alike against deficiencies and against additions, against whatsoever is slovenly and against whatsoever strikes plain folk as trivial and devoid of dignity. Towards such a type, while the different possibilities of different parishes need never be forgotten, the whole Diocese might be drawn by the example of its mother church, and so the old Cathedral rule of the Ely statutes, 'singulis diebus Laus Dei cantu et jubilatione celebretur,' should find abundant justification in the spread

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of a common order and reverence from this as its centre and its source. In the Cathedral, too, of such a Diocese a very numerous list of annual services would be possible. The great Church societies would all have their own particular objects pleaded from its pulpit. Different guilds and associations might realize how their work was linked to the whole Church's activity by assembling from time to time for a united festival; while upon the days which were marked out, whether for the nation, the city, or the Church, as days of special thanksgiving or special mourning, the occasion would receive adequate recognition in its religious aspect by the appropriate service. The Cathedral, too, might be the centre of organization. Our readers will probably remember the strong faith of the late Archbishop Benson in the possibility of reviving the conciliar functions of Cathedrals; it appeared to him that they represented a power that had been suffered to fade away, and that 'to the reviving corporate unities of the English Church in her Dioceses strong and responsible Chapters must be the centres of force.' The maxim that 'unity is strength' might well be applied to diocesan organization, and anyone who considers the number and variety of the boards, councils, committees, and associations through which the practical administration of Church affairs is carried on might well believe that an increased measure of co-ordination and inter-relationship would prove of advantage. Necessarily different as the details of such an arrangement would be in different cases, the general principle of concentrating the activities of the Diocese around the Cathedral, and of their uniting diocesan dignity with diocesan service, might, we believe, even in the case of the ancient Cathedrals, be carried sometimes much further than it is, while in the case of a new and compact Diocese, such as that in question, there are obvious opportunities and an open field for the attempt.

From the more general functions of the Cathedral as a whole, we turn to the special offices which would naturally be attached to the residentiary canonries. Through a variety of causes it has come about that this position has for long been regarded in the popular estimate as the prize of a successful ministry rather than as the opportunity for future service. The main contention of Sydney Smith's witty letters to Archdeacon Singleton is that residentiary canonries are a gain to the Church because the profession of Holy Orders without such prizes would be less attractive to men of birth or ability. They were, as he thought, the 'splendid hope' of

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the curate, so that the younger clergy of his day were in effect paid once by money and three times by expectation. What proportion of the unbeneficed clergy of the present would be glad to barter away their chances of a residentiary canonry for the solid addition of 450*l.* per annum to their incomes we do not propose to inquire, but we are sure that there are strong reasons against regarding such positions as primarily of the nature of a reward. Their higher purposes were implicitly acknowledged by the Dean and Chapter of Ely when, in reply to the Commissioners in 1855, they described the existing conditions in the following terms: 'The residence required by them [the statutes] is extremely short,' the residentiary canons 'have no duties which connect them with the Diocese, with public education, or with the administration of the affairs of the Church.' At the same date the then Bishop of Salisbury declared his conviction that some of the most vital interests of our religion were bound up with a healthy, vigorous Cathedral system. We believe there is now a growing feeling among Churchmen that residence ought not to mean nine months' absence, and that the association of distinct diocesan duties with these positions would, where it is possible, be of great advantage to the Church's work. The example of the late Primate is well worth recalling. The Archbishop felt it against his conscience to hold a living and a canonry at the same time, and it was mainly on that ground that he declined the living of Dorking when it was offered him. We are convinced that the Bishop of Liverpool is entirely right when, in sketching the organization of the Cathedral as he hopes it will one day be, he says, 'Attached to it would be a staff of Cathedral clergy, not holding other benefices, but living and working entirely for the diocese.'[1] 'Residentia debet esse laboriosa non desidiosa' ran the old rule, and if the Diocese is wise it will regard the provision of separate houses and adequate stipends for the canonries as an important item in the scheme. We are sure the outlay would be justified by results.

In this way, for example, the Cathedral might revert to its original function as a foundation for missionary purposes, and a permanent Canon Missioner be attached to it, as at Gloucester, Truro, Ripon, and in other cases. If parochial missions are somewhat less in vogue than they were fifteen years ago, at least the cause of foreign missions has increased in its claim upon the National Church. Our duty to the great empire that lies beyond the seas, as well as to the whole

[1] *Address*, p. 17.

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heathen world, is one that is pleaded with a noble enthusiasm and diligence by our great missionary societies. And in the fostering of this interest there would be ample room, without risk of overlapping, for the work of a Canon Missioner, who would represent the recognition by the Diocese as a whole, and not merely in its various divisions, of the Church's obligation to expansive and aggressive work. Within the Diocese he would naturally organize from among the parochial clergy a body of those who were able and fitted to conduct Quiet Days or to undertake Parochial Missions or a course of Addresses during Advent or Lent. And as provision could be made there would also be under his supervision a smaller number of clergy who might be free to take charge of parishes during times of vacancy, or who might relieve incumbents during periods of ill-health or over-pressure. How much the Church would gain by such provision for times of special emergency has already elsewhere been proved by experience. The Diocese of Liverpool is, as has been observed, singularly compact, and intercourse between the clergy and exchange of pulpits is thus rendered easy. Yet even here it is not difficult to realize how much useful work might be done by a Canon Missioner who had the confidence of the parochial clergy, and who was free from time to time to visit the incumbents in their parishes, not on special occasions, but spending from Friday to Monday as their guest, and encouraging both them and their people by sermon and address and personal intercourse and by such counsel and advice in all points of difficulty as a wide comparative experience would enable him to give. The possession of such an office would undoubtedly prove of great benefit, though we could imagine it being difficult to find exactly the man who would be able to utilize the great opportunities of such a position to their full extent. To different men it would be natural to work on different lines and by different methods; we have only attempted to sketch in outline some of the possibilities of such a canonry as an element in the missionary work of the Diocese.

The educational influence which might be exerted by such a Cathedral as we have in mind would be of high value and meet an obvious want. Perhaps there is no sphere in which there is greater opportunity, none where wise guidance and supervision are more possible and more needed. 'Juventus in litteris liberaliter instituatur' runs one of Henry VIII.'s Cathedral Charters, and the urgent need that the Church shall keep abreast of the intellectual developments of our

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own age may well rouse in thoughtful men earnest consideration if not anxiety. The Dean of Ely in his lecture makes the excellent suggestion of a Canonry of Religious Education.'[1]

'From the point of view of distinctly Church interests,' he urges, 'I cannot but think that if one of the Cathedral canonries were specially endowed, with the intention of placing in its stall a really able man, one who from wide experience and careful study could take a broad statesmanlike view of the whole subject of National Education, determined to protect jealously the English instinct and demand for a religious basis to all national training, and yet free from all the narrowing influence of clericalism, not only would new life and vigour be imparted to the direction of all Church educational agencies in the Diocese, but a higher and a nobler tone given to the Church's relations both with the State and Nonconformity.'

Such an oversight of religious education is actually attached to one of the canonries of Exeter, and the need for arousing in the Church a stronger interest in education for its own sake, and apart from the burning questions of system and denomination, is surely evident to everyone who has watched the points around which the struggle is concentrated in our School Board elections. The Diocesan Board of Education and the important work of the Diocesan Inspector of Schools would naturally be brought into definite relations with the Cathedral, and when the present anomalous and transitional state of our Elementary Education has given place to one which the country as a whole can accept without controversy, there might well arise among us a genuine educational enthusiasm which would welcome on their own merits the efforts of all true educationists of whatever denomination, and so afford to such a Canonry of Religious Education an even wider scope than seems possible under the conditions of the moment.

Most important of all, however, of the educational functions of such a Cathedral would be the training in Theology of candidates for Holy Orders. Burnet tells us that it was an intention of Cranmer's 'that in every Cathedral there should be provision made for readers and teachers of Divinity and of Greek and Hebrew; and a great number of students to be both exercised in the daily worship of God, and trained up in study and devotion, whom the Bishop might transplant out of this nursery into all parts of his Diocese.' And among the injunctions issued not many years after to certain Cathedral Chapters is a scheme for the delivery of a lecture on some

[1] *St. Nicholas at the Port*, p. 16.

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subject of divinity thrice every week. Such work was the recognized function of the Chancellorship of a Cathedral in its ancient conception, and how highly the late Primate estimated the opportunity of establishing the Chancellor's school in Lincoln will be well remembered by all readers of his Life. If three hundred years ago and if thirty years ago there was a need for this work of training for the ministry, how greatly is that need increased to day! Perhaps of all the many problems with which the Church of England is confronted at the present moment, none is more serious than that of the supply of men for Orders, and many a Bishop is familiar with the alternative of having to leave curacies vacant or of admitting to the ministry men of a calibre that is not, if we speak candidly, adequate to the work. As the supply from the old Universities falls short and as non-graduate theological colleges find their numbers and standard difficult to maintain, it is wise for the Church to consider what avenues are open to her ministry through the educational foundations of the great cities. In our last number we suggested what we believe to be the right policy.[1] King's College is such an avenue in London, and in the younger Universities, in the colleges which in Manchester, Liverpool and Leeds form the Victoria University, or in the newly constituted University of Birmingham, there are other opportunities to which the Church will do well to be alive. It is true these Universities may be prevented by their statutes from affording distinct theological training. But if it were possible for their students to supplement the Arts course of their curriculum by an after period of training for the ministry in the same locality, or even to carry on the two simultaneously, there would be at once a recognized facility for taking Orders offered to men whose homes were in these cities without great outlay of expense. An extension of such a scheme we believe is already contemplated for enabling the residents at the Bishop's Hostel in Ripon to take their degree from the Yorkshire College in Leeds. There is thus an obvious reason for expecting that men from the University College of Liverpool—or, as it may be ere long, the University of Liverpool—will find in the new Cathedral foundation an opportunity of theological training. The creation of a Canonry for this express purpose would be one of the most valuable adjuncts of a Cathedral church, and the provision of a sufficient staff of lecturers should not be impossible to arrange. We are fully aware that the difficulty of the supply of candidates for the ministry depends upon

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. lii. July 1901, p. 576.

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causes that lie far deeper than the mere question of ready avenues and facilities for qualification. The problem, indeed, is not how to train, so much as how to obtain the material for training. But over and above that is the urgent necessity that the men who are admitted to Orders shall be as well fitted for their sacred calling as may be, and also that after Ordination they shall not lose at once, in the pressing routine of parochial duties, all desire for intellectual self-culture and all resolve to keep abreast of the movement of the mind of their own generation. The Bishop of Liverpool has already worked with such noble result in the preparation of Oxford men for the ministry of the Church of Christ, that we are sure he will regard such a school of theology as one of the prominent advantages of his Cathedral that is to be. 'Ne pretiosa nostra vilescant et ministri sint sic in contemptum' suggests a contingency fraught with grievous dangers, and all that fits men intellectually as well as spiritually for the high calling of the pastoral office is true service of the Church.

Such are some of the lines along which the influence of a Cathedral would be felt throughout the Diocese. As a noble and central House of Praise and Prayer it will stand as a tribute of the twentieth century to the life of the Spirit and the claim of God. It will uplift men's souls in an age of material possessions by the very cross of gold upon its dome or the direction of its spires. Within it there will be open to all who seek it the constant order of the Church's worship, in which what is best in ritual and best in music shall not fail to lend their aid. As a type of the true Church which is comprehensive beyond distinction of party, it will gather within its walls men whose opinions are diverse and whose training has led them different ways. Its services will be arranged both for the multitudes and for the few who come together in their Master's name. The toilers of the vast city in which it stands shall learn to love it as their own, and tired women shall rest in its solemn atmosphere as they pass upon their way. There the traveller from the high seas shall pay his vows, and there the sense of life's spiritual purpose may come again to the man who has lost his faith. The training of young lives, the rousing of the indifferent, the spread of the Gospel in far countries, the maintenance of a high type of worship, the deepening of intellectual seriousness, the revival of interest in the Church's story, the fitting of men for the ministry, the adequate expression for Church or city of the emotion of great moments, the memorials of what was noblest in citizenship, the manifold services of organization and wise

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policy, the voices that have the power of moving men to higher things shall all find their meeting-place, both as source and centre, in this new House of God. Who shall measure the gain of unity, the added inspiration, the strengthened influences to which the fulfilment of this project by the blessing of God may prove the means?

The late Archbishop Benson, if we may once more quote the words of so convinced an enthusiast in the Cathedral cause, was wont from a boy to pray that God would revive the spirit which built Cathedrals, and, however different the conditions of the twentieth century are from those of the twelfth or thirteenth, it is still true that the task can only be carried out with true success when its spiritual character is realised by the generation who set their hands to build. For it will involve much co-operation, and much self-sacrifice; it will mean the deliberate desire to place the building of God's House before increased domestic luxury; it will demand from the parochial clergy a conscious and sustained effort to find room, amid many other competing claims, for the support of a great diocesan project; it may be wrecked or curtailed if men are not willing for a time to forget theological differences and varieties of architectural taste; it may be marred by impatience; its ultimate usefulness may be limited if there be not generous provision for the maintenance both of fabric and services, and for the support of a staff of clergy qualified for their responsible positions; it cannot be built by civic ambition devoid of other motives, and it will need the liberality of the border parishes of the Diocese, as well as of those which lie within the sound of the Cathedral bells. Well has the Bishop told his Diocese that the undertaking is a great one, and that it will demand a united, sustained, and prayerful effort. We are glad to see the scheme started under such happy auspices. We commend it to the attention and good will of the Church at large. And we are convinced that in the heart of a great modern city, overlooking the noble river on which ships and men and the wealth of a world-wide commerce so constantly come and go, standing as the highest expression of the religious life of a community that has already expressed, in Institution, Hall, and University, its philanthropic, civic, and intellectual aims, the Cathedral church of Liverpool will thus rise up as a noble witness of the Unseen and the Spiritual and the Christ that is more and more to be, so that as the after generations come into possession they shall look back with gratitude to those who built it, and once again in the history of human life the House of the Lord shall not have been built in vain.

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ART. IV.—JOHN GAMBOLD, POET AND MORAVIAN BISHOP.

1. *The Works of the Rev. John Gambold, A.M.*, etc. By THOMAS ERSKINE, ESQ. (Glasgow, 1823.)
2. *The Life of the Rev. John Gambold.* By the Rev. BENJAMIN LA TROBE, prefixed to an edition of his works. (Bath, 1789.)
3. *Life and Labours of the Rev. John Gambold, A.M., of Christ Church College, Oxford, First Bishop of the United Brethren in England.* By DANIEL BENHAM. (London, 1865.)
4. *Dictionary of National Biography.* Vol. XX. (London, 1889.)

WE are in danger sometimes in our desire for historical generalization of forgetting the undercurrents of religious and secular life. We condemn the religious coldness of the eighteenth century. We forget its many small and obscure centres of piety, often all the more intense because neither appreciated nor capable of expansion. We remember the Wesleyans, we forget the Moravians. Yet it is these less known communities which have been the seed-plots for what has at a later date been more conspicuous and more practical.

The life and views of a deeply religious man of learning and refinement, who voluntarily resigned his great prospects of success in the Church of England during the eighteenth century, and who yet vigorously denied that he had any cause of quarrel with the Established Church, must surely be of interest to many even at the present day. If it is one of the greatest misfortunes of the English Church that she was unable to find room for John and Charles Wesley beneath her roof, here we have a man, who was fully the equal of the two famous brothers both in piety and learning, joining the Moravian sect while openly still professing admiration for his Mother Church. Such is the case of John Gambold, ex-vicar of Staunton-Harcourt and Bishop of the 'Unitas Fratrum,' whose name and career are now little remembered, and yet do not deserve to be allowed to sink entirely into oblivion.

The Gambolds—said to be descendants of the old knightly house of Bold of St. Dogmael's, who claimed a common ancestry with the royal Tudors—were resident in Cardigan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, during which period their name occurs frequently in the parish registers of

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St. Mary's Church. Of this family, evidently of some position in the town, was the Rev. William Gambold, born in 1672, the father of the subject of this sketch. This William Gambold, after graduating at Exeter College, Oxford, became vicar of Puncheston—a corruption of Poyntz-town—a remote village at the foot of the Preselley Mountains in Pembrokeshire. He was a man of considerable ability, a friend of Edward Lloyd, the Welsh antiquary, as well as 'an ornament to his profession, well-known and respected alike for his unaffected piety and purity of manners.' He is still remembered in Welsh literature as an able scholar and translator, and a Welsh grammar, published by him in 1727, is still in use in various schools in Wales at the present day. William Gambold died in 1728, leaving five sons and one daughter. Of these the eldest was John Gambold, born April 10, 1711, whom his father had himself educated in the humble parsonage at Puncheston before entering him as a servitor at Christ Church, Oxford, at the age of fifteen. Possibly the wild, remote district of Preselley with its wide melancholy views of mountains, moor and sea may have left its mark on the shy young scholar, and bred in him his later dislike for 'the polite world.'

At Oxford, however, John Gambold soon attracted attention by his undoubted ability and by the sweetness of his disposition:

> 'His proficiency was remarkable, especially in his compositions. He was naturally of a lively and active spirit, and the time he could spare from those studies which he was obliged to pursue in the college, he chose to spend in reading the most approved authors of poetry and plays.'

But this innocent taste for something lighter than religious exercises was abandoned as vain and sinful after the death of his father, whose dying exhortations had so powerful an effect upon his eldest son's dormant Puritan nature, that henceforward John Gambold determined to renounce 'all the pleasure he had received from books calculated to gratify the taste of the polite world'! Thus, from a morbid sense of his own wickedness and unfitness, this boy of seventeen may be said to have determined to ruin his career from a material point of view; and by this renunciation of 'the world' the Church of England some years later undoubtedly lost a valuable preacher and scholar, as well as a poet of no small merit.

On returning to Oxford after his father's death Gambold not only resumed his studies but began to make acquaintance with 'those students of the university who in obedience to the

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dictates of pure religion were then distinguished from others by a laudable singularity in their conduct,' *i.e.* John and Charles Wesley with their friends and followers. But the vigour and enthusiasm of the Revivalists did not present such attractions to Gambold as might have been expected. Quiet and meditation were essential to his mind, so that he had little in common with the public preachings and emotional piety of the Wesleys. Still, it is interesting to learn that a man so deeply religious and so thoroughly imbued with the sense of sin as Gambold not only knew the Wesleys intimately at Oxford, but in many ways followed their example in teaching poor children, in ministering to the sick, in visiting the prisoners in Oxford Castle and in Bocardo Gaol, and in abstaining from a normal allowance of meat and drink 'to the intent that he might feel the wants of others in distress and mortify the corrupt affections and desires of his own depraved nature.'

During this period of his life Gambold studied deeply the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and so excellent and enthusiastic a Greek scholar did he become in his researches that

'his company was very agreeable to all who knew him; and every one was gratified who could hear a man of the eighteenth century converse like one of those of the second or third of the Christian era. . . . They were led back to the distance of fifteen hundred years into the contemplation of axioms, sentences, and complete thoughts clothed in the most elegant dress of language and the most delicate turn of expression. His abilities both natural and acquired were great, but his unfeigned humility was so apparent to every one with whom he conversed that his superior powers of pleasing excited no sensation of dislike in any.'

In spite of his deep-seated religious melancholy, and in spite too of his friendship with 'the whimsical Mr. Charles Wesley,' and consequent connexion with the Methodists, John Gambold was much appreciated by the leading men of Oxford. In 1731, though still under age, he was admitted to Holy Orders by Bishop Potter and given the post of Chaplain at Christ Church; in 1734 he took his degree as Master of Arts, and in 1739 he was instituted to the vicarage of Staunton-Harcourt by Dr. Secker, then Bishop of Oxford. This living was given to Gambold by Lord Harcourt, a persistent admirer and would-be friend of the gentle, dreamy young parson, whom he frequently invited over to Nuneham Park (of which the beautiful woods extending to the Isis are so well known to all Oxonians, past and present).

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Sunk in the retirement of Staunton-Harcourt, Gambold shunned as far as possible all intercourse with the outer world, and in spite of the appreciation of his talents and piety could rarely be prevailed upon to visit any of his friends or, rather, well-wishers. As might be expected, he made a good parish priest, serving his flock diligently and setting an excellent, if somewhat unpractical, example in all things. In the vicarage his sister, Martha Gambold, kept house for him, assisted, strange to relate, by Keziah Wesley, sister of John and Charles.

In 1737, some two years before removing to Staunton-Harcourt, Gambold made the acquaintance of Brother Peter Boehler, of the 'Unitas Fratrum' or Moravian Fraternity, who was then on a visit to England before proceeding thence to America. From London Boehler was invited by the Wesleys to Oxford, where he gave discourses to 'the awakened people' in Latin, which John Gambold translated and expounded on the spot to the audience, so great was his skill in the dead languages. Boehler, writing to Count Zinzendorf, says of his scholarly exponent at Oxford: 'I became acquainted with a country clergyman named Gambold, who had been described to me as a true Hernhutter, and who undoubtedly mortified himself. In aspect he was a perfect mystic.' The addresses and arguments of Peter Boehler appealed so strongly to the mind of Gambold that, beginning to take a deep interest in the tenets and methods of the Moravians, he went up to London himself to meet and converse with the celebrated Count Zinzendorf. The Count had, as everyone knows, already founded his colony of Hernhutt on his own estate in Lusatia some years previously, and to this spot many believers and proselytes were constantly flocking, so that naturally the collection of so large a number of people who, however quiet and harmless they might be individually, nevertheless held strange religious and social views, was not viewed with favour by outsiders either at home or abroad. Many scandals and imputations, too, had been rumoured on all sides concerning the Count and his followers, and some distrust, arising from such reports, was evidently in Gambold's mind until his first interview with 'that servant of God' (Count Zinzendorf), when all suspicion and doubt seem to have vanished.

In spite of his personal acquaintance with the Count, however, Gambold did not as yet feel inclined to throw his lot in with the Brethren. He laboured on at Staunton-Harcourt, greatly encouraged by the warm approbation of

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his bishop and Lord Harcourt. On December 27, 1741, he preached before the University at St. Mary's, Oxford, his sermon being published at the special request of the Vice-Chancellor. But about this time Gambold's younger brother, Hector, becoming a Moravian convert, brought down to the country parsonage such glowing accounts of the newly-founded colony in England that his elder brother was induced again to come up to London himself and see the order lately established there. At last, after many months of self-communing, of wavering, of doubting, John Gambold 'applied to the United Brethren disposed as a little child in distress for help, committed himself to their care and direction, and had no choice with regard to any station or office wherein he might be of use to others.' This was in October 1742, in which month also Gambold wrote to Bishop Secker, to Lord Harcourt, and to his parishioners, acquainting them of his intention to resign his living:

'I find no fault with any passage or clause in the Common Prayer Book. Nor can I, in justice, be considered in the same light with such persons as slight and forsake one party of Christians and go over to another without sufficient cause. . . . I do not go from you because I cannot live in the Church of England, as an outward profession, or because I prefer any other form of ecclesiastical government before that which is by law established in this kingdom: but the inducement is . . . a free intercourse with those who are of the same principles with my own, to whom I can communicate my thoughts without reserve.'

It will be gathered from this that it was from an unnatural, but thoroughly genuine, humility, as well as from a morbid sense of his own unfitness, that Gambold left the Church of England, and thereby abandoned the certain hope of advancement; and it is greatly to the credit of Bishop Secker (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) and other leading Churchmen of the day at Oxford that they did their utmost to try and prove to the Vicar of Staunton-Harcourt that he was more than worthy of his position in the Church of England. Arguments and entreaties were, however, alike in vain; Gambold resigned his living and proceeded to London, where he was admitted a member of the Moravian Church on October 31, 1742.

From this time onward Gambold's life became far more active, and possibly more useful, than it had hitherto been. The Brethren certainly appreciated their new convert's talents, especially his wonderful gift of languages, both ancient and modern, and kept him hard at work, chiefly in

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translating or revising German books for publication in England. Nevertheless, presumably on account of poverty, Gambold taught for some months at a boarding-school under the direction of the Brethren at Broadoaks, in Essex, lodging in the house of a Mrs. Claggett, a widow, whose daughters he used to instruct. This humiliating position of his former friend drew both lamentations and reproaches from Charles Wesley, who was disgusted with the Brethren for their influence over Gambold. In some bitter lines Wesley complains that Gambold

> 'Buries his ten talents in the ground,
> Bids country friends and church and state farewell,
> Sulks in a widow's house, and teaches girls to spell!'

This period of teaching in schools lasted some little time, for in the following year Gambold was keeping a small school of his own in Haverfordwest, the county town of his native Pembrokeshire, having in the interval married Miss Elizabeth Walker, of Littletown, in Yorkshire, who was herself received into the Moravian communion shortly after her marriage.

From Haverfordwest Gambold came up to London in the latter part of 1744, where he was made regular minister of the newly-built Moravian church in Fetter Lane, which is still standing in almost exactly the same state as it was in those days, a building plain and unpretending, but of real historical interest both as the cradle of Moravianism in this country and as a place wherein such men as Zinzendorf, Spangenberg, and John Gambold have often preached. Here some three years were spent in preaching, writing and translating.

'He was useful in repeating extempore in English the sermons which the Count preached in German, and the translation was so well performed that every one who heard him and understood both languages wondered at the facility of his comprehension and the retentiveness of his memory.'

Early in the spring of 1747 Gambold paid his first visit to the Moravian settlement in Lusatia, being present at a general synod of the Brethren held in May at Hernhaag. Count Zinzendorf in a letter of this period wrote:

'Brother Gambold has derived much benefit from his stay among us at Hernhaag, and I was delighted to find this to be the case; for no one could look at our English friend without seeing the misanthrope in his countenance!'

Returning to London in August Gambold resumed his various duties at the Fetter Lane Chapel, endeavouring,

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among other attempts at organization, to form the English converts into an Anglican *tropus*, or sect attached to the Established Church, using the Book of Common Prayer at their services and continuing under the control of an Anglican bishop. This scheme naturally failed, though such a proposal commended itself to the good Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, who is said to have expressed his willingness to act as patriarch to this Anglo-Moravian community.

In spite of this failure, however, Gambold had no little influence over Count Zinzendorf in all matters of Church government. It was probably in a great degree due to this distinguished English convert's exertions and advice that some years later, in 1754, the Brethren came to the conclusion that it was advisable to follow the traditions of the early Churches and to keep up a regular succession of ecclesiastical orders. The immediate outcome of this decision was that Gambold himself was nominated a bishop at a synod held at Lindsay House, the headquarters of the sect in London. It was only by much entreaty, and even by positive command, that the shy, retiring pastor could be induced to accept this position, for 'neither the regard which was shown him nor the rank which he held in the Church could alter that humble opinion he alway entertained of himself.'

On November 14, 1754, Gambold accordingly was consecrated by Bishop Johannes de Watteville, and henceforth, until the close of his life, continued to act himself as bishop and chief pastor of the fairly numerous Moravian communities scattered throughout England and Ireland.

For the next fourteen years Gambold chiefly resided at Lindsay House, managing the affairs of the Brethren, preaching at Fetter Lane Chapel, and yet finding time for much literary work, for during this period he superintended and corrected the beautiful and accurate edition of Lord Bacon's works (published by Bowyer in 1765), and also David Crantz's work on Greenland, to the latter of which he himself contributed a chapter dealing with the missions and settlements founded by the Moravian Brethren on those desolate, ice-bound shores. In 1765 Bishop Gambold was in Ireland, visiting and founding missions in various towns, having in the previous year attended, at Marienborn in Germany, a general synod of the Brethren, who had four years before lost their noble and distinguished founder. About this time, too, the long-standing quarrel with the Wesleys was ended at the instigation of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, and John Wesley in his *Journal*, of September 5, 1763, writes: 'I spent

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some time with my old friend Gambold. . . . Who but Count Zinzendorf could have separated such friends as we were? Shall we never unite again?' And again, on December 16, the same year: 'I spent an agreeable hour, and not unprofitably, in conversation with my old friend, John Gambold. O how gladly could I join heart and hand again! But alas! thy heart is not as my heart!'

Devotion to work, both literary and clerical, and long journeys to visit distant missions began in time to tell upon Gambold's nervous nature, so much so that after his second visit to Germany his health began to break down. Besides feeling the strain of his varied work, the Bishop began to suffer acutely from asthma, and so bad was his state in 1768, that at last his flock insisted on their beloved pastor leaving London and going down to his native Pembrokeshire for quiet and change of air. On August 16, therefore, Gambold, accompanied by his wife and family, left Lindsay House amid the tears of his London congregation, never to return.

Arrived at Haverfordwest, Gambold's health at first improved, but soon it became evident that the end could not be far distant. The Bishop bore all his sufferings—to which was now added dropsy—with perfect resignation and even thankfulness:

'There are very few intervals in the day wherein I have anything like strength either of mind or body. . . . I walk most days a little in the chapel or burying-ground, till I am ready to drop down. All that I can properly desire of my gracious Lord is that He would be merciful to me a sinner.'

In these last days of sickness and suffering the Brethren in London were most anxious to give their Bishop rest and peace in comfort, and freedom from all exertion; but these kindly offers Gambold firmly refused, declaring it to be his fixed intention to labour to the end. A letter, dated July 28, 1771, to the Brethren in London, in which he states that 'the constant prayer of my heart is for the welfare and prosperity of the Church of God, and especially that part of it which is the immediate object of our care,' was Gambold's last. Nevertheless he continued, during his brief intervals of rest from pain, both to visit the poor and dejected, and to converse with members of his Welsh congregation, at the same time performing his pastoral duties, and busying himself with writing a small work intended to be of benefit to young English clergymen anxious to acquire the Welsh language.

During these last months at Haverfordwest, Gambold, like Dean Swift, was much oppressed with the fear of losing

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his reason, on which subject he has left some verses among his published writings. But his mind remained clear to the last, and after taking to his bed on September 8, on which day he received his last public Communion, Gambold frequently sang 'with a cheerful though faltering voice some verses of praise and adoration.' At length these psalms ceased, and 'the lowly Bishop of his loving flock' lay speechless, struggling for breath. Before his death he was heard to exclaim, 'Dear Saviour! Remember my poor name; and come, come soon!' after which his gentle, humble, and gifted spirit returned to Him that gave it.

John Gambold died on Friday, September 13, 1771, at the age of sixty, leaving behind him a son and daughter, besides his widow who had nursed him tenderly through his last illness, and who died herself at Chelsea in 1803. His only surviving son, John, died without issue in 1795, while his daughter, Anna Mary, married in 1774 the Rev. John Steinhauer, by whom she had five children, one of whom, Mary, became the wife of Ignatius Montgomery, brother of James Montgomery, the well-known poet. Mrs. Steinhauer herself died at Gracehill in Ireland in 1809.

Gambold's portrait was painted by Abelard Brandt, the Moravian artist, who represented his sitter in clerical dress with a bag-wig, and with hands clasped together. The face is singularly refined and intellectual; the eyes are large, blue, and prominent; the folded hands have long tapering fingers. There is a fine engraving from this picture by Spilsbury, well known to collectors. Certain people have professed to notice a strong resemblance between the portraits of Dr. Johnson and Bishop Gambold, but, except that both are represented as wearing similar wigs, there is nothing common in appearance or mien between the massive features of the great doctor and the delicate, nervous face and frame of the Moravian bishop.

Considering John Gambold from a literary point of view, it is true to say that he was certainly one of the most brilliant classical scholars of his day. His wonderful knowledge and appreciation of Greek, which were so admired by the intellectual world of Oxford, have already been noticed; he spoke German fluently, and, like his father, was also a good Welsh scholar, writing and speaking the vernacular with ease, and much lamenting its neglect by certain of the English-speaking clergy in Wales. Setting aside sermons and a mass of miscellaneous tracts and letters on religious subjects, there is little left of Gambold's writings to interest readers in the

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present day, and even this little savours indirectly of religious thought, for our author, as we have already shown, had renounced at a very early age all intention of pleasing the 'polite world.' Nevertheless, his works have sunk into a complete neglect which is not wholly justified, and certain of his poems deserve to be better known.

Gambold's writings—or rather a selection of them—were published posthumously in 1789, prefaced by a sympathetic memoir of their author by the Rev. Benjamin La Trobe, of the United Brethren, which has been quoted frequently in this sketch. This volume contains the Christmas sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1741; sermons, and extracts from sermons, preached at Fetter Lane Chapel; some private letters; a drama, *Ignatius*; and, lastly, a few poems and hymns. With these two latter—the drama and the fugitive verses—we alone have to deal.

The drama of *Ignatius* was written in Gambold's early Oxford days, when his mind was filled with the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The subject is the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, who was brought, by order of the Emperor Trajan, from his own city to Rome, where he was eventually torn in pieces by wild beasts in the Colosseum. Both Ignatius and Polycarp are introduced, with numerous references to their great teacher, St. John. It is a crude, rather morbid work, but so full of fine thoughts and really eloquent passages that we can but regret the direction of Gambold's talents in certain instances. In his later years even this sacred drama seemed to savour of the wickedness of the stage in its author's eyes, and, had not the manuscript been in the possession of a friend, *Ignatius* would doubtless have never seen the light. As it was, it was published for the first time in Mr. La Trobe's book eighteen years after Gambold's death.

Two passages, taken almost at random, will give the reader a fair idea of Gambold's easy-flowing blank verse, and of the spirit of this fine but unequal work.

'*Polycarp.* Is it partiality, or is it insight
Into the system of a dear friend's conduct,
That makes each little thing he says or does
Speak more to us than others are aware of?
But so it is. I see the holiness
Of John not only in his elevations
That struck mankind, but even where he seemed
T'express the human and the frailer side.
Thus in his playing, to unbend the mind,

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With a tame partridge, there's a tacit slur
On mortal care, as if he said, " Be easy ;
Your projects and this play meet in a point."
So when old man, for lack of memory
And matter, as it seemed, he oft repeated
One lesson, " Love the Brethren "—'twas, we know,
A thought extracted from a world of thinking.'

And again, Agathopus, speaking of his martyred Bishop, Ignatius, says :

'He was a man so pure in private life,
So all-devoted to the things above,
So mere a servant both of Christ and men :
You'd say he acted without spark of nature,
Save that each motion flowed with ease and beauty.
Then such a pastor was he, so intent
To guard from errors and build up in Christ
(In wisdom, innocence, and unity)
Each simple soul ; so gentle too therein,
No heart but blessed itself it had a father.'

Quite unintentionally in these lines Gambold has written an accurate description of his own unselfish life and of the devotion in which his own flock held him.

Leaving *Ignatius* and turning to the dozen or more fugitive pieces published in Mr. La Trobe's book, we find six poems in the heroic metre, didactic and semi-religious, in style not unlike Cowper's. Of these the longest is 'Religious Discourse,' which contains some shrewd hints and good advice to the would-be preacher, pleading especially for a natural method of speaking and teaching.

'All rules are dead ; 'tis from the heart you draw
The living lustre, and unerring law.
A state of thinking in your manner shew,
Not fiercely soaring, nor supinely low :
Others their lightness and each inward fault
Quench in the stillness of your deeper thought.
Let all your gestures fixt attention draw,
And wide around infuse infectious awe ;
Present with God by recollection seem,
Yet present, by your cheerfulness, with them.'

Of the remaining pieces 'The Corrective'—containing a simile from the contents of an apothecary's shop—savours of the influence of George Herbert, with whose works Gambold was no doubt acquainted. Another poem deals with the author's fears of approaching madness, in which he begs men :

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'With decent heed revere
Your poor unliving brother here:
For why is censure spent in vain
On deeds of incoherent brain?
Those under no account can fall,
Or, if they can, are sealed up all:
For, though on earth this spectre roam,
He's of no world, but that to come.'

But the pearl of all Gambold's poems is undoubtedly his beautiful 'Mystery of Life,' acquaintance with which can only make us deplore that its author has not written more in the same strain. This poem (which is quoted in full by the late Miss Ferrier in her novel of *Marriage*, and which is contained, so far as we know, in only one collection of lyrics) contains in its last verse the same grand idea that is to be found in Robert Browning's 'Abt Vogler'—that the failures of this world will bring their full success in the next, 'where all pursuits their goal obtain.' This piece, both for its merit and the oblivion into which it has sunk, demands quotation in full:

So many years I've seen the sun,
And call'd these eyes and hands my own,
A thousand little acts I've done,
And childhood have and manhood known;
O what is life! and this dull round
To tread, why was a spirit bound?

So many airy draughts and lines,
And warm excursions of the mind,
Have fill'd my soul with great designs,
While practice grovell'd far behind;
O what is thought! and where withdraw
The glories which my fancy saw?

So many tender joys and woes
Have on my quivering soul had power;
Plain life with height'ning passions rose,
The boast or burden of the hour;
O what is all we feel! why fled
Those pains and pleasures o'er my head?

So many human souls divine,
So at one interview display'd,
So oft and freely mix'd with mine,
In lasting bonds my heart have laid;
O what is friendship! why imprest
On my weak, wretched, dying breast?

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So many wondrous gleams of light,
And gentle ardors from above,
Have made me sit, like seraph bright,
Some moments on a throne of love;
O what is virtue! why had I,
Who am so low, a taste so high?

Ere long, when sovereign wisdom wills,
My soul an unknown path shall tread,
And strangely leave, who strangely fills
This frame, and waft me to the dead;
O what is death! 'tis life's last shore,
Where vanities are vain no more;
Where all pursuits their goal obtain,
And life is all retouched again;
Where in their bright result shall rise
Thoughts, virtues, friendships, griefs, and joys.'

This imperfect sketch of a saintly and interesting personality may be fittingly concluded by Gambold's humble 'Epitaph on Himself':

Ask not, who ended here his span?
His name, reproach and praise, was man.
Did no great deeds adorn his course?
No deed of his, but show'd him worse:
One thing was great, which God supplied,
He suffered human life—and dy'd.
What points of knowledge did he gain?
That life was sacred all—and vain;
Sacred how high, and vain how low?
He knew not here, but dy'd to know.

ART. V.—THE LETTERS OF MADAME DE SÉVIGNÉ.

Lettres de Madame de Sévigné, de sa Famille et de ses Amis: recueillies et annotées. Par M. MONMERQUÉ, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, 1862, &c.)

IT is the gift of genius to tell the truth in an original way. Truth is one and error is manifold, and to tell again an old story is too often to tell it wrong. That, however, is a danger which criticism has to face; for a large part of its business, and not the least useful or necessary, is precisely this telling of old stories, restating old decisions, new publishing old

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fame. It is true that observance of the laws and traditions of the elders does not easily or commonly lead to anything very interesting, either in literature or in life. Yet in both alike it is the only basis on which to build. If life is to be sound as well as interesting it must manage to walk the ancient roads, though its steps may not, and indeed must not, be quite like the ancient steps. To do the old things, and yet to have a new way of doing them, to take the old thoughts, laws, customs, institutions, and transform them, touch them to new life till they are the same and yet not the same, is the hard business of life as well as of politics. And the not less hard business of literature is to say the old things and yet have a new way of saying them. To ask this is perhaps to ask the impossible, but after all most of the serious things in life are attempts to reach a goal, of which those who are most earnest in the attempt are just those who best know the ultimate unattainableness. Criticism, at any rate, can never afford to resign its right to insist on winning some attention for old claims too easily forgotten, and to urge the plain truth, so little known at the circulating libraries, that the question whether a book is worth reading is by no means to be answered by its newness, the extent of its sale, or the amount of talk that is to be heard about it, but by considerations of quite another order to these. We all take ourselves seriously nowadays, with or without reason, and certainly the critic has as good a right to do so as other people. His function is in the field of literature what the preacher's is in ethics and theology. Both have constantly to repeat what is very old, and it is their highest duty. But it must be no vain repetition. The new must be there as well as the old. He who knows only the old will have but few hearers to listen to him. He who knows only the new will infallibly be a heretic and a trainer of heretics.

So, in this way, those who write about books may, and indeed must, write sometimes of the great old books as well as of those among the new which seem to have the best chance of being great in their turn. It is a duty as well as a pleasure to disturb from time to time the sacred dust which rests in so many libraries on the shelves which contain the classics of the seventeenth century. There they all are, Clarendon and Cowley, Hobbes and Locke, Corneille and Racine, Pascal and Bossuet, remnants of a stately age, now ranked in tall and stately repose on the walls of silent libraries. How many of us have the courage or the wisdom to awake them? A few of their companions, too great to share their

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sleep—Milton and Dryden, perhaps, and Molière, and La Fontaine—are still, we may hope, often on the table or the desk; but for the rest, they stand unmoved in their places from January to June, and then again from June to January.

Probably Madame de Sévigné, for all her old popularity and her many editions, is now become one of these. She is safe; 'c'est une belle chose qu'une vieille lettre,' as she herself says; nothing can touch her; she will be on the shelves still a hundred years hence, but she will probably be less and less read as each generation goes by. For though an unquestioned Immortal she belongs to the humbler ranks of her high company. And that means that, as years and centuries go by, and new claimants appear who have a right to our attention, she, like others of her rank, is apt to be crowded out. Only those, as a rule, who have a great deal of leisure as well as a great deal of love of literature will now find or make time to read her. But she is still worth reading, and very well worth reading, for those who can and will give her a score of winter afternoons. 'Lisons tout Madame de Sévigné,' was Sainte-Beuve's precept during the sad end of the Franco-German war. Edward FitzGerald had a habit of taking her up every year with the return of the spring. Let us follow their example; look out for some old edition of her, going, as they do, for a few shillings; retrench some wise hours from those we now give to the newspapers; and enjoy ourselves for a while with this charming old 'great lady' of the France of two hundred years ago, so full of common sense and natural affection, so far, indeed, beyond the common human attainment in either; so intimately acquainted with so interesting a world, so intelligent, so humorous, so alive.

We shall find plenty to interest us, if we will. There are, first of all—no mean interest—the people who appear in her pages, what she herself hears them say or sees them do, or the stories she tells of them at quite contemporary first-hand. They are people, many of them, not likely to be soon forgotten. Louis XIV. is among them, and his Queen, and the other ladies whose names are linked with his; Mademoiselle de la Vallière, in her beauty, her sin, and her saintly repentance; Madame de Montespan, in the pride that could not learn to fall; Madame de Maintenon, in the shrewd humility that knew so well how to rise. La Rochefoucauld was among her intimate friends, and she may almost be said to have been present at his death-bed, so minute is her account of the scene. She is full of Pascal and all the men of Port

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Royal, though of their writings rather than of themselves; and there are small contemporary glimpses, quite worth getting, of Racine and Boileau, Corneille and Bossuet, Bourdaloue and Fénelon. Our own James II. and Mary of Modena make a great figure in her letters for a while when they and their misfortunes were new; and her readers remember James by a good thing said at his expense, and the Queen by a good thing of her own. The politicians are there too, Cardinal de Retz and Fouquet, and De Pomponne, and Colbert and Louvois, some of whom she knew well, of all of whom there was much talk in her world; and the famous soldiers, Condé, whose great entertainment and unhappy cook fill one of her best known letters, and Turenne, whose death remains her subject for weeks; and the courtiers, our English Madame whom she never forgets, and her German successor, and the young princes, and Bussy, and Lauzun, and all that world whose happiness, and sometimes its liberty, depended on the shining of the Roi Soleil. Such a company of famous personages is no mean advantage to a book of letters. It tells enormously, for instance, in Madame de Sévigné's favour against some of her English compeers, as, for example, Cowper. We are not interested in Mrs. Unwin till Cowper compels us to be; it needs no art to interest us in Madame de Maintenon.

And yet it is not her *dramatis personæ* that have kept Madame de Sévigné alive for two hundred years. If it were, her letters would only be material for literature, not what they in fact are, fine literature themselves. Nor have they survived, as some have done, for the good things they contain. There are many good things in them, no doubt—the famous remark, of which indeed she gives the credit to her daughter, that people like going to confession because they prefer speaking ill of themselves to not speaking of themselves at all; the shrewd 'toutes les philosophies ne sont bonnes que quand on n'en a que faire,' and a hundred humorous touches, such as that of the unlucky individual 'qui abusait de la permission qu'ont les hommes d'être laids.' But they are hardly numerous enough to carry six or seven large volumes of letters on their shoulders down to posterity. It is not to them that Madame de Sévigné owes her position as the writer of the most famous collection of letters since the *Epistolæ ad Familiares*. Like all the very greatest of her company, even Cicero himself, she lives neither by her wit nor by her wisdom, nor by the interest of the men and women among whom she moved; the secret of her immortality is in herself. We love her for being

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what she is, and we read her for her rare gift of showing herself to us. There is, indeed, another thing of which only lovers of literature are conscious. If style consists in such a choice of words and such an ordering of them that they shall be at once beautiful in themselves and in exact harmony with the thought they are to utter, the style of Madame de Sévigné is one of the most perfect in all the world. Without it she would have been unreadable; for, in spite of all the great personages who cross and recross her stage, there are only two figures who are always on it, her daughter and herself.

'That eternal daughter' frightened FitzGerald away from her for years: and indeed who could guess, till he had tried it, that some hundreds of letters addressed to the same person, pouring out the same love, repeating the same anxieties, and describing the same life, could by any magic of style be anything but wearisome? Yet she has it, that necessary magic. And the proof of her greatness lies just there, in the greatness of her task. It is true that in the great modern edition of her letters only two-thirds, perhaps, of the whole number are addressed to her daughter; and that a few of the others—some of those to Bussy, for instance—are among the very best she ever wrote. But history remembers people by their most characteristic achievement, by the unique thing they did, if they were happy enough to do anything unique. And it is as the author of the almost daily letters to her daughter that Madame de Sévigné lives to posterity. Indeed, the daughter is felt everywhere, even in the letters addressed to other people; so that we can hardly stop to think of Madame de Sévigné as what she certainly was, one of the most loyal and affectionate of friends: the less is swallowed up in the greater, and we seem to know her in one attitude alone. She is for us always and only and for all time the most affectionate of mothers. If Cowper had written to Lady Hesketh twice a week for twenty years we could have judged whether his gift was as full and perfect as hers. There is no one else to whom we could think of applying the test. But with her it is only now and then that we remember its severity. Writing to her daughter is the destined business of her life, and she does it with the ease and the unconsciousness of genius. Her pen makes its way over the paper with the smooth certainty of running water; her style has the delightful clearness of the brook; and when she sparkles, her jewels, like the brook's, are too natural and too pure to fear the face of the sun. In fertility of thought, even in fertility of fancy, a thousand writers have surpassed

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her, but not one in the plainer fertility of true and simple human speech. No one has ever had more of that gift of happy expression which alone can fitly utter the old things of every day that are so hard to say just because they have to be said so often. She seems to fill her pen at some unfailing fountain of ease and grace and good nature that runs brightly and never runs dry. We all, unless we are very unhappy, have some one, or some one or two, nearest of all near to us, to whom we often want to tell our affection. Some of us cannot get it on the paper plainly enough even for their eyes; who can put it there day after day without some sense of the narrow limits of human speech, some consciousness that only the old words, used before a thousand times, and no others, are there to use again, and that to seek for any that do not come of their own accord would be to profane the spontaneity of love? Madame de Sévigné knows no such difficulty. Twice a week for twenty years she writes to her daughter, beginning or ending always with an outburst of her unique affection, and often making it both her first word and her last.

No one ever wrote so simply; there is not a page, perhaps, in all her volumes, except the brilliant letters about the Lauzun engagement, which shows one trace of the labour of composition. She makes no search after effect; she has very few purple patches. 'Half her beauty,' as FitzGerald said, 'is the liquid melodiousness of her language—all unpremeditated as a blackbird's.' And yet the old story is every time as nearly new as possible. Nothing can exhaust her infinite variety. The unique love, unchanging and unchangeable, finds a thousand ways of utterance, each as simple as spontaneous, as persuasively delightful as the last. Here she is, one Sunday in 1684, at Les Rochers, turning over and over the treasured letters which were all she could have of the daughter whose home was so many hundred miles away. 'Je les lis, et je les relis, j'en fais toute ma joie, toute ma tristesse, toute mon occupation: enfin vous êtes le centre de tout et la cause de tout.' Here she is at Paris, not quite well, and doctoring herself; she is at that Hôtel Carnavalet where we may still go and think of her, and where her daughter had but just left her.

'J'ai été un peu fâchée de ne vous point voir prendre possession de cette chambre dès le matin, me questionner, m'épiloguer, m'examiner, me gouverner, et me secourir à la moindre apparence de vapeur. Ah! ma chère enfant, que tout cela est doux et aimable! que j'ai soupiré tristement de ne plus recevoir ces marques si naturelles de votre amitié! et ce café que vous prenez, et cette

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toilette qui arrive : et votre compagnie du matin qui vous cherche et qui vous suit, et contre laquelle mon rideau me sert de cloison. En vérité, ma fille, on perd infiniment quand on vous perd : jamais personne n'a jeté des charmes dans l'amitié, comme vous faites : je vous le dis toujours, vous gâtez le métier : tout est plat, tout est insipide quand on en a goûté.'

Easiest and most contented of mortal women as she was, she, who could say of her own temper, 'elle s'accommode et s'amuse de tout,' and mean it, she could never accommodate herself to the extraordinary caprice of fate, as she called it, which placed her daughter and herself at opposite ends of France.

'J'ai regret à tous mes jours qui s'en vont, et qui m'entraînent sans que j'aie le temps d'être avec vous : je regrette ma vie et je sens pourtant que je la quitterais avec moins de peine, puisque tout est si mal rangé pour me la rendre agréable. Dans ces pensées, ma très chère, on pleure quelquefois sans vous le dire, et je mériterai vos sermons malgré moi, plus souvent que je ne le voudrai ; car ce n'est jamais volontairement que je me trouve dans ces tristes méditations : elles se trouvent tout naturellement dans mon cœur, et je n'ai pas l'esprit de m'en tirer, ma chère fille. Je suis au désespoir de n'avoir pas été maîtresse aujourd'hui d'un sentiment si vif : je n'ai pas accoutumé de m'y abandonner : parlons d'autre chose. C'est un de mes tristes amusements que de penser à la différence de l'année passée et de celle-ci ; quelle compagnie les soirs ! quelle joie de vous voir, et de vous rencontrer et de vous parler à toute heure ! que de retours agréables pour moi ! Rien ne m'échappe de ces heureux jours, que les jours mêmes qui sont échappés.'

This separation from her daughter was really the one cloud in the serenest and sunniest of lives. For the rest she knew little but prosperity and content. She was born on February 5, 1626, the daughter of Celse-Bénigne, Baron de Chantal, thus belonging to one of the most ancient families of France, as her cousin Bussy was well aware. Her father's mother, under the influence of St. François de Sales, became the Foundress of a religious order, that of the Visitation de Sainte Marie. Her own mother was the daughter of Philippe de Coulanges, a man of character and fortune, but not of high birth ; and it was by him and his wife, and afterwards by their son, the Abbé de Coulanges, that she was chiefly brought up, as she early lost her parents. Her uncle the Abbé, the *bien bon* of her letters, lived with her till his death, and it was to him that she owed her beloved Livri, of which he was Abbot. She was married, in 1644, to the Marquis de Sévigné, who proved in no way worthy of his wife, and was killed in a duel in 1652, leaving his widow with a son and a daughter.

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From thenceforth her life was devoted to her children and her friends, above all to the daughter, who was her supreme interest and occupation. The son, who seems to have been a man of much charm and humour, settled down on his property after a somewhat stormy youth, married quietly, lived quietly, died in religious retreat at Paris, and left no children. The daughter, the great beauty of her day, married the Comte de Grignan in 1669; and, after the birth of her eldest daughter, in 1670, followed him to Provence, where he held the office of Lieutenant-General of Languedoc. It is to her southern exile that we owe the letters of Madame de Sévigné. Mother and daughter saw each other for a month or two every few years, at Paris or Grignan, or elsewhere; but that was all. And they were happiest, little as Madame de Sévigné would admit it—the affection was really at its strongest when it could only express itself by letters: for their temperaments were too unlike to make actual companionship run easily for them. For the rest, Madame de Sévigné's life was chiefly spent either at Paris, in various houses, and finally in the Hôtel Carnavalet, or at Les Rochers, the Sévigné place in Brittany, or at her uncle's abbey of Livri. She died at Grignan, of small-pox, on April 17, 1696. Her daughter survived her till 1705, dying of the same complaint. Madame de Grignan's only son died before his mother, and the only grandchild of Madame de Sévigné who left issue was Pauline Grignan, who married M. de Simiane, her father's successor in Languedoc. She it was who first authorized the publication of her grandmother's letters, at the same time destroying her mother's. From this marriage there are still numerous descendants.

It is a tranquil, easy, unruffled life, no doubt; but it was no mere 'health and wealth' that made it so happy. The truth is, that no one ever had more than Madame de Sévigné of the temperament that makes for happiness. She loved books, she loved nature, she loved her friends, when she could have them, and her solitude when she could not. Such tastes are an armour of content against which fate's slings and arrows beat themselves in vain. He who will be happy let him receive it from himself, said the wise Stoic; and no one ever practised his precept better than Marie, Marquise de Sévigné. A day by herself at Livri or Les Rochers had no terrors at all for her. She would take her solitary rambles under her beloved trees, she would sit in the arbours she had placed among them, with the mottoes on them, such as you may still see in old gardens, 'Bella cosa

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far niente' on one side, and 'Amor odit inertes' on the other. She would have two or three books with her to fit all moods, Nicole's *Moral Essays*, a history of the Valois Kings, Tasso or Josephus, Molière or Rabelais. She would listen to the songs of the birds and sing them her own in answer till late at night in her earlier days, and afterwards till the dew, once, as she says, 'the oldest of all her friends,' but now forbidden under the ban of doctors and daughters, came to drive her in to her fireside or her writing table. 'Il y a quelque chose de fou,' as she herself says, 'à chanter toute seule dans un bois'; but it is a kind of folly known only to the happy. Great lady as she was, she knew better than to lose her life in following any of the wills-o'-the-wisp whose pursuit is the daily disappointment of so many of her kind. She set her affections on sound and simple things, attainable, most of them, by all the world, all of them by everyone who has a moderate competence of fortune. Saint she was not, no doubt, and still less sinner, if we judge her by human standards; rather her philosophy and her religion were of the plain sort, that fits common days better than crises, and breeds saints or heroes less than sensible men and women.

'Vivre avec les vivants,' in her own phrase, was her plan for herself, as well as her advice to her daughter; to live and let live, yes, and also to make live where she could: for herself no premature surrender to old age and forgetfulness; for others, not of her own kind, no intolerance, no impertinence of intrusion or admonition; and for her own no stinted measure of affection, stimulus, and help. 'Je crois, en vérité,' she most justly claims, 'que personne n'a plus de facilité que moi dans le commerce de la vie civile.' When her friends the De Chaulnes are on bad terms with another friend, Madame de Marbœuf, she pays no heed to it, stays with the one party and dines with the other. 'J'irai toujours mon chemin: je ne suis mal avec personne,' she says, and she ends by smoothing the quarrel away. No one was ever freer from that suspicious sensitiveness which is the silliest of all causes for unhappiness in the world. She knew the Duc de Chaulnes was a genuine friend, and in the face of all appearances she alone refused to believe he had not done what he could for her son; and it was her faith and not her daughter's unfaith that proved right in the end. 'Point d'ennemis, ma chère enfant,' she writes: 'faites-vous une maxime de cette pensée, qui est aussi chrétienne que politique; je dis non seulement *point d'ennemis*, mais *beaucoup d'amis*.' The pride of youth, as she says in another place, is

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apt to fancy that it can cut its way through life with the sword of its own strength: but the wisdom of middle age discovers that it needs support on every side. 'On trouve qu'on a besoin de tout le monde.' That was her practice as well as her theory. She took men and things, talents and pleasures, as the day brought them, and set herself to make the best of them. When she saw people did not like her she had a rule of going on her way and troubling no more about them; and we are not surprised to hear that the system worked out, as she says, 'le plus heureusement du monde.' On the other hand, when things or people she liked were within reach she would not let the good chance go by. 'On n'a pas des plaisirs à choisir; quand il s'en trouve quelqu'un d'innocent et de naturel sous notre main, il me semble qu'il ne faut point se faire la cruauté de s'en priver.' But for her religion she would have been wholly of the Horatian turn of mind: none of the texts and tags she set up at Les Rochers could have a nearer fitness for her than many a line she might have taken from the Roman poet.

'Dona præsentis cape lætus horæ, et
Linque severa,

and the rest, are just the mottoes to come from her mouth: and, indeed, they are the embodiment of what will always be a large part of the wisdom of life, so long as it remembers that it is not the whole. It was a large part with her, too large, it may be, but it was never the whole.

The true pleasure-seeker, indeed, would find reason enough to scorn her company in the mere list of books she read. She had an insatiable love of reading, and she ranked the habit high enough among the sources of human happiness to satisfy Macaulay or Gibbon. But for the man of pleasure her choice of books would have been intolerable. The things she read most of all, and talked most about, were works of devotion. She lived in a time which, in spite of two immoral Courts, was, both in France and England, the classical age of devotional literature. Perhaps it was even the classical age of the devotional life as lived in high places. Certainly it was a happy interval placed between the controversial brutality of the preceding period and the otiose rationalism which followed. It is possible that the great world, whether of society or of intellect, has never been so actively interested in the history, the faith, and the practice of Christianity as it was in the half-century before the deaths of Louis XIV. and Queen Anne. The Churches of

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France and England abounded in great divines, great preachers, and even in great saints; and men of the world crowded to hear them, delighted in their books, and often chose to spend their last years in retirement and meditation on what they had been taught. It was into the innermost circle of this society that Madame de Sévigné was born. Her grandmother was, as we have seen, the foundress of a religious order, and was afterwards to be canonized. She was doubly connected with Port Royal, both by relations of her own and through her husband's uncle, who lived and died there. And, woman of the world as she was to her finger tips, the mark of Port Royal was on her ineffaceably. Pascal was, of course, altogether beyond her, both the mind and the soul of him; she admired and reverenced, but that was all. She was quite conscious that the depths and heights of theology and philosophy were not for her, and was wont to say that, after all, both mystics and metaphysicians were generally forced at last to wave aside inconvenient questions with an *altitudo*. Her mind was, indeed, of just the kind that doubts the value of such speculations. It was on the side of manners and practice that Port Royal, and, indeed, religion itself, attracted her, and so it was neither the *Pensées* nor even the *Provincial Letters*, 'divine' as she thought them, not Pascal at all, but Nicole, the author of the *Moral* Essays, who was her favourite reading. Letter after letter shows how constantly his book was in her hands.

'Vous savez,' she writes in 1671, 'que je suis toujours un peu entêtée de mes lectures. Ceux à qui je parle ont intérêt que je lise de bons livres. Celui dont je veux parler présentement c'est toujours de Nicole, et c'est du traité *d'entretenir la paix entre les hommes*. Ma bonne, j'en suis charmée: je n'ai jamais rien vu de plus utile ni si plein d'esprit et de lumière. Si vous ne l'avez pas lu, lisez-le: et si vous l'avez lu, relisez-le avec une nouvelle attention: je crois que tout le monde s'y trouve; pour moi, je suis persuadée qu'il a été fait à mon intention; j'espère aussi d'en profiter, j'y ferai mes efforts. Vous savez que je ne puis souffrir que les vieilles gens disent, "Je suis trop vieux pour me corriger": je pardonnerais plutôt à une jeune personne de tenir ce discours. La jeunesse est si aimable qu'il faudrait l'adorer, si l'âme et l'esprit étaient aussi parfaits que le corps: mais quand on n'est plus jeune, c'est alors qu'il faut se perfectionner, et tâcher de regagner du côté des bonnes qualités ce qu'on perd du côté des agréables.'

That is her ordinary tone, not that of a saint, but of a woman of sense, moral sense among the rest. She has indeed more spiritual moments; when she reads the Port

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Royal treatise on 'continuing instant in prayer' she will break out in language that almost recalls the *Imitation*:

'On est bien aise de voir qu'il y ait eu, et qu'il y ait encore, des gens à qui Dieu communique son Saint-Esprit et sa grâce avec une telle abondance; mais, mon Dieu! quand en aurons-nous quelqu' étincelle, quelque degré? Quelle tristesse de s'en trouver si loin, et si près d'autre chose! Ah, fi! Ne parlons point de ce malheur; il en faut soupirer et gémir et s'en humilier cent fois par jour!'

But that is only now and then. She is commonly on a lower plane. When one of her friends is much occupied with the desire to save his soul she is very glad to hear that he is absolutely bent on paying his debts, which she declares is the first step towards salvation for people who know what religion really is. For her both faith and duty must be plain things. She has the true intellectual contempt for superstition of all sorts, and, though no heretic, is much more careful to be a Christian than to be a Catholic. She will cut out prayers to the Virgin from her own devotions in order to substitute prayers of St. Augustine, or the *Miserere*, and, though she does not deny the invocation of saints, the inscription she places over the altar at Les Rochers is 'Soli Deo Honor et Gloria.' She hears with horror of a young girl being taught to communicate twice a week, exclaiming, 'Bon Dieu, quelle profanation!' and she more than once asks her daughter whether she thinks herself more saintly than St. Louis, who communicated only three times in the year. For herself, she said she was

'une petite dévote qui ne vaut guères: voilà ce que je suis toujours et pas davantage, à mon grand regret. Oh! tout ce que j'ai de bon, c'est que je sais bien ma religion, et de quoi il est question: je ne prendrai point le faux pour le vrai: je sais ce qui est bon et ce qui n'en a que l'apparence: j'espère ne m'y point méprendre et que Dieu m'ayant déjà donné de bons sentiments, il m'en donnera encore: les grâces passées me garantissent en quelque sorte celles qui viendront, en sorte que je vis dans la confiance, mêlée pourtant de beaucoup de crainte.'

This is in her later years, but it is substantially the same attitude, more gravely and more reverently put, as that famous one of twenty-five years before:

'Une de mes grandes envies, c'est d'être dévote. Je ne suis ni à Dieu ni au diable; cet état m'ennuie, quoiqu'entre nous je le trouve le plus naturel du monde. On n'est point au diable parce qu'on craint Dieu, et qu'au fond on a un principe de religion: on n'est point à Dieu aussi, parce que sa loi est dure, et qu'on n'aime

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point à se détruire soi-même : cela compose les tièdes dont le grand nombre ne m'inquiète point du tout : j'entre dans leurs raisons. Cependant Dieu les hait : il faut donc en sortir, et voilà la difficulté.'

So long as veracity remains a great moral, and lucidity a great mental, quality, this passage and its more famous companion will be among the classics of religious confession. Not a word in it but was meant and acted upon : the letters show that as years went on her religion was always more and more in her mind ; and when death came she met it not only with courage and with submission, but also with faith.

This part of her personality was worth dwelling on, because it was both sincere and characteristic of her day ; but, though more religious books were read at Les Rochers in a month than are read in ten years, it is to be feared, at a modern country house, no one will pretend that religion is the first thought, or anything like the first thought, suggested by the name of Madame de Sévigné. It is not her goodness we think of, but her delightfulness. She has that strange gift of charm which wins a place in our hearts not always won by all the virtues in a row. She is so much cleverer than we are, and yet so humanly like us. Her very style is our style ; it is just as she says of the Port Royalists : 'Nous savons tous les mots dont ils se servent'—they are our own, in fact—'mais jamais nous ne les avons vus si bien placés.' And she loves books as we love them to-day, the few of us who love them at all, not as missiles to throw at the heads of our enemies in Church or State, but as delightful things, the fine flower of human life in their own day, and often the seed of what it is to be after them. 'Ce qui s'appelle les belles lettres,' as she says, was her special reading, and the half-apologetic turn of the phrase marks the newness of the taste. Besides French she reads Latin and Italian in the original, and Greek in translations ; her letters contain allusions to Homer, to Plato and Aristotle, to Epictetus and Plutarch, and frequently to Lucian and Josephus. Tacitus and Virgil were among the Latin authors she had read, and, of Italians, her letters are full of Ariosto and Tasso. In French she went as far back as Rabelais, whose law of liberty, 'Fais ce que voudras,' she was fond of quoting ; she quotes Marot at least once, and of the men of her own day she knew Corneille and Molière and La Fontaine almost by heart, and was no stranger to Racine and Boileau. 'Qu'on est heureux d'aimer à lire,' she bursts out again and again. She tells her grandson, as other people have told other young soldiers

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many times since, that there is something 'monstrous' in not employing some of the ample leisure of a barracks in looking into the art of war and its history; she will have all about her get the taste for books, 'la jolie, l'heureuse disposition,' as she calls it, and wisely adds that with it 'on est dessus de l'ennui et de l'oisiveté, deux vilaines bêtes.' She herself ranged over a wide country, almost from pole to pole of the printed world. She loved Cervantes, but she also loved to the last the faded novels of her youth; she was for ever reading religious books, as we have seen, but that did not prevent her from enjoying the *Contes* of La Fontaine; she was not above liking a consignment of Court gossip, and yet she will take Virgil in her carriage on a journey. And indeed the balance leans to the great books. She rejoices in the bad memory which makes her delight in Tasso or Montaigne or Molière at the fifth or sixth time of reading. Few people much given to reading have ever read so little trash. And she is so much more than a well read woman. Who, if not she, is that fine feminine flower of civilization which every old society aspires to rear? It is true that she has but little of the penetrating odour of sympathy for those outside the walled garden of her own life, without which we cannot to-day count any personal civilization complete. But that was a rare product requiring originality in her day; and originality is not her strength; and she has so many other things about her that are pleasant to look on. Who but La Fontaine loved nature then as she did? Who spoke of walking in the evening as she did at Livri, 'délicieusement avec la lune'? Who found their woodland paths as she found hers at Les Rochers, 'd'une beauté, d'une tranquillité, d'une paix, d'un silence à quoi je ne puis m'accoutumer'? Who had such praise as she for the spring, which seemed to her 'd'une jeunesse et d'une douceur' that it made her long more than usually for her daughter? Those are such words as only Nature's true lovers find. And the birds too: she flies from the noise of Paris to catch their first notes. 'On entend déjà les fauvettes, les mésanges, les roitelets, et un petit commencement de bruit et d'air du printemps'; what an excellent phrase, again, made with the eye, or rather the ear, on the thing itself! They also take her to her daughter, as all does that touches her: 'il fait un temps délicieux: tous les oiseaux sont en campagne; je me promène et je relis vos lettres avec une extrême tendresse.'

This is to take her bit by bit, as it were; but think of all in one piece, and what a charming whole it makes. And how

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it is all made one by her humour, pleasantest of all known links for holding a personality together. With her it plays on all subjects, from the highest to the lowest. 'Mon père disait qu'il aimait Dieu quand il était bien aise : il me semble que je suis sa fille'; and yet her desire to be devout was perfectly genuine. We have heard her views of debts and the duty of paying them; and yet 'on se ruine quand on veut s'acquitter de tous les devoirs de la vie.' She was no stranger, quite the reverse, to grave thoughts about death and about her sins, and she had no lack of appreciation of a saintly retirement; but she was not always in a grave mood, and when she was not her comment on a death will be, 'En vérité la mort se mêle si inconsidérément partout qu'il ne faut compter sur rien'; she will cry out, 'Que les vieux péchés sont désagréables!' she will drily explain the causes of a 'retreat' as 'quelques intérêts de famille et une très désagréable humeur,' and its result as mere yawns and boredom. Little things like these do not give her mind or her literary gift as the whole letters, for which we have no space, would give them; but they show her to us as her friends saw her. They must have thought of her as a woman who joined an innocently witty tongue to an unfailingly warm and loyal heart; one who laughed as often as she loved, and that was always; loved her own and laughed at all the rest; found her country neighbours more amusing to laugh at than to meet; always asserted that stupid visitors were the best of all, because of the ecstacy of their going away; generally lived her life and went her way, amused and amusing, a dispenser and receiver of good things of all sorts on every side. They were right to see her so, for she was so; but she was other things besides, and perhaps we shall think of her even more affectionately—where they could not know her so well—in the solitude she loved before all society but that of one being in the world, in her woods as she describes herself, all alone with God and with herself, with the thought of her daughter, with her daughter's last letter, and a book. 'Il y a quelque chose de doux et d'aimable à cette solitude, à ce profond silence, à cette liberté'; and it is there, perhaps, that she touches us most of all. It is with the country, not the town, that we specially associate her; with country life, not of course as the peasant knows it, but as it is lived in country houses. And is it often lived fuller and better than she lived it? At least, when we fly from town to country, let us bear her and her doings in mind, and not think that of all the ways in which she spends her time

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with her dear Duchess at Brévanes the only one in which she is to be imitated is the last. 'On se promène, on lit, on est seule, on prie Dieu, on se retrouve, on fait bonne chère.' The delights of good talk she thinks unnecessary to mention, we may suppose, for her daughter needed no telling that where she was they were not far away; but with that indispensable addition what better motto can there be to set over the door of a country house in her day, in our day, in any day?

ART. VI.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

PART II.

To the list of books prefixed to Part I. add the following:

29. *A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History.* By Dr. JOHN C. L. GIESELER. Translated from the German. (Edinburgh, 1846–1855.)
30. *Prælectiones Dogmaticæ de Verbo Incarnato* quas in C. R. Universitate Œnipontana habuit F. A. STENTRUP. (Œniponte, 1882–1889.)

IN his valuable paper on the history of opinion about the Sacrifice of the Mass in the Latin Church, Dr. Vacant has referred to St. Gregory the Great as beginning the transition from the thought of the patristic period to that of the Middle Ages.[1] And in the writings of St. Gregory, while the ideas we have traced through the patristic period in the first part of this article still remain, there is not only a new emphasis on the definite and immediate effect of the offering of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, but also a stronger way of speaking of the commemoration of the Passion of Christ.

VII. It is appropriate, then, that we should begin this second part of our inquiry by setting out the teaching of St. Gregory the Great. In his writings we find unquestioning belief that the gift in the Eucharist is that of the Body and Blood of Christ; an absence of definition in what way the elements convey this sacred food; and an assertion of the Eucharistic sacrifice which, without exactly defining wherein

[1] Vacant, *Histoire de la conception du Sacrifice de la Messe dans l'Eglise Latine*, p. 25.

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the sacrifice consists, ascribes to it particular effects, connects it with both the Passion and the heavenly offering of our Lord, and sees in it in some sense a renewal of the Passion. Thus, in the *Dialogues*, after mentioning two instances in which deliverance from captivity and impending death had been obtained through particular offerings of the Holy Eucharist with specific aims, and observing that this sacrifice has like efficacy for the dead as for the living, and exhorting, none the less, to good use of the present life, he declares the duty of

'offering to God daily oblations of tears, the daily sacrifices of His Flesh and Blood. For this victim in a unique way saves the soul from eternal destruction, which in mystery renews (reparat) for us the death of the only-begotten Son, who, though He rising from the dead dieth no more, and death shall not again have dominion over Him, yet living in Himself immortally and incorruptibly is again (iterum) sacrificed on our behalf in this mystery of the sacred oblation. For there His Body is taken, His Flesh is distributed for the salvation of the people, His Blood is poured, not now into the hands of unbelievers, but into the mouths of the faithful. From this, therefore, let us think of what kind this sacrifice on our behalf is, which to set us free (pro absolutione nostra) ever represents (imitatur) the Passion of the only-begotten Son. For who of the faithful can hold it doubtful that in the very hour of the sacrifice at the voice of the priest the heavens are opened, in that mystery of Jesus Christ the bands of the angels are present, things lowest are brought into communion with (sociari) things highest, things earthly joined with things heavenly (terrena cælestibus jungi), and the things that are seen and those which are unseen become one?'[1]

In his *Homilies on the Gospels* St. Gregory similarly represents the Eucharistic sacrifice as a renewal of the Passion.

'He who in Himself rising from the dead dieth no more,' he says, 'still by means of this sacrifice suffers again (iterum patitur) in His own mystery on our behalf. For as often as we offer to Him the sacrifice of His Passion, so often we renew (reparamus) His Passion to ourselves, to set us free (ad absolutionem nostram).'[2]

And in his treatise on the Book of Job he refers to the sacrifice which our Lord abidingly offers in heaven, and thus supplies the explanation of the statement already quoted that in the Eucharist earth and heaven are joined together.

'Every day,' he says, 'Job ceases not to offer sacrifice, because without intermission the Redeemer offers a burnt-offering on our behalf, who without ceasing presents (demonstrat) to the Father His incarna-

[1] St. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 57, 58.
[2] *Idem*, *In Ev. Hom.* II. xxxvii. 7.

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tion for us. For His incarnation is itself the offering of our cleansing, and, when He shows Himself as man, He washes away by His intervention the sins of man. And by the mystery of His humanity He offers a perpetual sacrifice, because these things also which He cleanses are eternal.' [1]

VIII. As regards the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the theology of the Middle Ages did little more than reproduce the thought of the Fathers. Indeed, in some respects, the mediæval teaching was less full than the patristic. In the system of Christian doctrine drawn up by St. John of Damascus in the eighth century—a system which, while it aimed at summarizing the earlier Greek teaching, was subsequently influential in the West as well as in the East—he was content, in addition to quoting our Lord's words at the institution in a form which describes the Eucharist as the proclamation of the death of the Son of Man and the confession of His resurrection,[2] with the following brief reference to the sacrifice:

'With bread and wine did Melchizedek, the priest of the Most High God, receive Abraham as he was returning from the defeat of the strangers. That table prefigured this mystic table, as that priest was the type and figure of Christ the true high priest. For, says Scripture, "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek." Of this bread the shewbread was a figure. This is the pure sacrifice, that is the bloodless sacrifice which the Lord through the prophet said should be offered from the rising of the sun unto its setting.' [3]

The great treatises on dogma written in the twelfth century by Peter Lombard and in the thirteenth century by St. Thomas Aquinas, contain statements about the Eucharistic sacrifice a little longer than that of St. John of Damascus, but still brief and without entering into details, and in striking contrast to the wealth of discussion with which St. Thomas Aquinas in particular surrounds most of the subjects with which he deals. In the *Sentences* Peter Lombard writes:

'It is next inquired whether that which the priest does is properly called a sacrifice or offering, and whether Christ is daily offered or has been offered once only. To this it can be said shortly that what

[1] St. Gregory the Great, *Mor.* i. 32.

[2] St. John of Damascus, *De Fid. orth.* iv. 13: 'As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the death of the Son of Man and confess His resurrection, until He come.' (Quoted from the *Liturgy of St. James.*)

[3] *Ibid.*

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is presented and consecrated by the priest is called a sacrifice and an oblation, because it is the memorial (memoria) and representation (repræsentatio) of the true sacrifice and holy offering which was made on the altar of the cross. On the cross Christ died once, and there was He offered in Himself; in the Sacrament He is offered daily, because in the Sacrament there is the commemoration (recordatio) of that which was done once. . . . Hence it is gathered that what is done on the altar is and is called a sacrifice; and that Christ has been offered once and is offered daily, but in one way at that time, in another way now.'[1]

In the *Summa Theologica* St. Thomas Aquinas writes at slightly greater length on this subject than Peter Lombard. In addition to brief passing statements that the Eucharist 'is called a sacrifice' because it is 'commemorative of the Passion of the Lord which was a true sacrifice,'[2] and that it is the 'memorial' and the 'representation' of 'the Passion of Christ,'[3] he says:

'In a twofold way the celebration of this Sacrament is called the offering of Christ. It is so called firstly because, as Augustine says to Simplicianus, "symbols (imagines) are usually called by the names of those things of which they are symbols, as when looking on a picture or wall-painting we say, This is Cicero, This is Sallust." Now the celebration of this Sacrament, as has been said before, is a kind of representative symbol (imago quædam repræsentativa) of the Passion of Christ, which is the true offering of Him. And therefore the celebration of this Sacrament is called the offering of Christ. Because of this Ambrose says, "In Christ the offering was made once, powerful for eternal salvation. What, then, of us? Do not we offer sacrifice every day? Yes, but for the commemoration (recordationem) of His death." In another way the celebration of this Sacrament is called the offering of Christ so far as concerns the effect of the Passion of Christ, because by means of this Sacrament we are made partakers of the fruit of the Passion of the Lord. Wherefore in a certain Secret Prayer for Sunday it is said, "As often as the commemoration of this sacrifice is made, the work of our redemption is carried on (opus nostræ redemptionis exercetur)." So far as concerns the first method, then, it could have been said that Christ was offered even in the figures of the Old Testament. Whence also it is said, "Whose names have not been written in the book of life of the Lamb, who has been slain from the foundation of the world." But so far as concerns the second method, it is peculiar to this Sacrament that in the celebration of it Christ is offered.'[4]

These three representative writers, St. John of Damascus, Peter Lombard, and St. Thomas Aquinas, then, carry on the

[1] Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV. xii. 7.
[2] St. Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.* III. lxxiii. 4.
[3] *Ibid.* III. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* III. lxxxiii. 1.

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patristic teaching that the Eucharist is a sacrifice; and two of them, Peter Lombard and St. Thomas, describe this sacrifice as commemorative of the Passion of Christ. No one of the three mentions the connexion, found in St. Gregory the Great and some of the earlier Fathers, between the Eucharist and the heavenly offering of our Lord. This aspect of the Eucharistic sacrifice is found, however, in other writers of the Middle Ages. In the ninth century Paschasius Radbert represents the significance of the Eucharistic sacrifice as consisting in the fact that the oblation of the Church on earth is united with the offering which our Lord makes in heaven, whereby He exercises His eternal priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, and closely associates the reception of His Body and Blood with entering into His heavenly action.[1] Odo of Cambrai,[2] Ivo of Chartres,[3] Hildebert of Tours,[4] and Algerus of Liège[5] in the twelfth century, and other writers of the Middle Ages, make similar references to the connexion of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the heavenly offering of Christ. To quote one instance, Algerus writes:

'The priest, consecrating the Body of the Lord on the earthly altar as the minister of Christ (vice Christi), and yet not assigning anything to his own merits, but all to the power and grace of God, prays in the canon to God the Father saying, "Command that these oblations be carried to Thee by the hands and power of Thy Son, Thy Angel, who is the Angel of Great Counsel, not to this Thy lowly and visible altar, where now He is, but to Thy altar on high, that is Thy Son, whom Thou hast exalted to Thy right hand, in the presence of Thy majesty, that there may be to us the Body and Blood of Thy beloved Son,"[6] showing that the Son Himself, by the command of the Father, is in Heaven offering sacrifice, and is that on which it is offered, because we lean altogether on His faith and grace that the earthly bodies are converted into Christ; and we believe that He, sitting in the heavenly places at the right hand of the Father, intercedes for us, and is consecrated and is in the Sacrament of the altar.'[7]

[1] Paschasius Radbert, *De Corp. et Sang. Dom.* 8, 12.
[2] Odo of Cambrai, *Expos. Can. Missae*, 3.
[3] Ivo of Chartres, *Opusc. de Conv. vet. et nov. Sacrij.*
[4] Hildebert of Tours, *De Myst. Missae.*
[5] Algerus of Liége, *De Sacram. Corp. et Sang. Dom.* i. 14.
[6] Algerus here adds his own glosses to the words of the Mass.
[7] *Ibid.* For a number of references and some quotations illustrating this aspect of the Eucharistic sacrifice in the mediæval writers, see Thalhofer, *Handbuch der Katholischen Liturgik*, I. i. 228, 229. For a hostile criticism of Thalhofer's references, marked, however, by much special pleading, see Stentrup, *De Verbo Incarnato, Soteriologia*, ii. 320–333.

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As in the Fathers, so in the theologians of the Middle Ages, there is no fully developed and accurately defined theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice, and this absence of specific definitions is found together with belief that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, that it is commemorative of the Passion, and that it is offered in union with the heavenly offering of Christ. Underlying the statements of this belief was the evident conviction that there is one abiding sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ, offered on the cross in the life surrendered unto death, presented in His risen and ascended majesty by our Lord in heaven, and pleaded at the altar by the Church on earth in union both with the Passion and Death of our Lord and with His heavenly offering. Being the sacrifice of Christ Himself, in which, to use the phrase of a writer of the twelfth century, Euthymius Zigabenus, 'His Manhood itself beseeches the Father on our behalf';[1] it is the presentation not of one aspect only, but of the many aspects of the life of our Lord. From this point of view there is no inconsistency when Peter Lombard describes the Eucharist as 'the memorial and representation of the true sacrifice and holy offering which was made on the altar of the cross,' and Paschasius Radbert speaks of the earthly elements which the Church offers being invisibly and spiritually carried on high and united with the sacrifice of our Lord in heaven, and then given back to us by the heavenly Priest as His Body and His Blood. To one writer the aspect of the Eucharist in which it is a commemoration of the Passion was the more prominent; to another the aspect whereby it unites the Church on earth with the ministering of Christ in heaven was the most valued; possibly, at times, the aspect which was least prominent or least valued was almost or quite forgotten; the link by which all the different statements are bound together is the conception of the one abiding Sacrifice of Christ Himself.

IX. If it is a matter of surprise that the schoolmen, with their love of elaborate system, did not work out an explicit theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice, the surprise may perhaps be lessened when it is remembered that their attention was greatly occupied by questions arising out of the relation of the Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist to the bread and wine. It has already been noticed that in the teaching of St.

[1] Euthymius Zigabenus, *In Heb.* (vii. 25). The above sentence is quoted by Bishop Westcott in his *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 192. It is on p. 392 of vol. ii. of the edition of the commentaries of Euthymius on the Epistles published at Athens in 1887.

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Gregory the Great the belief that the Eucharistic gift is the Body and Blood of Christ is not accompanied by any definitions as to the way in which this gift is conveyed by the elements. Passing from the end of the patristic period to the beginning of the Middle Ages, St. John of Damascus affirms, like the Fathers, that the bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ; uses, like some of them, the word 'become' in the assertion that the elements are the vehicles of the sacred Presence; and follows the Liturgies in ascribing the work of consecration to God the Holy Ghost. The most important passage on this subject in his writings is that in the fourth book of the treatise *On the Orthodox Faith.* He there says:

'If then the word of God is living and active, and the Lord hath done all things whatsoever He hath willed; if He said, "Let the light come to be," and it came to be, "Let the firmament come to be," and it came to be; if by the word of the Lord the heavens were established and all the power of them by the breath of His mouth; if the heaven and the earth, fire and water and air, and all that pertains to them, were made complete by the word of the Lord, and moreover man, the most famous of living things; if God the Word Himself by the exercise of His will (*θελήσας*) became man, and the pure and unspotted blood of the holy ever-virgin supplied to Him flesh without generation by man (*ἀσπόρως*)—cannot He make bread His own Body and the wine and the water Blood? . . . God said, "This is My Body," and "This is My Blood," and "Do this for a memorial of Me," and by His almighty command it comes to be until He come. . . . For, as all things whatsoever that God did, He did by the operation (*ἐνεργείᾳ*) of the Holy Ghost, so also now the operation of the Holy Ghost performs (*ἐργάζεται*) the things which are beyond nature (*τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν*), which faith alone can grasp (*ἃ οὐ δύναται χωρῆσαι εἰ μὴ μόνη ἡ πιστις*). "How shall this be to me," says the holy Virgin, "seeing I know not a man?" The Archangel Gabriel answers, "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee." And now thou askest, How does the bread become the Body of Christ, and the wine and the water the Blood of Christ? I also say to thee, The Holy Ghost comes upon them (*ἐπιφοιτᾷ*) and makes them those things which are beyond reason and thought (*ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν*). . . . The bread itself and the wine are transmade (*μεταποιοῦνται*: al. *μεταποιεῖται*) into the Body and Blood of God. But if you inquire as to the method, how this comes to be, it is enough for you to hear that it is by means of the Holy Ghost, as also from the holy Mother of God by means of the Holy Ghost the Lord took to Himself flesh to be His own. And we know no more than that the word of God is true and active and almighty, while the method is inscrutable (*ὁ δὲ τρόπος ἀνεξερεύνητος*). . . . The bread that is offered (*ὁ τῆς προθέσεως ἄρτος*) and the wine and water are by means of the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost

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supernaturally transmade (διὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται) into the Body and the Blood of Christ, and are not two things, but one and the same thing. . . . The bread and the wine are not a figure (τύπος)[1] of the Body and Blood of Christ (God forbid), but the Body of the Lord itself that is filled with Godhead (αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου τεθεωμένον) of the Lord Himself, who said, 'This is My'—not figure (τύπος) of the body but—"body," and not figure of the blood but "blood." . . . The bread of the communion is not mere bread (λιτός) but united to Godhead (ἡνωμένος θεότητι); and the body united to Godhead is not one nature only, but one nature of the body and another of the Godhead that is united to it, so that both together are not one nature but two. . . . If some have called the bread and the wine the counter-figures (ἀντίτυπα) of the Body and the Blood of the Lord, as holy Basil said, they, in using this word, spoke of the offering not after the consecration, but before the consecration.'[2]

As time went on, and especially in the West, fuller and more definite explanations of the doctrine that the bread and wine become the Body and Blood of Christ were given on the lines of the passage which we have quoted from the treatise of St. John of Damascus *On the Orthodox Faith.* In the first half of the ninth century 'a landmark in the history of Eucharistic doctrine'[3] is to be found in the treatise of Paschasius Radbert entitled *On the Body and Blood of the Lord.* Like St. John of Damascus, Paschasius sees the possibility of the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ in the almighty power of the Creator and the operation of God the Holy Ghost, and finds the authority for belief in this change in the words of our Lord at the institution of the Sacrament. Carrying further the line of thought which St. John of Damascus did not push to its full conclusions, he used the word 'figure' of the bread and wine in such a way as to imply that after consecration they had ceased to possess actual existence, and denied that there is anything else but the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament. Thus he says:

'Every Catholic rightly believes with his heart unto righteousness and confesses with his mouth unto salvation that God created all things out of nothing, and can never doubt that it is possible for anything

[1] In the phraseology of St. John of Damascus the words corresponding to 'symbol' and 'figure' have ceased to denote, as in earlier writers (see *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1901, p. 358, note 2), that which is what it signifies, and have come to mean that which is not what it represents.

[2] St. John of Damascus, *De Fid. orth.* iv. 13.

[3] Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation* p. 236.

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to be made out of anything again. . . . It is therefore evident that nothing can be outside or contrary to the will of God, but all things entirely yield to it. And therefore let no one be disturbed concerning this Body and Blood of Christ that in the mystery there is true flesh and true blood since He who created has so willed; for "He hath done all things whatever He willed in heaven and in earth." And because He has willed it, though remaining in the shape (figura) of bread and wine, these things must be believed to be entirely and nothing else than the Flesh and Blood of Christ after consecration (haec sic esse omnino nihilque aliud quam caro Christi et sanguis post consecrationem credenda sunt), for which reason the Truth Himself said to the disciples, "This is My flesh for the life of the world," and, that I may speak still more wonderfully, to be plainly no other flesh than that which was born of Mary and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb. . . . God is the Truth, and, if God is the Truth, whatever Christ has promised in this mystery is true. . . . He who created all things by His word works by His word together with the Holy Ghost; and therefore there must be no doubt where the Trinity is rightly believed to be the artificer. . . . The Body and Blood of Christ are through the power of the Holy Ghost by His word made out of the substance of the bread and wine (ex panis vinique substantia efficitur).'[1]

This explicit teaching did not escape challenge. The identification of the unseen reality in the Eucharist with the body and blood which were born from the Virgin Mary and suffered on the cross and rose from the tomb was explicitly rejected by Rabanus Maurus,[2] the Archbishop of Mentz, some ten years after the publication of the book of Paschasius, and by Ratramn,[3] a monk of the abbey of Corbey, of which Paschasius was abbot, though on other points the teaching of both these writers is so obscure and apparently contradictory as to leave it doubtful what their positive doctrine was.[4]

In the eleventh century the controversy was revived. Berengar, the Directory of the Cathedral School at Tours, who was appointed Archdeacon of Angers about 1040 A.D., was a student both of philosophy and of the tradition of the Church. His studies led him to regard the teaching of Paschasius, which had probably become the most usually accepted doctrine, as contrary to reason and to the writings of the Fathers. In a letter addressed to Lanfranc, the prior of Bec, who subsequently became Archbishop of Canterbury,

[1] Paschasius Radbert, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.* i. 2, 5, iv. 1.
[2] Rabanus Maurus, *Ep. ad Heribald.* 33.
[3] Ratramn, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.* 57.
[4] See Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, pp. 239-247.

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he declared his assent to 'the opinions of John the Scot[1] about the Eucharist,' and his rejection of those of Paschasius; and added that, if Lanfranc regarded John the Scot as a heretic, he must similarly condemn Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, as well as other Fathers.[2] This letter was read at a council held at Rome under Pope Leo IX. in 1050 A.D.; and a sentence of excommunication was passed upon Berengar in his absence.[3] In the same year another council was held at Vercelli, to which Berengar was summoned. Being thrown into prison by King Henry I. of France, he did not appear. The council condemned 'the book of John the Scot on the Eucharist' and the opinion of Berengar.[4] Shortly after this council he was released; and four years later he was cited to appear before a council to be held at Tours under the presidency of Hildebrand, afterwards Pope Gregory VII., as papal legate. Berengar was present at the council and affirmed, either as the expression of his real mind or under pressure, that 'the bread and wine of the altar are, after consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ.'[5] In 1059 A.D., when Nicolas II. was Pope, another council was held at Rome, at which Berengar was again present. The outcome of the council was that he was forced to assent to a document drawn up by Cardinal Humbert asserting in the most unequivocal terms and in language of a materialistic type the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. In this document it was declared:

'I, Berengar, . . . having knowledge of the true and apostolic faith, anathematize every heresy, especially that for which I have hitherto been in ill repute, which attempts to affirm that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar are after consecration only a Sacrament and not the real (verum) Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that these cannot with the senses (sensualiter), but only by way of Sacrament (nisi in solo sacramento), be held or broken by the hands of the priests, or crushed (atteri) by the teeth of the faithful. And I assent to the holy Roman Church and Apostolic See, and with my mouth and with my heart I profess that concerning the Sacrament of the Table of the Lord I hold the faith which the Lord and venerable Pope Nicolas and this holy synod have by

[1] It is probable that the book mentioned by Berengar and others as the work of John the Scot, *i.e.* Erigena, was really the treatise of Ratramn already referred to. See *e.g.* Gore, *op. cit.* p. 240, note 2. Miss Alice Gardner, in her *Studies in John the Scot*, pp. 85–93, leaves the question open.

[2] Hardouin, *Concilia*, vi. (1), 1015–1016.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* 1017–1018.

[5] *Ibid.* 1041–1042; Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, ii. 402, note 12 (Eng. trans.)

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evangelical and apostolical authority delivered to be held and have confirmed to me—namely, that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar are after consecration not only a Sacrament but also the real (verum) Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that with the senses (sensualiter), not only by way of Sacrament but in reality (non solum sacramento sed in veritate), these are held and broken by the hands of the priests and crushed (atteri) by the teeth of the faithful.' [1]

After his assent, such as it was, to this document, Berengar continued to give utterance to his former opinions. He was, nearly twenty years later, again summoned to Rome, and in a council held in 1079 A.D. under Pope Gregory VII., after some resistance and verbal evasions [2] he agreed to assent to the following statement:

'I, Berengar, believe with my heart and confess with my mouth that the bread and wine which are placed upon the altar are by means of the mystery of the holy prayer and the words of our Redeemer substantially changed (substantialiter converti) into the real and true (veram et propriam) and life-giving Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that after consecration there is the real (verum) Body of Christ which was born of the Virgin and which was offered for the salvation of the world and hung upon the cross, and which sits at the right hand of the Father, and the real (verum) Blood of Christ which flowed from His side, not only by way of sign and of the virtue of the Sacrament (per signum et virtutem sacramenti) but in truth of nature and reality of substance (in proprietate naturæ et veritate substantiæ).' [3]

Between the council of 1059 A.D. and that of 1079 A.D. several treatises of importance in the Eucharistic controversy were published. That of Lanfranc, entitled *Of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, is a defence of the doctrine expressed in the declaration drawn up by Cardinal Humbert and accepted by Berengar in 1059 A.D., and an attack upon the latter, whom he represents as having taught that the Sacrament is merely a memorial of Christ.[4] In Berengar's reply, *On the Holy Supper*, he defended his appeal to logic and maintained that in religion majorities may often be wrong, and in his statements about his own opinions affirmed the reality of the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ no less clearly than

[1] Hardouin, *Concilia* vi. (1), 1064.

[2] He tried for a time to take 'substantialiter' in the sense of 'salva substantia,' the bread 'non amittens quod erat, sed assumens quod non erat.'

[3] *Ibid.* 1585.

[4] Lanfranc, *De Corpore et Sanguine Dom.* 22.

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the permanence of the bread and wine.[1] Witmund, a Norman monk, afterwards Archbishop of Aversa, in his treatise *On the Reality of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, mentioned two schools of thought among the followers of Berengar, and associated Berengar himself with that which, while denying any change in the substance of the bread and wine, asserted the presence of the Body and Blood of Christ.

'All the Berengarians,' he says, 'agree in this, that the bread and wine are not changed in essence (essentialiter), but . . . they differ much in this, that some of them say that in these Sacraments there is nothing at all of the Body and Blood of the Lord, but that these are merely shadows and signs (umbras et figuras). Others, however, yielding to the valid arguments of the Church, and yet not departing from their folly . . . say that the Body and Blood of the Lord are really (revera) there, but are in a hidden fashion (latenter) therein contained (contineri), and, to use such a word, in a kind of way impanate (quodammodo impanari), so that they can be received. And they say that the latter more subtle opinion is that of Berengar himself.'[2]

Against both schools of Berengarians alike, Witmund asserts that the Body and Blood of Christ are present by means of a change in the essence (essentialiter) of the bread and wine,[3] and that the Body is eaten by the teeth of Christians.[4] He allows the possibility of the Body of Christ being divided into portions, though inclining to the opinion that the whole Body of Christ is in every Mass and in every fragment of the bread.[5] He maintains that all communicants alike, the bad as well as the good, receive the Body of Christ, but he who communicates unworthily receives it 'bodily' (corporaliter) only and not spiritually' (spiritualiter).[6]

The writings of Hildebert, who became Metropolitan of Tours in 1124 A.D., were, to some extent, an attempt to express the doctrine of the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ for which Lanfranc and Humbert had contended, in less materialistic language than they had used, and in a way which might free it from objections felt and urged by Berengar. In his *Short Treatise on the Sacrament of the Altar* he says:

'The Flesh of Christ daily comes from heaven towards us to the altar, and from the altar into us; and yet it leaves not the heaven

[1] Berengar, *De Sacra Cœna*, pp. 51, 248 (ed. Vischer), quoted by Gore, *op. cit.* p. 256.
[2] Witmund, *De Corporis et Sanguinis Christi Veritate in Euch.* i. 8.
[3] *Ibid. e.g.* i. 9.
[4] *Ibid. e.g.* i. 10.
[5] *Ibid.* i. 15-18.
[6] *Ibid.* iii. 51.

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from which it comes. For as of old the Godhead of Christ came to us from heaven, so also now His Manhood comes thence to us; and as He came from heaven with His Godhead and yet did not depart thence, so also now He comes from heaven with His Manhood, which nevertheless always abides there. And as the Godhead came by means of the Manhood, so also the Manhood comes thence by means of the Godhead. At that time God came openly by means of His Manhood; and now Man comes invisibly by means of His Godhead. Then God came in a way known to the senses (sensibiliter); now Man comes in a way the senses cannot discern (insensibiliter). Then God in human fashion (humane); and now Man after the manner of God (divine). Nor is it Man only in His spirit, but also in His flesh; neither is it without His Godhead, but with and in and by reason of His Godhead (cum sua, et in sua, et ex sua divinitate); and therefore the whole work is divinely done (totum geritur divine). For what is more divine than that the Body of Christ, since it is flesh and not spirit, is nevertheless the food, not of the flesh and the body, but of the spirit and the mind? It is indeed the food of the inner man; and yet it is not human but divine, entering into the spirit in a spiritual and divine manner, not converting itself into spirit, but feeding the spirit spiritually and divinely, entering spiritually, working spiritually, coming by a spiritual way from heaven, returning to heaven by a spiritual way. This body is among us, and it is in heaven; it is among us also in different places, upon different altars, at a time not different. Nor is it divided into parts, but it is on every altar whole and complete. Nor is it in number more than one, but it is one only (nec alterum et alterum, sed numero unum). Nor is it imaginary (phantasticum), but it is real (verum). Nor is it only by way of Sacrament (in sacramento), but it is of the Body itself (in semetipso). For it is itself in one place only after a natural manner (modo naturali), but in many places after a manner of power (modo virtuali). In one place by way of nature, in many places by way of divine grace and power. In one place after a bodily manner, in many places after a spiritual manner.'[1]

'When the Sacrament is divided into parts, nevertheless the Body is not severed into parts so as to be taken with division and in portions (divisim et per partes); but it is received whole and undivided under the divided particles in every particle by each one who receives.'[2]

'The substance of the bread and wine is changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of the Lord; and yet the accidents of the bread and of the wine are not in like manner changed; but they remain unchanged, without the substance of bread and the substance of wine.'[3]

The best known theologian of the twelfth century is Peter Lombard. His scanty treatment of the Eucharistic sacrifice

[1] Hildebert, *Brevis Tractatus de Sacramento Altaris*, 1–2.
[2] *Ibid.* 6. [3] *Ibid.* 7.

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has already been mentioned. With the doctrine of the Presence in the Sacrament he dealt more fully. In his great work, the *Sentences*, as in the *Short Treatise* of Hildebert, there is an attempt to avoid the more materialistic phraseology and statements of an earlier time while maintaining the doctrine which they were intended to preserve. At the saying of the words 'This is My Body,' 'This is My Blood,' 'the change (conversio) of the bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ takes place.'[1] The 'thing' (res) which is 'contained' (contenta) as well as signified in the Sacrament 'is the Flesh of Christ which He took from the Virgin, and the Blood which He shed for us.'[2] He condemns in the most emphatic language those

'who assert that on the altar there is not the Body or Blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine is not changed (converti) into the substance of flesh and blood, and that Christ said "This is My Body" as the Apostle said "The rock was Christ." For they say that the Body of Christ is there only by way of Sacrament (in sacramento), that is by way of symbol (in signo), and that it is eaten by us symbolically (in signo) only.'[3]

He maintains that

'the real (verum) Body and Blood of Christ are on the altar; moreover, the whole Christ (integrum Christum) is there under each species; and the substance of the bread is changed (converti) into the Body, and the substance of the wine into the Blood';[4]

and that

'the Body of Christ is taken by the good and by the bad; but by the good to salvation, by the bad to destruction.'[5]

'The only substance' in the Sacrament, he teaches, 'is that of the Body and Blood of the Lord';[6] 'after consecration no substance of bread or wine is there';[7] yet he says he cannot define whether the 'change' (conversio) is 'substantial' (substantialis) or 'of some other kind,'[8] and recognizes the difficulty of questions which arise as to the relations of the 'accidents.'[9] He expressly rejects the opinion held by some, and, as he tells us, defended by them on the ground of the declaration extorted from Berengar that there is a fraction and division of the Body of Christ;

[1] Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV. viii. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. viii. 4. [3] *Ibid.* IV. x. 1.
[4] *Ibid.* IV. x. 4. In IV. xi. 6 he discusses the question why, since the whole Christ is under each species, the two species were instituted.
[5] *Ibid.* IV. ix. 3. [6] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 1. [7] *Ibid.* IV. xi. 4.
[8] *Ibid.* IV. xi. 1. [9] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 1–5.

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and he inclines to the belief that, while the fraction is real (vera) and not merely apparent as some thought,[1] it is of the species of bread, not of the substance of the body.[2]

The term 'transubstantiation' (transubstantiatio) and the corresponding verb (transubstantiare) appear to have come into use in the eleventh or twelfth century.[3] There is no evidence whether, as originally employed, they were intended to denote the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ or were used in a more general sense to express the doctrine that the bread and wine are, after consecration, the Body and Blood. Early in the thirteenth century the verb is found in a document of great importance, the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215 A.D.) on the subject of the Eucharist. The decrees assented to by this council, held under Pope Innocent III., made binding upon the Western Church the doctrine expressed in the following terms, and gave it special emphasis by placing it together with the dogmas of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation:

'There is one universal Church of the faithful, outside which no one at all is in a state of salvation (salvatur). In this Church Jesus Christ Himself is both priest and sacrifice; and His Body and Blood are really (veraciter) contained in the Sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated (transubstantiatis) into the Body and the wine into the Blood by the power of God, so that, to effect the mystery of unity, we ourselves receive of that which is His what He Himself received of that which is ours (ut ad perficiendum mysterium unitatis accipiamus ipsi de suo quod accepit ipse de nostro). And, moreover, no one can consecrate (conficere) this Sacrament except a priest who has been duly ordained according to the keys of the Church, which Jesus Christ Himself gave to the Apostles and their successors.'[4]

[1] 'Quibusdam placet, quod non sit ibi fractio sicut videtur; sed dicitur frangi quia videtur frangi.'

[2] Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV. xii. 2–5.

[3] 'The term transubstantiation was apparently first used casually by Hildebert of Tours (beginning of twelfth century) in his 93rd sermon (Migne, clxxi. 776), and therefore already existed'; Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vi. 51 (Eng. trans.) 'The word "transubstantiare" is first, apparently, found in Stephen of Autun (*c.* A.D. 1112–1139), *Tract. de Sacr. Altaris*, c. 14 (*P.L.* clxxii. 1293),' Gore, *op. cit.* p. 268, note 3. If the treatise *Expositio Canonis Missæ* is by St. Peter Damian, who died in 1072 A.D., there is an earlier instance of the noun, for in § 7 of that treatise the sentence 'quando profertur ipsum pronomen' (*i.e.* 'hoc' in 'hoc est corpus meum') 'nondum est transubstantiatio' occurs. For Cardinal Mai's reasons for thinking this treatise to be the work of St. Peter Damian, see in Migne, *P.L.* cxlv. 803.

[4] Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 15–18.

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This decree has most usually been interpreted as expressly affirming the doctrine that the substance of the bread and wine is changed into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ in such a way that there no longer remains any substance of bread and wine in the consecrated elements. There can be little doubt that this doctrine had by this time come to be held by most Western theologians. But it may be questioned whether the phrase 'the bread being transubstantiated into the Body and the wine into the Blood' was intended to commit the Church to more than that the bread and wine are the Body and Blood. Pope Innocent III. himself, while holding as a certain truth that the substance of the bread and wine is changed by the consecration into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ so that of the bread and wine only the accidents and properties remain, has been thought by some writers to have deliberately refrained from charging with heresy the opinion that the substance of the bread and wine remains in the elements which have become by consecration the Body and Blood of Christ.[1] And in the absence of evidence as to the exact meaning of the words 'transubstantiatio' and 'transubstantiare' at this time, it is not well to be too positive as to the force of the statement to which the Fourth Lateran Council gave its assent.[2]

Later in the thirteenth century the doctrine usually held by the schoolmen was expressed with characteristic fulness and clearness by St. Thomas Aquinas. According to his teaching, 'the real (verum) Body and Blood of Christ are in the Sacrament' of the Eucharist.[3] They 'cannot be discerned by the senses or the understanding,' but are to be recognized 'only by faith (sola fide) which rests upon the authority of God.'[4] The opinion that 'after the consecration the substance of bread and wine remains in the Sacrament' 'cannot be maintained' (stare non potest), and 'is to be rejected as heretical' (vitanda est tanquam heretica);[5] this substance is not indeed 'annihilated' (non annihilatur), nor is

[1] Innocent III., *De Myst. Missæ*, iv. 7–9. For the contention that this Pope did not regard the assertion of the continued existence of the substance of the bread and wine as heretical, and that the Fourth Lateran Council did not impose the opposite belief as necessary, see Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church of Christ*, ii. 166–170 (edition 3). See also Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as contained in the Fathers*, pp. 17–18. On the other side, see Franzelin, *Tract. de SS. Euch. Sacram. et Sacrif.* pp. 202–203.

[2] On the relation of this decree to the council, see Palmer, *op. cit.* ii. 165–166.

[3] St. Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.* III. lxxv. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* III. lxxv. 2.

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it resolved into some more elementary material condition (in præjacentem materiam), but it is changed (convertatur) into the Body and Blood of Christ.[1] This 'change' (conversio) is 'wholly supernatural' (omnino supernaturalis); it is 'effected simply by the power of God'; it is 'substantial' (substantialis), and 'by a distinctive name can be called transubstantiation' (proprio nomine potest dici transubstantiatio).[2] The transubstantiation is such that it is of the substance only, so that, 'when the consecration has taken place, all the accidents (accidentia) of bread and wine remain.'[3] It is a necessary part of the Catholic faith that 'the whole Christ (totus Christus) is in the Sacrament,'[4] and that He is wholly in each species[5] and in every fragment of them.[6] Christ is not present in the Sacrament 'as in a place' (sicut in loco) and 'locally' (localiter).[7] Hence it follows that Christ 'is not moved' in the Sacrament, 'so far as He Himself is concerned' (per se), but only 'in an accidental way' (per accidens) 'in relation to the movement of that in which He is' (ad motum ejus in quo est);[8] and He is in it 'after an immovable manner' (immobiliter).[9] The 'accidents' of the bread and wine which remain in the consecrated Sacrament are 'without a subject' (sine subjecto);[10] they retain the capacity of affecting external objects (possunt immutare exteriora corpora);[11] they can become corrupted;[12] they retain the power of imparting physical nourishment;[13] and they can be broken, and, when the fraction takes place, it is of them, not of the Body of Christ.[14]

Throughout this elaboration of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, as in his theological system generally, St. Thomas Aquinas presupposes the truth of the Aristotelian philosophy as held and expounded in the Middle Ages; and builds upon the opinion that the substance of any object, which gives to it its essential being, is something outside the cognizance of the senses, and additional to all those qualities by which the object is seen or felt or produces physical effects.

Three motives may be discerned in the treatment of the doctrine of the Presence in the Eucharist by the schoolmen. First, they were intent on preserving the traditional teaching, inherited from the patristic period, that the consecrated Sacrament is the Body and Blood of Christ. Secondly, they

[1] *Ibid.* III. lxxv. 3.
[2] *Ibid.* III. lxxv. 4.
[3] *Ibid.* III. lxxv. 5.
[4] *Ibid.* III. lxxvi. 1.
[5] *Ibid.* III. lxxvi. 2.
[6] *Ibid.* III. lxxvi. 3.
[7] *Ibid.* III. lxxvi. 5.
[8] *Ibid.* III. lxxvi. 6.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.* III. lxxvii. 1.
[11] *Ibid.* III. lxxvii. 3.
[12] *Ibid.* III. lxxvii. 4.
[13] *Ibid.* III. lxxvii. 6.
[14] *Ibid.* III. lxxvii. 7.

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wished to avoid those materialistic methods of phraseology and thought which had been prominent in the eleventh century. In the third place, they were desirous of stating the doctrine of the Eucharist in such a way that it would harmonize with the dominant Aristotelianism, and be appropriate in their whole theological and philosophical system.[1]

Thus, the schoolmen, while maintaining the general idea of the Eucharistic sacrifice, suggest less with regard to it than is found at an earlier time or in the liturgical writers of the Middle Ages; but, in the matter of the Eucharistic Presence, added great developments and elaborate definitions to the doctrine which they received.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. VII.—THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

1. *The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.* Edited by ALEXANDER PETERKIN, Esq. (Edinburgh, 1839.)
2. *Lives of Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, and Thomas Gillespie, fathers of the United Presbyterian Church.* By Revs. JAMES HARPER, D.D., JOHN EADIE, LL.D., and WILLIAM LINDSAY, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1849.)
3. *William Carstares: a Character and Career of the Revolutionary Epoch.* By R. H. STORY, D.D. (London, 1874.)
4. *St. Giles' Lectures.* First Series. 'The Scottish Church.' (Edinburgh, 1881.)
5. *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland.* By the Rev. NORMAN L. WALKER, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1895.)
6. *Proceedings of the Free Church General Assembly, United Presbyterian Synod, and General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland,* October–November 1900. (Edinburgh, 1900.)
7. *The Layman's Book of the General Assembly of* 1901, issued under the auspices of the Elders' Union of the Church of Scotland, and edited by the Rev. H. M. B. REID, D.D. (Edinburgh, 1901.)

THE union of the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches, which was effected on October 31 last year, has aroused

[1] Canon Gore (*op. cit.* pp. 229–286) has assigned an important part in the development of Transubstantiation to the influence of Nihilianism. It is probable that this influence was less than he is disposed to think.

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the sympathetic interest of multitudes who have no immediate concern with the Presbyterianism of Scotland. Nor ought the Church of England, episcopal though she be, to withhold her expression of sincere thankfulness for an event full of the happiest auguries for the future of Christendom. It is in no spirit of superior patronage that our congratulations will be offered. Even if we were tempted to adopt the attitude of the dispassionate critic towards the conflicts and oppositions, the reconciliations and treaties, of sectarian rivalry, the error would be at once corrected by a wider outlook upon facts. In a country whose right to representation in the Imperial Parliament, if measured only by the aggregate of population, is actually smaller than that of London, the inhabitants may be allowed, if it pleases them, to follow their own prejudices in religious doctrine and worship, and the world in general be little the better or the worse for any spiritual revolutions that may take place among them. So might Englishmen have thought a hundred, or even fifty years ago. But to-day such language would be impossible. Recent events have pressed upon us the consciousness of empire, till we have almost grown weary of the idea. The Englishman, as such, has no longer the predominant position among the subjects of the British Crown. The citizens of the great federal States beyond the seas have all an equal standing in the larger unity of Greater Britain. This is a fact which alters the proportions of everything, and, though it does not destroy the claim of the English Church to be regarded as the premier religious communion of the British people, yet reveals the importance of other Christian bodies, which otherwise the untravelled Englishman might easily neglect. The Presbyterian Churches, which are dominant in Scotland, have a wider field for their activities. At the first General Assembly of the United Free Church congratulatory addresses were received from Presbyterians in every quarter of the globe. If the Anglican Church is imperial, so also is the Presbyterian. Nor is it necessarily a reflexion upon the zeal and energy of our own communion to find that in these new countries, where a free field is allowed to all religious bodies, and there are no historical conditions favourable to the growth of any one confession, the relative strength of the Anglican and Presbyterian communities is by no means proportionate to the relative size of the older countries from which they spring. The Scotsman, with his enterprise, his energy, his adaptability to circumstances, has achieved for himself a position of power and influence in our self-governing colonies,

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which has tended to the advantage of Presbyterianism. It would, therefore, be a profound mistake to treat an event so important in the life of Scotland as the union of two out of the three great sections of its Presbyterian Church as though the issue were mainly, if not purely, local. We should be ill-advised indeed if we made no effort to understand the significance of a union which is bound to modify the history of religion among all the English-speaking peoples, and to react upon the larger problem, which occupies a foremost place in the prayers of all earnest Christian men, the gathering together in one of the divided Church of the Lord Jesus Christ.

There is another point of view from which the study suggested by this union is seen to have a peculiar interest for English Churchmen at the present time. Longing and wistful eyes are turned across the border, where, it is thought, in the relation between the State and the Established Church of Scotland, we may witness an object lesson in the ideal connexion between the spiritual and civil power. There also we see a self-acting, self-governing Church. But half the people of Scotland are not satisfied with this ideal. Of this half the vast majority constitute the United Free Church. In what, then, does this society differ from the Establishment? Not in doctrine, for its standard is the Westminster Confession of Faith. Not in organization, for its structure is parallel in every essential feature with that of the Church of Scotland. Not in worship, for no unsophisticated stranger who should enter a Presbyterian Church could say whether he was conforming to the Establishment or joining the ranks of Dissent. Here is the standing despair of the Englishman. In his own country church and chapel are sufficiently defined. No confusion is possible, where the traditions alike of teaching and of worship are manifestly dissimilar. But he enters some small Scottish town. He finds three, if not four, churches, all Presbyterian, all apparently adequate for the needs of the place, yet each possessing its own minister and its own separate organization. One of these, he is told, is the parish church, and another is, or was, the Free, while the existence of a couple of United Presbyterian Churches is explained by the information that they represent respectively the Secession and Relief congregations. All this is sufficiently bewildering, but when the anxious inquirer learns further that he cannot hope to understand Scottish Presbyterianism until he has followed out the ramifications of Burghers and Antiburghers, Auld Lichts and

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New Lichts, Reformed Presbyterians and Original Seceders, he gives up the problem in despair. It is a labyrinth whose intricacies none but the initiated may trace.

Yet there is a clue, and a fairly simple one. View the history of Protestantism in Scotland from 1560, the date of the first General Assembly, as a prolonged conflict between Church and State, in which the Crown and the nobility, though sometimes disunited, represent the State, and the popular religious ideal as embodied in the General Assembly represents the Church, and you are at once able to interpret an otherwise perplexed and perplexing story. The High Churchman who should apply to the case of Scotland the theory, well-worn since Bossuet first announced it, of the inevitable tendency to division inherent in Protestantism, would be maintaining a plausible but unhistorical position. The United Free Church, which for all practical purposes may be regarded as comprising all the Presbyterians of Scotland who are not members of the Establishment, is a refutation of such an argument. The Presbyterian sects are not the result of an exaggerated private judgment, which, making mountains out of molehills, is willing to rend the body for points of doctrine microscopic in their minuteness. R. L. Stevenson, in a passage of inimitable beauty, has compared the ecclesiastical divisions of Scotland to the chalk-marks on the floor, which two quarrelsome sisters, compelled to inhabit one room, fixed as the gulf of separation which neither might pass. A plausible and picturesque illustration, but not true. One question, and one question alone, has divided Scottish Presbyterianism, and that is the relation between Church and State, the limits of civil interference, the independence of spiritual jurisdiction. From the deposition of Ebenezer Erskine in 1740, and the foundation of the Secession Church down to the Disruption of 1843—the greatest crisis that has occurred in Scotland since the Reformation—this cause, and this cause alone, has been the fruitful parent of Nonconformity.

When this leading thought is kept in mind, the recent union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches appears in an entirely new light. The United Free Church, far from being a reconciliation of hitherto hostile forces, is the consummation, the inevitable goal of tendencies which have been operating in Scotland since the Revolution. One after another the Established Church has thrown off secessions, the principle of whose separate existence has been the same, a pure Gospel and spiritual independence. With two excep-

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tions, all the movements among non-established Presbyterians have been in the direction of unification—first the United Secession Church; next the United Presbyterians; last and greatest of all, the United Free Church. It was inevitable that communities which had not arisen out of mutual antagonisms, but solely out of resistance to one common principle, should feel the necessity of corporate union and coalesce into one body. We are far from saying that antipathies, inherited in part from former connexion with the Establishment, were not present to retard the movement towards union. Nor do we wish it to be understood that the larger hope of yet further approximations, which the event of last year encourages, is visionary and unreal. On the contrary, like all similar events, it has its prospective as well as its retrospective aspect; it is a promise as well as a fulfilment; a beginning, as well as an end. 'We must and do recognize,' said the retiring Moderator at the opening of the succeeding Assembly of the Established Church, 'that one great step at all events has been taken towards the healing of the breaches of our common Presbyterianism.' But none the less the great question at issue in the ecclesiastical life of Scotland is virtually untouched by what has taken place.

The United Free Church, therefore, is a peculiarly interesting subject of study for English Churchmen, who realize the importance among ourselves at the present moment of the struggle to assert an independent spiritual jurisdiction and to gain freedom of representative action. It has this definite advantage. There are no complications such as arise in the case of the Church of England. There are no questions of orders and of historical continuity. There are few side issues. We can watch with undivided attention the progress through many vicissitudes of a controversy of which the main issues remain unchanged.

The present condition of ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland cannot be rightly understood unless we approach the subject historically. We must get behind the Revolution Settlement of 1690, behind the long struggle between Presbyterianism and Prelacy, if we are to appreciate the forces which have made the United Free Church. The elements of which it is composed are briefly stated thus. First in order comes the Secession Church which resulted from the deposition of Ebenezer Erskine, and the date of which is usually given as 1733, the year of the meeting of the Associate Presbytery at Gairney Bridge. Within a few years of its formation this

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body divided into two sections on a question of conscience suggested by the Burgh Oath, an old test which disappeared at the Reform Act of 1832. These subdivisions were known as Burghers and Antiburghers. But with the growth of larger views and the dawn of 'new light,' the parties began to draw together again, till at length in 1828 they joined hands in what was called the United Secession Church. On either side, however, there was a section of irreconcilables, respectively the Auld Licht Burghers and the Auld Licht Antiburghers. The former went back to the Establishment in 1839, at the height of the 'Ten Years' Conflict,' which resulted in the great cleavage of 1843. There can be no doubt that it was the growth of those opinions which produced the Disruption and for nine years commanded a majority in the General Assembly, that recovered this wandering remnant of Dissenters. We shall, then, be probably right in regarding them as a tributary stream to the United Free Church through the channel of the Disruption. As for the Auld Licht Antiburghers, the Free Church had not long been constituted before they too became merged in its ranks. Not, however, the whole of the membership, for an attenuated remainder, calling itself the Original Secession Church, has clung to a position of splendid isolation, exercising no influence upon the national life, and being at length rewarded with a transient fame as the Auld Lichts of Mr. J. M. Barrie's romances. Next to these comes the 'Relief' Church, which owes its origin to the arbitrary and unjust deposition of Thomas Gillespie, minister of Charnock, in 1752. This was the body which in 1847 became, together with the United Secession Church, the familiar United Presbyterians, one of the parties to the recent union. The other party, which by its very bulk, no less than by the circumstances of its origin, has recalled Scottish Nonconformity from the byways of a dissident Dissent to the highway of the national life, is the Free Church of Scotland. This body attracted to itself those Presbyterians who were unable to find a home in the Establishment, and whose testimony hitherto had only been that of an incoherent protesting minority. In 1863 the Cameronian remnant, calling itself the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which had never acquiesced in the Revolution Settlement, and to which the uncovenanted and moderate Presbyterian was almost as obnoxious as the Erastian and oppressive Episcopalian, recognized in the Free Church a return to purer Presbyterian principles and ceased to exist as an independent society. The final stage in the amalgamation of the

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non-established Presbyterians, of which the United Free Church is the result, has been reached with scarcely a dissentient voice in either of the contracting parties. The vote of the United Presbyterian Church was practically unanimous. Those who in the Free Assembly passed the uniting act were more than 600 in number. The minority did not reach 30. It is true indeed that with a rare confidence, of which only Scotsmen with a principle are capable, the insignificant body of which these were the representatives has claimed the whole property of the Free Church, as alone possessing a legitimate title, but it is tolerably certain that, as a leading Scottish minister recently expressed it, 'they have no future before them, as far as influencing Scottish life is concerned.' These, then, are the elements of that United Free Church, whose position we shall now seek to examine in the light of history.

If the question be asked whence has Scottish Presbyterianism derived the principles of its life, the answer is to be found in the ideals of John Knox. We do not think that tradition has in the least distorted the true proportions of the Reformation by presenting Knox as the heroic figure of the period which immediately succeeded the downfall of the mediæval hierarchy. No one will venture seriously to question the statement that the life of Knox is the epitome of the Scottish Reformation. 'The Reformation,' says Dr. Donald Macleod, 'certainly owed much to the great ability and statesmanship of the Regent Murray; but Knox was its embodiment.' This is the first point to be borne in mind by any who wish to study ecclesiastical matters in Scotland. There were, as we shall see, secular forces which complicated the situation. But the spiritual issue was a simple one. All that was not papal in Scotland was gathered up in the Church to which Knox gave a constitution, a method of worship, a confession. Of intermediate parties, like those which divided the field in the England of Edward and Elizabeth, there is apparently no trace. Knox and the Reformation are convertible terms. We shall turn, then, to the Confession of 1560, of which Knox, with the aid of Willocks Craig, Erskine of Dun, and Winram, was the author, to the *First Book of Discipline*, to the early Acts of Assembly, for the ideals and principles which have inspired what we commonly call Scottish Presbyterianism.

Of these documents the Confession is doubly interesting, not only as the fundamental document of the Reformation, but also as the standard in reference to which even the Westminster Confession was accepted in Scotland. Some

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authorities claim the Confession of 1560 as the ultimate court of appeal to this day. What, then, is the conception of the Church set forth in that Confession? The Kirk, which is 'Catholic, that is, universall,' is declared to be 'invisible, knowne onlie to God.' But a statement like this must not be supposed to lead to the erroneous inference that the Church has no practical, visible embodiment. From what follows it is clear that invisible here means little more than ideal, incapable of being realized under present conditions in an organized constitutional society. But the eighteenth section of the Confession, which treats '*of the Notes by which the True Kirk is discerned*,' makes it evident that as an actual, living, administrative authority the Church is as practical, as tangible a conception as it is to Romanist or Anglican. Particular Kirks, 'suche as was in Corinthus, Galatia, Ephesus,' such also as 'we, the inhabitants of the realme of Scotland, professors of Christ Jesus, professe our selves to have in our citeis, touns, and places reformed,' have a true jurisdiction from Christ. 'The Word truelie preached, and the sacraments rightlie ministred, and discipline executed according to the Word of God, be the certain and infallible signes of the true kirk.' In other words, to Knox and his fellow reformers, that body which met for the first time in General Assembly in the year 1560, was the true 'universalle Kirke of Scotland,' holding its jurisdiction from Christ alone; receiving its authority from, not giving its authority to, the Scriptures; and freed from the 'papistical (or pape's) kirk,' by which is always meant the unauthorized mediæval hierarchy, which had for centuries oppressed it, stifling its doctrine, hindering its evangelical discipline, and squandering its 'patrimony' on corrupt and ungodly prelates. We conceive, then, that the first Scottish reformers by no means regarded themselves as constructing a new Church upon the ruins of the old. The Church of Scotland, as they viewed it, was as it were the people of Israel emerging from the Egyptian bondage of the usurped authority of Rome.

The question that next arises—and it is one of crucial significance—is this, What, according to the ideal of Knox, was the essential feature in the constitution of this Church? The superficial student will reply that the essential feature of a Presbyterian Church is, of course, its government by presbyters. Was not the conflict extending over more than a century, through which the Scottish Church passed, a struggle between presbytery and prelacy? Is it not true that a succession through presbyters is claimed for the northern

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establishment? But the verdict alike of original documents and of history is entirely different. They misread history who imagine that the bitter strife by which Scotland was torn was engendered by a preference on the part of a large section of the people for parity of ministers. It was nothing of the kind. Let us go first to Knox's *Book of Discipline.* We shall not find in this document a complete organization. The General Assembly, for example, which had already held its first meeting, is not here mentioned except incidentally. But the provision made for the appointment of ministers and other officers of the Church sufficiently indicates what the seat of authority is. 'At such times as there wanteth a minister,' the ministers and elders are to summon the whole congregation concerned, 'and if there be choise, the church appoint two or three upoun some certane day, to be examined by the ministers and elders.' When all the necessary preliminaries have been completed the congregation is again summoned. 'Then, at after noone, the sermoun ended, the minister exhorteth them to the electioun, with the invocatioun of God's name, directing his prayer as God sall move his heart. In like maner, after the electioun, the minister giveth thanks to God, with requeist of suche things as sall be necessarie for his office. After that he is appointed minister, the people sing a psalme, and depart.' Here there is no ordination in the Catholic or even the Genevan sense of the word. A lawful ministry is clearly made to depend on the election of the people. The same is evidently the case with the superintendent or Knoxian bishop. The 'forme and order' of the election by the 'churches of Lothiane' of Mr. John Spottiswood is inserted in the *First Book of Discipline* to serve as a pattern in all similar elections. 'The people were asked if they wold have the said Mr. Johne superintendent? If they wold honour and obey him as Christ's minister, and comfort and assist him in every thing pertaining to his charge? They answered, "We will; and we doe promise unto him such obedience as becometh the sheepe to give to their pastor, so long as he remaineth faithfull in his office."' The essentials of the form and order are here. The rest is composed of examination, prayer, and exhortation. What stands out clearly in this *First Book* is this: the Christian people, acting in dependence upon the Word of God and in obedience to the Evangel, is the spring of jurisdiction in the Church. Neither ministers, prelates, popes, nor kings can rightfully impose their will upon the people, which, as the elect of God, has autonomy in matters spiritual.

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This is brought out with still greater precision in the *Second Book of Discipline* (1581), which elaborates the form of the Church as a spiritual authority. The jurisdiction of the Church, according to this book, is exercised by assemblies, which are of four sorts. With the last of these, which is practically an œcumenical council, we are not concerned. The other three are 'of particular kirks and congregations, ane or ma, or of a province, or of ane haill nation.' We recognize without any difficulty three of the courts of modern Presbyterianism—the Kirk Session, the Synod, the General Assembly. But where, we may well ask, is the Presbytery—that court which of all others would seem to be characteristic of the system? Its absence is the more remarkable as the Melvilles were already powerful in the ecclesiastical counsels of Scotland, and were already successfully impressing upon the Kirk the well-known Genevan model. The only conclusion is that the Presbytery is not of the essence of the Scottish ideal. The assemblies, which, though composed only of ministers and elders, are yet truly representative in character, must be taken to embody the true genius of the Scottish Reformation. Adopting, as the nation had, the Scriptures as the standard of appeal, it is easy to see how Andrew Melville, with his firm conviction that the Presbyterian model represented the pattern set forth in the Word of God, was able to secure its recognition and adoption. But it is one thing to see how this type made its way into the Kirk, and quite another to condemn modern Presbyterians in Scotland as untrue to their principles, if, as some do, they lean to Episcopacy as the more excellent way; or, as is the case with a larger number still, they express indifference as to the form which the ministry may take. The essentials of the Scottish Reformation may, as it seems to us, be summed up in the watchword—a free General Assembly, and there is no evidence that any appreciable number of Presbyterians are prepared, beyond the limitations which Establishment imposes, to depart from this ideal.

A free General Assembly, then, we take as the point from which the Church of Knox and his contemporaries starts. What this means may be gathered both from the definitions of the *Second Book of Discipline* and from the Acts of the Assembly itself from 1560 to 1610. The General Assembly is to provide for 'things generally serving for the weill of the haill bodie of the kirk within the realme.' It is to 'tak cair that kirks be plantit in places quhair they are not plantit'; to 'prescryve the rewll how the uther twa kynds of

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assemblies sould proceid in all things'; to 'take heid'—and to this provision we would direct special attention—'that the spirituall jurisdiction and civill be not confoundit to the hurt of the kirk;' and to see 'that the patrimonie of the kirk be not diminishit nor abusit.' To this is added a general injunction 'to interpone authoritie' in all matters of importance that concern the welfare of all the churches or congregations in the realm. This represents, as will at once be seen, a fairly absolute authority, a wide and far-reaching claim. Not only is the Assembly the final court of appeal, the spring of all jurisdiction within the Church itself, but this ecclesiastical parliament, in the very spirit manifested by its civil counterpart in the struggle with the royal prerogative, is jealously to watch all encroachments of the State on what it considers its peculiar sphere of action. Such a body may call upon the King to enforce its decrees, but it is not likely to tolerate any counter-claim on the part of royalty to supremacy in all causes as well ecclesiastical as temporal.

That the conception of the powers and prerogatives of the General Assembly was no mere paper ideal, but a claim which was actually asserted again and again, the Acts of Assembly during the eventful years succeeding the reintroduction of Episcopacy bear abundant testimony. The character of this great struggle, in which the final victory lay—but only, as we shall see, in a modified form—with the Presbyterian, is still misrepresented by the popular imagination. It is regarded as a battle between presbytery and prelacy, the latter being championed by the Stewart kings, the former by a large body of the people of Scotland. But this point of view is scarcely accurate. The real contest was the King *versus* a free General Assembly. The Assembly's records make it plain that the object of the Crown was not to replace an unauthorized by a valid ministry, but to insert into the Kirk a jurisdiction which should gradually subvert the supremacy of the great religious council of the nation and substitute that hierarchy of bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest, which was instinctively felt to be more congenial to the royal claim than what was practically a democratic and popular control of ecclesiastical affairs.

The Assembly was not at first unwilling to consent to the restoration of the estate of bishops, if the balance of power in the nation seemed to demand this step. Consequently in 1572 an agreement was concluded with the State, known in history as the Concordat of Leith, which restored the office, though not the order, of prelates, with the significant

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restriction, that in spiritual matters they should be subject to the Assembly. Thereafter their relation to the Church is made quite clear in the records of successive Assemblies. Take, for example, 'the General Assembly, begun and holden in Edinburgh, the saxt day of August 1573.' The list of those present is given as follows: 'Earles, Lords, Barrones, Bischops, Superintendants, Commissioners to plant Kirks, Commissioners of Provinces, Townes, and Kirks, with the Ministers.' Here it will be observed that the bishops occupy a place between the temporal lords and the administrative officials of the Kirk. They were, in fact, regarded as amphibians. Civilly they were an estate of the realm, though the Assembly scorns any deferential address, speaking always of 'Mr. Patrick Adamsone, callit Bischope of St. Androis,' or 'Mr. David Cunninghame, Bischope of Aberdeene.' On the other hand, as ministers they stood on the same footing as the rest; and exercised jurisdiction only so far as they were 'ordained' (*i.e.* commanded) by the Assembly, in precisely the same way as the superintendents, to exercise the oversight, not of the diocese whose name they bore, but of the kirks in a prescribed district. This list, then, being given, there follows a sentence of high significance. 'Mr. Arbuthnot was chosen Moderator.' Here we have an unmistakable witness to the freedom of the Assembly. It chooses its own president exactly as in the days when bishops were not, and the choice does not even fall upon one of them, but upon plain Mr. Arbuthnot. The Assembly so constituted and its successors claim unlimited control over the prelates as over all their members. No bishop is to 'giue collatione of any benefice within the bounds of Superintendants within his diocie, without their consent and testimonialls.' 'The Generall Assembly ordaynes the Bischope of Dunkeld, betwixt and [*sic*] the next Assembly, to resorte himselfe and his family to Dunkeld, and make his residence there, under the paine of excommunicatione.' The Synodal Assemblies of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Moray, in the event of non-compliance of the bishops of these sees with an ordinance of the General Assembly, are bidden to 'appoynt certain breither of their ministrie to giue them publick admonitiones out of the pulpitt.' The poor prelates in question were doubtless only Tulchans or titulars, but it is quite certain that canonical consecration would not have improved their situation. The paramount authority of a free General Assembly was the one principle for which Scotland fought.

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We shall cite one more witness to this contention in the criticism which Calderwood makes on the consecration of Scottish bishops at London in 1610. The departure of James VI. for England enabled him to push forward his scheme for reducing the General Assembly. First he so packed that body that from 1602 until 1618, when it became possible to dispense with it altogether, it was virtually the instrument of its own destruction, and the Acts of the 'episcopal assemblies' were rescinded by the Church, when, in spite of the Crown, it regained its freedom in 1638. Then came the consecration in England, of which Calderwood thus speaks:

'There was no mention made in the Assemblie of their consecration, far lesse anie warrant for them to take upon them the office of a bishop, distinct from the office of a presbyter. They did onlie ty ordination, jurisdiction, plantation to them, as conjunct necessarilie with the presbyteries (I mean to such as were styled bishops, by reason of their benefices and titles therto). But they tooke upon them consecration to ane office; and when they returned home they consecrated the rest of their fellowes. All of them deserted their flockes, and usurped therafter jurisdiction over the ministers, and people of their diocies, by vertue of their consecration to ane office, and *not by any delegate power from the Assemblie*, which might have beene taken away againe from anie of them by another Assemblie, or they did fall from it, in case they had been anie ways deprived of the title to the benefice, and vote in parliament. These three, to witt, Mr. Johne Spottiswode, Bishope of Glasco, Mr. Andrew Lamb, Bishope of Brechin, and Mr. Gavine Hammiltoun, Bishope of Galloway, were the thrie that brake off first, and boldlie accepted this consecration in the moneth of November, without warrant, yea, *without the knowledge or consent of the Kirk of Scotland*.'[1]

This passage, especially the clauses we have italicised, make the true character of the conflict perfectly plain. It is not the attempt to replace one religious body by another to which objection is taken. This was not even contemplated. It was not the establishment of an office or order, or even the recovery of an apostolical succession, which was regarded as in itself unlawful. It was the intrusion upon an existing society, without its consent as expressed in its supreme organ of jurisdiction, of an institution, the purpose of which was the usurpation of that very authority which was ignored in its introduction. We have every reason, therefore, to regard a free General Assembly as the embodiment of the ideal of Knox, and therefore of the Scottish Reformation.

At this point we shall in all probability be met by an

[1] *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 150.

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objection that we are reconstructing the Reformation Kirk upon too narrow a base. A free General Assembly may be part of the ideal, but it is only a part. After all, the Reformers were Church and State men, and they were unhesitating in their demand that the spiritual should be closely allied to the civil power. Thus we shall find writers of the Established Church insisting upon the fact that the Reformers had no sympathy with the doctrines of the modern Liberationist.

'Not the Church alone,' says Dr. Macleod, 'but the nation and every member of the nation were bound to obey the Word of God. The Church and the nation were with Knox identical terms; and not with him only, for indeed neither Romish Church nor Protestant, no statesman or theologian of that time, ever dreamed of civil government being purely secular. Voluntaryism in the modern sense was not even discussed.

All this is, of course, indisputable, and, as an argument against Scottish Dissenters, makes a good appearance. But is it relevant? Because the conception of a severance betwixt Church and State was inconceivable to Knox, Winram, and the rest, is the 'Establishment principle,' as Scotsmen use to phrase it, necessarily involved in the Presbyterian ideal?

We are curiously reminded of the argument upon which the Free Church protesters of the other day based their claim to the property of the Church of 1843. Lord Low, in the Outer House of the Court of Session, has given judgment against them, but inasmuch as the case is likely to be appealed to the Inner House, and, if necessary, to the House of Lords, any review of that judgment in its legal aspects would be premature. Regarded, however, from the point of view of common sense, nine out of ten among impartial and reasonable men will feel that the last word has been said. The main position of the litigant minority is shortly as follows. The Free Church separated from the Establishment in 1843 in terms of a protest, laid on the table of the General Assembly, which embodied the 'Claim, Declaration, and Protest,' addressed to the Queen by the Assembly of the previous year. This claim declares that it is the duty of the civil magistrate 'to take order for the preservation of purity, peace, and unity in the Church.' This, it is contended, involves, and was meant by those who originally framed it to involve, the principle of establishment, and, inasmuch as the document in question is one of the title-deeds of the Free Church, union with any body which is not prepared to assert such a principle not only violates the constitution, but dis-

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solves the identity of the Church. The former is the legal question, upon which we do not venture to pronounce. But, as regards the latter, most people will probably recognize that Lord Low's argument is unanswerable, when he points out that this principle refers to the duty of the civil magistrate, and not directly to the duty of the Church. Thomas Chalmers might leave the establishment, protesting that he was no voluntary. The Free Church might be founded by men eager to proclaim that they had neither part nor lot with the enemies of an institution in which they had been brought up, and whose faithful servants they still wished to be. But to maintain as fundamental to the existence of a society, the obvious purpose of which is the worship of God and the spread of religion, a theory depending for its realization upon the consent of another party, which might either refuse action altogether or impose impossible conditions, seems to us scarcely less absurd than to require an opinion upon the Copernican astronomy or the policy of the Conservative party.

We may give this reasoning a wider range, applying it to the whole question of the fundamental principle of the Scottish Reformation, which we have described as constitutionally finding its embodiment in a free General Assembly. It is argued that, because the early Reformers asserted in strong terms the duty of the civil ruler to maintain religion, because in fact they were unable to conceive of the Church as otherwise than co-extensive with the State, therefore ecclesiastical establishment in some form or another is a first principle of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. We entirely demur to that position. What if Knox had foreseen that his failure to impose his discipline on the lords of the congregation, and to carry out in the teeth of the landed interest his scheme for dealing with the patrimony of the Kirk, was only the beginning of a struggle with the secular power, which in different forms has spread itself over more than three centuries, and is by no means settled yet? What if he had foreseen the crushing tyranny of Stewart absolutism, or the deadening influence of the Erastian opportunism of Dutch William? Could we imagine him for a moment declaring that neither was too great a price to pay for State connexion? That a prelatical hierarchy might stifle the free voice of the Christian people? That the civil courts might determine the limits of a jurisdiction received from Christ alone? And if, further, he had developed the conviction, which the experience of these things has produced among a

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considerable proportion of the Scottish people, that what we now call establishment is inconsistent with the independence of the Church, is it not certain that the principle which he would have refused to abandon is that of a free General Assembly? We are not, let it be observed, arguing against religious establishments. But the phenomenon which we have undertaken to study is the United Free Church. And neither the history of which that body is the product, nor the present condition of Presbyterianism in Scotland, can, as we think, be understood in its true proportions without a full recognition of this fact.

This, then, is the question which now confronts us. Is the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as now by law established possessed of a free jurisdiction in the sense of the *Second Book of Discipline*? For this question it will be simpler to substitute another. Was the Assembly which met on October 16, 1690, the first Assembly to be constituted after the abolition of Episcopacy, a free Assembly? We shall give, first of all, two opinions on the Revolution Settlement, under which this Assembly was summoned, and then inquire how far these opinions are justified by the facts.

The Established Church of Scotland has no defender more valiant or more jealous than Principal Story. We shall not therefore expect from him any judgment which allows undue weight to the indictments of its enemies. Yet this is how, in his *Life of William Carstares*, Dr. Story has characterized the Revolution Settlement:

'The "Revolution Settlement" was, of all conceivable settlements, the most "Erastian." Parliament had broken down Presbytery, and set up Episcopacy in 1662. Parliament broke down Episcopacy, and set up Presbytery in 1689 and 1690. The one Parliament, no doubt, was but a servile junta; the other was a fairly representative body. But in neither case was the Church, whose fate was decreed, a party to the procedure. The State dealt with her as its obedient handmaid.'

The opinion of the civil lawyers, as expressed by Lord President Hope, will be even more surprising to those who, without knowing much of the ecclesiastical history of the North, cast wistful eyes across the Tweed in quest of an Established Church whose authority is not fettered by the State:

'"That our Saviour is the Head of the Kirk of Scotland," said the Lord President, "in any temporal or legislative or judicial sense is a position which I can signify by no other name than absurdity. The Parliament is the head of the Church, from whose acts, and

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from whose acts alone, it exists as the National Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers. . . . Who gave the Church Courts any jurisdiction? The law, and that alone, gave it, and the law defines what it has so given."'

These are representative opinions. We pass now to a brief review of the facts. That Dutch William was prepared to deal with ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland in such a manner as would best maintain the stability of his own throne, the unity of the two crowns, and the security of civil government, is undisputed. A sovereign who rests on divine right is likely to pursue methods different from those of the monarch whose only claim is popular consent. The former seeks to stifle, the latter to use, the forces astir within the nation. It is the method which differs; the end is in either case the same. The goal is the supremacy of the State. The one strives to reach it by the difficult and tortuous path of Thorough, the other by the broad highway of Moderation. The purpose and the policy of William III. are nowhere more apparent than in the measures which he pursued for the settling of religion in Scotland. To him bishops and dragoons represented the disastrous failure of the Stewarts. 'I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor' were his words to the commissioners of the Scottish Convention who administered the coronation oath. But even though he was accompanied by the Presbyterian chaplain, William Carstares, who was destined to become his chief adviser in Scottish affairs, it was by no means certain that bishops would disappear from the Parliament House at Edinburgh when the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay. The new king was already well established at St. James's before the fate of the Scottish hierarchy was irrevocably sealed. The South of Scotland was Presbyterian, but in the parts north of Tay the people were sufficiently contented with Episcopacy. And, if the southern districts were the busiest and most thickly populated, yet it was the great middle class, which the Reformation had created, and not the nobility and gentry, to whom the prelates as such were obnoxious. No wonder that William hesitated to divide in matters of religion the kingdoms which it would be his aim to weld in an ever closer unity. The obduracy of Bishop Rose revealed the true position of affairs. Episcopacy was not a religious ideal but the willing tool of the Court of St. Germain's, and for its abolition none but the prince's enemies would mourn. Presbyterianism, on the other hand, was a living spiritual force, cherished by those very sections

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of the people which were readiest to support the new monarch. That decided the future of the Kirk.

It is important to notice exactly what happened. Not, in the first place, the disestablishment of one communion and the establishment of another. It is doubtful whether such a proceeding would be possible in any age, and in any case it could not have happened in the seventeenth century. Nor yet again was it a repetition of what took place at the Reformation, when the old hierarchy, the 'Pape's Kirk,' fell into ruins, and the Christian people of Scotland, the true Kirk of the country, according to the theory of the time, organized itself in a form which received the complete recognition of the State in 1592. This would only have been possible if the circumstances of the nation had permitted the summoning of a free General Assembly. What actually occurred was that William, by and with the advice of Parliament and under the influence of Carstares, ratified in the Act of 1690 the Westminster Confession, and settled Presbyterian government, providing for its exercise by the remnant of the ministers 'outed' in 1661 and those whom they might associate with them. This Act was modified by another in 1693, which provided that the Assembly should be summoned by the sovereign, and admitted to the Presbyteries, and thus to a share in the administration, Episcopal incumbents who were willing to make certain subscriptions. These provisions in themselves were quite sufficient to make the remodelled Establishment a very different institution from that which Knox had given to his native country. Even thus the genius of the Church would have been, not John Knox, but William Carstares. But in the original Act of 1690 another claim was asserted, which was the fruitful occasion of those controversies and divisions which have at length resulted in the existence of that great religious society outside the Established Church, which, so long as the schism lasts, will always be its most formidable rival in the allegiance and affections of the Scottish people. Parliament vested the patronage of livings in the heritors and elders of the parish, or, in the case of burghs, in the elders and town council. Now here we have a twofold departure from the principles of the Scottish Reformation. First of all there is the claim to regulate by statute the formation of the pastoral tie, and indirectly, therefore, to affect the courts of the Church, by sending to them ministers who were the nominees of Parliamentary patrons. That grievance has not been removed by the Patronage Act of 1874, which prescribed

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the constituency of the electing body as precisely as any of its predecessors. The other departure is more apparent still. Elders represent the Church, but heritors and town councils, as such, do not. Heritors are landowners, and it was the true Presbyterian who exclaimed, in the words of the first of the Secession leaders, 'What difference does a piece of land make between man and man in the affairs of Christ's kingdom, which is not of this world?' The situation was rendered still more intolerable by the Act of 1712, passed in spite of the Kirk during the Tory ascendency of the reign of Queen Anne, which restored the right of presentation to the private patrons, who had exercised it before the Revolution.

Though some of these Acts are subsequent to the first meeting of the Assembly in 1690, they may nevertheless all be taken as representing the conditions and limitations under which it was summoned. William, who feared the enthusiasm of Presbyterianism, no less than did the Stewarts, gave to Scotland the appearance, but not the reality, of the system established by Knox and Melville. If Charles had failed to crush its head, William would seek to render it harmless by drawing its sting. The latter experiment has been attended with a certain measure of success. But who that has entered into the spirit of the Scottish Reformation, who that knows anything of the peculiar genius of the Scottish race, could suppose that the channel prepared by the tolerant statecraft of the Revolution was wide or deep enough to hold that masterful tide of religious life which took its rise in the perfervid preaching of John Knox? The Cameronians, who in spite of their narrow vision and exaggerated claims inherited more of the ideal of the sixteenth century than those who were content with the accommodation provided by 'the cautious, wise, and liberal Carstares,' turned sullenly away from the Revolution Settlement; and their faded banner, with its motto 'For Christ's Crown and Covenant,' has been consigned with the tattered remnants of the standard of the Stewarts to the limbo of those lost but not forgotten causes which defeat has touched with a posthumous romance. But cold and to all appearance dead though the Scottish Establishment became under the blighting influence of a spirit to which in after times the sinister epithet of Moderate was attached, the past was never forgotten, the fire never died out; the spark only awaited the kindling influence of a reawakened evangelical zeal to burst into flame. Though the Kirk as constituted by the Revolution Settlement was not the Church of John Knox, there were elements that

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temporarily found their home within it which drew their inspiration directly from that source.

The course of our argument now brings us to the more immediate causes which produced those successive ruptures by which Presbyterianism in Scotland has been enabled to develop on a broader basis than the limits of the Establishment would allow. For this purpose it is necessary to retrace our steps in order to consider one of the factors in the post-Reformation history of Scotland that exercised a decisive influence upon the development of ecclesiastical affairs. We have said that patronage, as settled by the Act of 1712, was the battleground of the parties which are now represented by the two great divisions of Scottish Presbyterianism. The measure was conceived by the Tories in the interests of the landed proprietors. Of all countries perhaps there is none that has less cause to be proud of its old aristocracy than Scotland. Conspicuous in romance, the contribution of this order to the true greatness of the country has been insignificant in comparison with the service rendered by the middle class, which was the child of the Reformation. Though their aid was doubtless necessary to the establishment of the reformed Kirk, the nobles, from the time when they refused the *First Book of Discipline* and prevented the accomplishment of Knox's magnificent scheme for the appropriation of the old ecclesiastical revenues, began to exercise a sinister influence upon religion in Scotland. There is one simple key to their unstable policy, and that is covetousness. Half of the land throughout the country belonged to the ancient hierarchy. The nobles coveted the Kirk lands. Therefore they supported the Reformation. They had no wish to see those lands slip through their fingers. Therefore they opposed John Knox in the matter of the patrimony of the Kirk. To be rebuked for their vices by a set of plebeian preachers living upon rents which they had a mind to put into their own pockets, was not to their taste. Having got the lands into their own hands on the express stipulation that they should be liable for the support of the reformed ministry, the maintenance of education, and the relief of the poor, they proceeded to starve all three. And inasmuch as the right of patronage afforded a much better opportunity for sweating the Kirk than the system of Knox's *Book of Discipline* which expressly provides for the election of ministers by the congregation, it is not surprising that the book was rejected by the nobles, and that an Act of the Scots Parliament so early as 1567 reserves the

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'presentation of laic patronages' to 'the just and ancient patrons.'

Thus it will be seen that the struggle between the principles of the Kirk and the interests of the lairds in the matter of presentation to benefices carries us right back to Reformation days. The General Assembly was unable to assert its freedom until the times of the Covenant, but in 1649 it was enacted by the supreme court of the Kirk that patronage should be vested in the Kirk-Session, with an appeal to the presbytery. The Rescissory Act of 1661, which brought back Episcopacy, restored as a matter of course the rights of patrons. For this and other reasons, all ultimately reducible to the argument of greed, the nobles, though glad to get quit of the older prelacy, were for the most part favourable to the royal policy of reimposing the hierarchy. Those who were, in Hooker's words, 'although peradventure not willing to be yoked with elderships, yet contended (for what intent God doth know) to uphold opposition against bishops,' were ready enough to recognize their true affinity for prelacy when the period of destruction was past. Even that stout Presbyterian, Lord Crawford, could not see the last of Episcopacy in 1689 without a sigh. 'The bishoprics that my father had right to,' he said, 'were many; but those he was possessed of were only Caithness, Ross, Murray, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.'

There was, however, one memorable occasion on which Charles I. roused the loyal heritors of Scotland into a temporary fervour of Presbyterianism. This was, when in his zeal for the Kirk he issued the famous 'decreits arbitral' revoking all grants by the Crown, including the teinds, or tithes, on the ground that the Kirk lands and teinds were attached to the performance of ecclesiastical functions of which laymen were incapable. Though not strong enough to enforce this restitution, the demand for which had been provoked by the parsimony of the lay impropriators, the king nevertheless succeeded in wringing from the reluctant nobles an Act of Parliament, which at least compelled them to discharge a portion of their duty. This Act of 1633 still regulates the system of teinds in Scotland, and to understand it is at once to account for the determination with which the heritors succeeded in retaining for themselves the patronage of the post-Revolution Church, and exercised it for the most part with the avowed object of smothering zeal and checking all restless activity. Briefly the arrangement is as follows. An estate, the annual rental of which at the passage of the Act

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amounted to 10,000*l.*, was liable for teind to the extent of about 1,000*l.* It has never actually paid the full amount, but the Court of Teinds, representing the Crown, has power within that limit to fix the stipend of the parish minister, and, if it think fit, to augment it on the application of the incumbent at intervals of twenty years from the date of his induction. The balance, which has not yet been called up, is called the unexhausted teind, and it is estimated that one-fifth of the whole amount, or about 130,000*l.*, is still retained by the landlords. This being the case, it requires no great gift of imagination to see why the nobility and gentry of Scotland, even though they might be Episcopalians, clung tenaciously to that control over the character of the Kirk which patronage gave them; why they refused to rest until its partial loss in 1690 was repaired by the Act of 1712. But for that century of all but undisturbed repose under the peaceful sway of the Moderates, it is probable that not one penny of teind would at the present day remain to the heritors. And it is quite conceivable that had the General Assembly been swayed by a Thomas Chalmers in 1742 instead of 1842, his zeal for the extension of the Church to meet the needs of a growing population would have ended, not in the Disruption, but in the restoration to the service of religion of that ancient patrimony which, with no good will on the part of Knox, had found its way into the pockets of the aristocracy.

Such were the causes which prevented from the very first the Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland from being in any true sense of the word free. Only sixty of the four hundred ministers 'outed' in 1661 remained to form the nucleus of the reconstituted Kirk. These, with three Cameronian ministers, who without their flocks came over to the Establishment, brought with them principles which ever remained as a tradition, but which were powerless to assert themselves against the limitations imposed by law, the counsels of the High Commissioner, the leadership of 'the cautious, wise, and liberal' Carstares, and the dead weight of what soon became the prevalent majority. For this Presbyterian remnant was soon joined by some three hundred Episcopal incumbents, who were quite ready to turn their coats to save their stipends, and by the patrons' nominees, who were inducted in the room of the rabbled curates. A body so constituted was not likely to express that fervent spirit which was the soul of the Reformation. The average parish minister was a harmless scholar, like Josiah Cargill in

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St. Ronan's Well, or a tolerant, good-natured gentleman, who was a good companion for the laird, and troubled neither his pocket nor his conscience. The statement of Dr. Chalmers, in his unregenerate youth, that an incumbent, after the due discharge of his parochial duties, had five spare days to devote to other pursuits, represents the view of their office taken by the best ministers of a leisurely age. Alexander Carlyle, of Inveresk, and John Home, who wrote the tragedy of *Douglas*, represent a type far enough removed from the ideals of the Reformation epoch. Every effort to kindle a flame of evangelical zeal among the common people was severely repressed by a majority which dined with the laird and read moral essays to his tenants. Upheavals like the 'Cambuslang wark,' for which George Whitefield was responsible, incurred the displeasure of the decorous Moderates. Not only were wandering strangers refused the use of the pulpits of the Establishment, but the curiously intolerant rule which prevented ministers from preaching outside their own parishes was expressly designed to check the growth of evangelical religion. And even so late as 1796, when Erskine, of the Greyfriars, attempted, in a speech rendered famous by his dramatic appeal to the chair—'Moderator, rax me that Bible'—to awaken a conscience among the members of Assembly on the subject of foreign missions, they were content to pass from the subject by a resolution which only pledged the Kirk to avail itself of 'any favourable opportunity which Divine Providence might hereafter open.' The landowners had, indeed, got an Establishment after their own hearts, which would not arouse them when they slept in its pews, or criticize their attendance at the Episcopal chapel.

But the Scottish aristocracy is not Scotland. That is a fact which the readers of romance are sometimes tempted to forget. Government might think to pacify the country by giving it a church organized upon a popular method, but it could not repress the twofold sentiment of religious zeal and popular freedom, which, though it ran an eccentric course in the fanatical outburst of the Covenanters, had been deeply implanted in the breast of every common Scottish man, who felt himself ennobled as the spiritual son of John Knox and the Reformation. The Lowland shepherd, as he took his daily road across the hills; the cottar, gathering his family about him for the worship of God on Saturday night; the very hinds, as they wandered in byre and steading, represented a force which must sooner or later come into conflict with heritors and presbyteries: and to them the settlement of

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the 'cautious, wise, and liberal' Carstares was but a sorry substitute for the glorious liberty of the children of God. Nor, as we have said, were the traditions of an earlier age unrepresented even in the ranks of the ministry. A free General Assembly still lingered as an ideal, and the conflicts which resulted in secession were based upon the ground that the Kirk, acting through its legitimate organs, from the congregation up to the Assembly itself, was free, and that any attempt at coercion on the part of a representative of the civil power, be it patron or court of law, was a violation of its fundamental principle. Neither disagreement with the principle of an establishment nor the rejection of endowments was the cause of the repeated exodus from the Established Church of Scotland. It was the maintenance of that principle which was firmly rooted in the Scottish Reformation, that the Word of God is free, and that the civil magistrate has no more right to regard the National Church as a State department of religion than has the Pope to arrogate to himself a universal dominion.

The protest, which is now represented in formidable proportions by the United Free Church, was not long in finding its first utterance. There lies before us, as we write, an old book entitled *An Illustration of the Doctrines of the Christian Religion*, which, as the editor asserts in the preface, elevates its author 'above the false imputation of Antinomianism or the scourge of the Arminian's tongue.' The volume recalls the plain little kirk of Ettrick, in which its contents were delivered as sermons in the earlier years of the eighteenth century to crowds of simple country-folk who assembled not only from up and down the vale of Ettrick itself, but from Yarrow, and Moffat Water, and the distant Eskdalemuir. The preacher was one whose name is well known in the history of religious literature, Thomas Boston, author of *The Fourfold State*. He lived and died minister of Ettrick, and his body rests in the kirkyard. But, though he never left the Establishment, he was the first of the 'Marrowmen,' and, as such, represented a doctrine which was highly offensive to the moderatism of the General Assembly. It was he who discovered in a cottage the work of an English Puritan, entitled the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, introduced into Scotland, so it is said, in the knapsack of one of Cromwell's soldiers. The fervour which this treatise rekindled in Scotland has been said by the late Principal Tulloch to represent 'the survival of the spirit of doctrinal enthusiasm.' That criticism seems to us to rest upon an utter misunder-

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standing of the forces which still operate in the religious life of Scotland, which always has been highly susceptible of the evangelical appeal. The Marrow controversy arose out of no mere survival. The movement, which is associated with the name of Boston, and the more immediate result of which was the Original Secession of 1733, was the initial stage of that great separation which culminated in the events of 1843. It was the evangelical spirit of the Reformation, cribbed, cabined, and confined within the strait borders of the Establishment, seeking a larger room.

The *Marrow* was condemned by the Assembly in 1720. In the following year its principal upholders, prominent among whom was Ebenezer Erskine, received the censure of the House. It was at this point, when the tension of parties had been emphasized by these formal proceedings, that the Assembly precipitated a rupture by enacting that, in case of the failure of patrons to present to vacant benefices, the Act of 1690, which provided for election by elders and heritors, should be regarded as coming into force. Here let it be remembered that Erskine was the son of an 'outed' incumbent, who in the days of the Protectorate had been minister of Cornhill, in Northumberland, and both his evangelical temper and his attitude towards patronage are traced to their origin. The strain, which represented the old Reformation ideals, was still present in the Kirk. It was to Erskine's sermon, in 1732, before the Synod of Perth and Stirling, denouncing the Assembly for a betrayal of its trust in the matter of patronage, that the secession was directly due, to which finality was given in 1740 by the deposition, now inevitable, of Erskine and his associate ministers.

The year 1752 witnessed the deposition of Thomas Gillespie, whose parents had been connected with the original Seceders, and whose education had been carried on under the influence of Philip Doddridge and the English Dissenters at Northampton. He was parish minister of Charnock, in Fife, and belonged to the presbytery of Dunfermline. With five other members of that presbytery he incurred the censure of the Assembly for refusing to induct a presentee to the living of Inverkeithing against the will of the congregation. Thus in a more acute form the question of patronage was once more raised, and the body which rallied round Gillespie, when by an arbitrary and unjust selection he was singled out for deposition, justified itself on the ground that it offered 'relief' to those who were oppressed by the evil influences of patronage.

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Such were the beginnings of what became rather more than fifty years ago the United Presbyterian Church. It was the protest of a small minority, and could not have been anything else. It is true that the societies then formed grew at a comparatively rapid rate, and that as early as 1765 the progress of Dissent aroused a feeling of uneasiness in the Establishment. But the Secession and Relief congregations, though they began to spread themselves over the greater part of Scotland, were, after all, only caves of Adullam, whither resorted every one that was discontented with the parish church. So long as the General Assembly continued to register by its acts the wishes of the civil power, it was impossible to bring the controversy between Presbyterian ideals and the Revolution Settlement to anything resembling a decisive test. And at the present day, if no further breach had been made in the walls of the Establishment, the numbers of the seceders, though in themselves not inconsiderable, would yet by comparison have appeared so small as to suggest that, after all, the aspirations of the people of Scotland were sufficiently satisfied by the Revolution Kirk.

But the witness of the Disruption is decisive. That great event, to which there is nothing even remotely to compare in the religious history of England; which carried, if not the majority, at least the greatest and the best of the ministers of the Church of Scotland outside its communion; which divided households and severed friendships; which gave to the nineteenth century an example of sacrifice in the cause of religion so splendid, that Lord Jeffrey, the celebrated reviewer, on learning what had occurred, broke out with the words, 'I am proud of my country!' That event has served to reveal to the unprejudiced observer that, not the development of novel doctrines, but the failure of the Kirk to represent and contain the old Presbyterianism of Scotland, is the true cause of the great schism which at this day divides the religious life of the country. It may be true—it doubtless is true—that the experience of life and work outside the borders of the Establishment has developed among those who originally had no quarrel with its main principle, a decided preference for an organization free from what is now called State control, and a certain resentment against the less heroic body which continues to bask in the sunlight of State patronage. But sentiments such as these do not issue in secession; it is of secession that they are the all but inevitable sequence. The event which issued in the birth of the Free Church, springing full grown out of the Establishment, like Athena from the brain of

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Zeus, carrying with it the full organization, the forms, the very motto and symbol of the older society, may technically be a secession; but it is rightly represented by the name of the Disruption. However numerous in the aggregate our English Dissenters may be, it cannot be said that their existence seriously impairs the substantial identity of the Church of England. The same cannot be said of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. The secessions of the eighteenth century represented a claim on behalf of the Church, the validity of which could not be tested because of the subservience of the General Assembly. But the steady advance of Evangelicalism completely changed the face of the Church. In the Assembly of 1834 the Moderates were no longer in the ascendant. Men who inherited the fire of the Reformation, and whose spirit was not altogether alien to that of the Covenanters, were determined to fight the battle of the Kirk against the tyranny of the secular power. The point on which the issue was raised was the old grievance of patronage, the right of the State to compel presbyteries to intrude the nominees of patrons upon unwilling congregations. The leaders in the great strife appear not as party chiefs, but as champions of the General Assembly. Dr. Charteris, in his *Life of Dr. James Robertson, of Ellon*, has endeavoured to modify the popular verdict, and to show that on that memorable May morning the half-empty benches of St. Andrew's Church, after the Moderator and his distinguished following had passed out on his way to the hall at Canonmills, still held a company of men not unworthy to be compared with those who had quitted them for ever. We are not prepared to describe them, in the somewhat unworthy phrase of their opponents, as 'the Residuum,' but no more can we believe that they were the equals of Candlish, Guthrie, Cunningham, and above all Chalmers, who after the death of Sir Walter Scott was not improbably the greatest living Scotsman. These were the representatives of the Assembly. During those ten years of conflict, in which the future was still undecided, it was for what they claimed as the just rights of the Church of Scotland that they fought. Their opponents were not the General Assembly, but the civil courts. When at length they found that these courts were inexorable, and that the House of Lords itself decided in favour of an interpretation of the Revolution Settlement such as that given by President Hope, which, in the true spirit of John Knox, they regarded as inconsistent with the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ as Head of the Church; when, further,

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they had sought the aid of Parliament in vain, and redress of an intolerable grievance seemed impossible, the question that presented itself to their minds was not 'What is our duty?' but 'What is the duty of the Church of Scotland?' Their decision was not that they personally were bound to secede, but that the Church of Scotland was bound to free itself by a refusal to accept State recognition on the only terms that the State was prepared to give. The event was unique. It has no parallel to which we can appeal. The alternative was now seen to be a mutilated Presbyterianism with State recognition, as against a full Presbyterianism without that support. We do not seek to justify the Free Church. We are not prepared to say that a policy of patience might not ultimately have vindicated the fundamental principle of the Scottish Reformation, a free General Assembly, without the pain of separation and the forfeiture of national establishment. But the discussion would be purely academical. We do not doubt that in its subsequent history the Established Church, retaining as it has done the allegiance of half of the Presbyterians, if not of the whole population of Scotland, and profiting in many ways both from the experience of the Disruption and from the antagonism of its formidable rival, has achieved in practice, if not in theory, especially since the abolition of patronage in 1874, a large measure of that independence which the fathers of the Free Church claimed. But no philosophic view of the Kirk can regard it as now existing otherwise than in a broken unity. Nor in the future reconstruction of Scottish Presbyterianism can union be accomplished by a return of the United Free Church to the Establishment on the basis of the existing relations with the State. We do not mean to imply that a comprehensive Presbyterian Church can only be reached on the lines of such a measure of disestablishment as ten, or even five, years ago might have seemed the only possible course But we are certain that, unless the Church history of Scotland can be rewritten, the United Free Church rests upon a basis that is absolutely secure, and that the real chasm in Scottish ecclesiastical life—that, namely, which divides the established and non-established Presbyterians—can only be effectively bridged by a full and frank recognition of the principles for which Erskine and Gillespie, Chalmers, Candlish, and Guthrie were content to sacrifice stipend, manse, and worldly advancement. A policy of relaxation, like that of the Conservative Government of 1874, which sought in the very temper of the Revolution to substitute one State-made system

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of patronage for another in order to conciliate the alienated Dissenter, shows a singular lack of appreciation in estimating the necessities of the situation. But a genuine reconstruction on a wider basis there assuredly must be, if the requirements of the Scottish Reformation are to be satisfied. The formation of the pastoral tie, which according to the Presbyterian system includes the right of ordination, must be left entirely within the control of the Church. The ecclesiastical courts, of which the highest is the General Assembly, must be freed from all semblance of exercising an authority derived from statutes of the realm. Beyond the right, which is fully conceded even by the most high-flying Free Churchman, to take cognizance of all cases that affect the common civil rights of the citizen, the interference of the civil courts in spiritual affairs must be definitely rejected.

There are not wanting signs within the Establishment of a movement in the direction here indicated. Not only in the Assembly of 1901 were words of brotherly congratulation addressed to the neighbouring Church on the recent consummation of its union; not only did the Moderator suggest co-operation on the lines which have already produced a hymn book for both Presbyterian Churches, such, for example, as a union in the education of divinity students and in foreign mission work, thus producing 'that union of hearts which is the best preparation for a final union of Churches'; but some of the utterances of the speakers in this year's debates are specially worthy of attention. We will select the words of Dr. Scott, one of the ablest and most trusted leaders of the House:

'"If," he said, "a union of Presbyterian Churches in Scotland were consummated, I must say—and all of us must say—that legislation of some kind would be needed to adapt the existing relations to the greatly altered circumstances. What form that legislation would assume we cannot predict; but surely out of the deliberations of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland there would come some readjustment of the present relations which would secure all you and I contend for, and that is, that the glorious Being whom both Churches adore as the Head of the Church shall also be adored by the nation, that those religious endowments which have come down as the fruit of voluntary gifts . . . . should be conserved and used for the purposes for which they were given."'

If words like these are indications of the tendencies towards union which are working within the Establishment, we may perceive in the other communion also a change of attitude corresponding to this spirit of concession. Free

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Churchmen are not the keen controversialists they once were, in the days when at kirk, at market, and at fair, nought was heard but of Non-Intrusion and the rights of congregations. The air is no longer electric with Disestablishment as in the days of the Midlothian campaign. The recent union has necessarily softened the edges of the voluntary principle. And even though Dr. Rainy, to whose persistent efforts, perhaps more than to any other immediate cause, the United Free Church owes its existence, expressed in his Moderator's address his own hope that the larger Presbyterian union, when it comes, will be 'free from the temptations and the risks of a statutory connexion with the State,' it is perhaps permissible to emphasize rather his generous acknowledgment of the necessity of union conveyed in the words, 'we own that without them we cannot be made perfect.' It is for a union that shall heal the deplorable breach in the Presbyterianism of Scotland without sacrificing principles dear to either party that we at least may be permitted to hope.

For though, as we have endeavoured to show, it is 'the right of the Church to interpret, to determine its own constitution, its own principles, its own doctrines'—in other words, a free General Assembly, which is the central feature of the Scottish Reformation—it cannot be denied that the national Zion belongs to the ideals of that period, and that the Established Church occupies a place both in the affections of the Scottish people and the life of the Scottish nation that no other society can expect to fill. To remove it would, in spite of its imperfections, involve the loss of a witness to Scottish independence, of a landmark among Scottish institutions, of a symbol of Scottish faith. No Scotsman, whatever his religious belief, could stand unmoved in the Tolbooth Church at the close of the General Assembly, when after the dissolution, first by the Moderator 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, the sole King and Head of the Church,' then by the High Commissioner 'on behalf of his Majesty the King,' the fathers and brethren join in the metrical version of the one hundred and twenty-second psalm. It is a simple pageant, but Scotland is in it. It preserves an ideal, which may become a fact sooner than this generation knows. Meantime, in preparation for that yet larger union for which our prayers ever ascend, we of the Church of England shall do well to read for ourselves the lessons that are writ large upon the chequered pages of the history of religion in Scotland.

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ART. VIII.—THE ALFRED LITERATURE AND COMMEMORATION.

1. *Alfred the Great.* Containing Chapters on his Life and Times. By various Authors. Edited, with Preface, by ALFRED BOWKER, Mayor of Winchester. (London, 1899.)
2. *Alfred the Great, King and Patriot Saint of England.* A Sermon preached in Winchester Cathedral on Sunday, June 23, 1901, at the Summer Assembly of the National Home Reading Union. By the Very Rev. C. W. STUBBS, D.D., Dean of Ely. (Winchester, 1901.)
3. *King Alfred the Great.* By MONTAGU BURROWS, M.A., R.N., Chichele Professor of Modern History. (London, 1898.)
4. *The Writings of King Alfred.* An Address delivered at Harvard College. By FREDERIC HARRISON, M.A. (New York and London, 1901.)
5. *The Story of King Alfred.* By the late Sir WALTER BESANT. With Illustrations. (London, 1901.)
6. *Outlines of the Life and Work of King Alfred the Great.* With Map, Plans, and List of Books for further Study. By F. J. C. HEARNSHAW, M.A., LL.M. (Southampton, 1901.)
7. *The Life of King Alfred.* By Dr. REINHOLD PAULI A Translation Revised by the Author. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq., M.A. F.S.A. (London, 1852.)
8. *Alfred le Grand.* Par GUILLAUME GUIZOT. Troisième Edition. (Paris, 1864.)
9. *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great.* By the Rev. J. A. GILES, D.C.L. (London, 1848.)
10. *King Alfred.* By E. PAXTON HOOD. 'Short Biographies for the People' Series. (London, no date.)
11. *The Millenary of Alfred the Great, Warrior and Saint, Scholar and King.* A Sermon by the Rev. C. L. ENGSTRÖM, M.A. (London, 1901.)
12. *Alfred the Truthteller.* A Speech by Lord Rosebery. (London, 1901.)

IT is our happy privilege, as well as a serious duty, to take part, by an article in these pages, in the Commemoration of Alfred. The materials are abundant; they have been carefully sifted by competent scholars; facts and tales and the

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more doubtful legends have been accurately classified; and, at all events for scholars, the outline of the Great King's life is clearly defined. So much excellent literature has been produced upon this illustrious reign, and it is so well known to historical students, that, after making some remarks upon it and upon the original documents on which it is based, we shall feel justified in aiming chiefly at the object to which a very large part of the work of the committee of the National Commemoration, of Alfred has been devoted—to help to diffuse, as widely as possible, public knowledge of the King's life and work. We should be glad to think that the *Church Quarterly Review* had taken a characteristic part in making that great figure of Alfred more vividly present before the eyes of the English people, and in convincing them that the old Saxon Chronicle, the biography and annals of good Bishop Asser, and the later monastic compilers can tell them of a noble life which can be imitated, but can hardly be excelled, in these later days. Alfred has ever stirred and warmed the hearts of Englishmen, and it will be an ill day for England when no worship is left for such a hero as he. Hitherto, at all events, our fellow-countrymen have not been backward in the praise of Alfred. The Church, which canonized the weak Edward called 'Confessor,' did not usually call Alfred 'Saint,' though in some Kalendars he is beatified, but England called him the Truthteller, the Shepherd, the Wisest Man in England, the Darling of the English. From Asser downwards no one praises him who does not think that he ought to be praised more. This is so, as much with the scrupulously accurate and scientific historians as with the enthusiastic Churchmen and the popular writers. Alfred's great character appeals indeed to many different Englishmen in many different ways. To some he is chiefly attractive as a warrior, to others as a scholar, to others as a statesman, to others as a king, to others as a churchman, but to all as a man.

It is obvious that we are most concerned with his work in connexion with the Church, and with education as an inseparable part of that work, but an estimate of the whole character of the man necessitates some reference to his wars and his constructive administration. All parts of his life afford illustrations of the justice of the eulogy which has been pronounced upon him, glowing as it is. We will give a few samples. Professor Freeman calls him 'the best and greatest of all our Kings,' and 'the most perfect character in history';[1]

[1] See *Old English History*, p. 113; and Introduction to *History of the Norman Conquest.*

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Bishop Lightfoot says that he is 'the greatest and best of English Kings';[1] Dr. Bright considers him to be 'the noblest example of old English Christianity,' and says that in reading of Oswald 'we think instinctively of Alfred,' and he places Oswald, Alfred, and St. Louis together as royal examples of 'personal piety';[2] Professor Burrows at the close of his address remarks that 'on the whole we seem to be for once in history handling what the great Greek philosopher called a "four-square man." The winds of adversity did not chill him, the sun of prosperity did not melt him. He stood four-square against the winds of heaven.' And, as he truly adds, this is 'an elevating, ennobling study.'[3] The Dean of Ely enlarges upon Professor Freeman's panegyric, and says that 'it is the moral grandeur of Alfred's character that still hallows his memory among us.'[4] Sir Walter Besant calls him 'the typical man of our race at his best and noblest.'[5] Mr. Frederic Harrison, generously described by Mr. Bowker as the 'virtual originator' of the Commemoration,[6] in his Harvard address speaks of Alfred as 'the real father of native prose,' and in Mr. Bowker's book he says that Alfred's record is 'without stain and without weakness,' and that he is 'equally amongst the greatest of men in genius, in magnanimity, in valour, in moral purity, in intellectual force, in practical wisdom, and in beauty of soul. In his recorded career from infancy to death we can find no single trait that is not noble and suggestive, nor a single act or word that can be counted as a flaw.'[7] Mr. Bowker himself (p. 12) says that Alfred 'may rightly be regarded as one of the principal founders of the English nation and its language, a pioneer of improvement, liberty, learning, and education, who, though a thousand years have sped, still forms a mighty beacon of all the highest aims and the noblest aspirations that may dominate the hearts of men.' The Bishop of

[1] *Galatians*, p. 190.

[2] *Chapters of Early English Church History*, pp. 152, 163, 371. He notes (p. 296) that we owe to Alfred the beautiful story about St. Aldhelm's blameless guile on the bridge at Malmesbury when he gathered a crowd of listeners by minstrelsy and then passed to serious thoughts, and also that Asser, 'the Welsh counsellor and biographer of Alfred,' was Aldhelm's most noteworthy successor at Sherborne (p. 472).

[3] *King Alfred the Great*, pp. 28–9.

[4] *Alfred the Great*, p. 8.

[5] *The Story of King Alfred*, p. 206; and in the Introduction (p. 37) to Mr. Bowker's *Alfred the Great*.

[6] *Times*, September 19.

[7] *The Writings of King Alfred*, p. 3; Bowker's *Alfred the Great*, pp. 41–2.

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Bristol, in an interesting communication to the *Guardian*, that may well be read in connexion with his article in Mr. Bowker's book, describes Alfred as 'the happy fruit and fruitful parent of religious education.'[1] Mr. Oman, who deals with Alfred as a warrior, summarizes this aspect of his career by saying that he 'had turned defeat into victory, brought order out of chaos, and left the torn and riven kingdom that he had inherited, transformed into the best organised and most powerful state in Western Europe.'[2] Sir Clements Markham, in a brief paper on Alfred as a geographer, not only hails 'him as one who stands alone and unrivalled—the founder of the science of geography in this country,' but makes the further-reaching statement that his 'single-minded devotion . . . to the service of his people is shown in every action of his life.'[3] Professor Earle, whose recent monograph on the King's Jewel may be consulted by the antiquarian and the student of the Alfred literature,[4] uses weighty words, on a subject on which his authority will not be questioned, when he says that it is due to Alfred's 'installation of the mother tongue as the medium of elementary teaching' that 'we alone of all European nations have a fine vernacular literature in the ninth and tenth and eleventh centuries'; and he records his opinion that the domestic culture of that era 'was the cause why the great French immigration which followed in the wake of the Norman Conquest did not finally swamp the English language.'[5] Sir Frederick Pollock, who is understood to have a work in preparation to which the chapter on English Law before the Norman Conquest in Mr. Bowker's book belongs,[6] and who recently gave an interesting lecture at Oxford on the 'doubtful incidents' and 'legendary additions' which have found their way into the historical company of the records of Alfred,[7] tells us that 'we owe it to the work of Alfred and his children that England was saved to become an individual nation, and that our fundamental ideas of justice have survived all external changes.' These principles, of which he gives an admirable epitome, appear, he says, 'obvious to most of us, but there are many civilized countries

[1] *The Guardian*, July 3, 1901, p. 909.
[2] Mr. Bowker's *Alfred the Great*, p. 148.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 151, 167.
[4] *The Alfred Jewel.* By Professor Earle. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1901.)
[5] Mr. Bowker's *Alfred the Great*, p. 205.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 209.
[7] See the *Times* report, August 13, 1901.

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where they are not admitted.'[1] The Rev. W. J. Loftie, who discusses Alfred's relation to the fine arts, is able to make a triple division of his subject and say that the King was 'an architect, a writer, and a musician.'[2] Dr. Milner, the Roman Catholic historian of Winchester, opens his treatment of the reign of Alfred by saying that 'we come now to speak of the miracle of history: a prince, who, having been the subject of innumerable pens, has never had a defect imputed to him as a sovereign, nor a fault as a man. This was the immortal Alfred.'[3] The Poet-Laureate, who has already, in the 'dedication' of *England's Darling*, called Alfred 'the greatest of Englishmen,' contributes some stanzas on 'the spotless King' to Mr. Bowker's book in further praise of him. Ruskin places Alfred beside Henry of Germany and Charlemagne as typically representative of 'the justice of humanity, gradually forming the feudal system out of the ruined elements of Roman luxury and law.'[4] Mr. Hunt has recently said that 'no King has left behind him so lofty and stainless a record,' and 'his noble memory is dear to English hearts.'[5] Wordsworth devotes an ecclesiastical sonnet to 'the pious Alfred, King to Justice dear, Lord of the harp and liberating spear, Mirror of princes.' He speaks of his 'great soul'; he calls him the 'Darling of England,' and the 'rich theme of England's fondest praise.'[6] Mr. Churton, in his chapter on the reign of Alfred, used of him the words in which Keble described St. Louis[7]:

> 'Where shall the holy cross find rest?
> On a crowned monarch's mailed breast:
> Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene
> Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene.'[8]

Mr. Paxton Hood in his excellent penny Life of King Alfred, in the series of 'Short Biographies for the People,' quotes from Gibbon the truly characteristic pronouncement, 'Amidst the deepest darkness of barbarism, the virtues of Antoninus, the learning and valour of a Cæsar, and the

[1] Mr. Bowker's *Alfred the Great*, p. 239.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 243.
[3] Milner's *History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester*, i. 95 (third edition).
[4] *Fors Clavigera*, vol. i. Letter 15.
[5] *A History of the English Church*, from its foundation to the Norman Conquest, pp. 287–8.
[6] *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* (edited by W M. Rossetti), pp. 253, 301.
[7] *The Early English Church.*
[8] *The Christian Year*, First Sunday in Advent.

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legislative spirit of a Lycurgus were manifested in this patriotic King.'[1]

These are but typical selections from the chorus of praise, and before we inquire further into the actions and the character of the man about whom all this is said, or ask what deductions, if any, are to be made from it, we must make some remarks on the original authorities from which our information is derived, and upon some of the later literature to which the fontal documents have given rise.

In the first place, there is of course the Chronicle, 'sometimes called the Saxon Chronicle, sometimes the Anglo-Saxon, and nowadays more generally the English Chronicle.'[2] There is some difficulty in determining how much actual share Alfred had in the compilation of this document, but on the smallest computation our debt to him is very large, and the Chronicle holds the prime place of authority unchallenged. There is no doubt that Alfred began this work, and his share in it was certainly great. The basis for the earlier part of it was probably found in short local chronicles written in English, in Bede's work, and in national traditions. Begun about the year 890, it was continued, with more or less fulness and regularity and with extraordinary accuracy, until 1154; and from the death of Bede in 735 until the work of the last Chronicler ceased at Peterborough 'it is the highest narrative authority for English history, and forms a record, the like of which cannot be found in the early vernacular literature of any other people.'[3] Its special importance for the reign of Alfred, which Sir Walter Besant mentions in his popularly written *Story* (p. 17), is of course derived from the fact that in the year 855 it becomes virtually contemporary. Professor Burrows speaks not only of the 'accurate care' but also of the 'vigorous lofty style' of the Chronicle (p. 26), and justly so, even if it be true, as Sir Walter Besant says, that 'the work is, for the most part, what it purports to be, a mere chronicle, without much comment, of the principal events in each year, often losing, as is the way with such chronicles, the proportion of things, keeping silence where we most desire information, and narrating things with which we are not concerned.'[4] But we may think that this hardly does justice to the fuller story of Alfred's own reign, 'written with a vigour and a freshness and a life worthy of the temper and

[1] p. 2.
[2] So Professor Burrows, p. 26.
[3] Hunt's *English Church*, p. 282.
[4] Sir W. Besant's *Story*, pp. 17–8.

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spirit of a King whose deeds they record.'[1] Mr. Harrison's comment is that the Chronicle is 'the most authentic and important record of its youth which any modern nation possesses,' that 'for the most important years of Alfred's reign it is very full and keenly interesting,' and that 'no error of the least importance has ever been proven' against it (p. 8). To say this will not seem to say too much to the reader who remembers Professor Freeman's words, 'I always take care never to contradict the Chronicle, even when I bring in details from other sources.'[2] When we seek for the names of those who assisted Alfred in the compilation of the Chronicle, or who compiled it under his direction, we find that Mercia supplied him with the assistance of some learned priests, and that Plegmund, who for fear of the Danes had lived as a hermit on an island near Chester, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 890, was at his right hand. As for the place of the composition of the Chronicle, or, as we ought perhaps more accurately to say, the weaving of the materials which form it into one record, the alternative name of 'the book of Winton' is sufficient to connect it with the capital of Wessex, so inseparably bound up with Alfred's reign, and ever to be honoured as his earthly resting-place. Professor Freeman speaks very cautiously, saying that 'there seems some reason to think that the Chronicle began to be put together in its present shape in Alfred's time.'[3] This is enough to justify us in saying that the Chronicle 'is a noble monument of the sovereign who . . . . may at least be reckoned as one of the very earliest masters of the schools of history' (Burrows, p. 26), and that by giving 'the most powerful stimulus to the compilation of the record' the King was 'the founder of a systematic history of our country' (Harrison, p. 8). To these comments we need only add the testimony of Mr. J. R. Green, who in the heading of his section on Wessex and the Danes thinks that 'it is probable' that earlier materials 'were thrown together, and perhaps translated from Latin into English' in Alfred's time, and in the text of that section says more definitely that 'it seems likely that the King's rendering of Bæda's history gave the first impulse towards the compilation' of the Chronicle, 'which was certainly thrown into its present form during his reign.' When it reaches the reign of Alfred the Chronicle 'suddenly widens into the vigorous narrative, full of life and originality, that marks the gift of a new power to the English tongue.

[1] Dean Stubbs's *Sermon*, p. 4.
[2] *Old English History*, p. 112. [3] *Ibid.* p. 132.

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Varying as it does from age to age in historic value, it remains the first vernacular history of any Teutonic people, the earliest and most venerable monument of Teutonic prose.'[1]

There is less agreement among writers as to the value of the *Life of Alfred* which bears the name of Asser, a work which at any rate stands second only to the Chronicle in the study of the King's reign. The biography has been subjected to the critical processes of modern historical study; and, after all obvious interpolations have been struck out and all doubtful passages and internal discrepancies have been set aside, the residue is probably contemporary, or, at any rate, founded on contemporary authority. If we could be sure that this *Life of Alfred* was 'really written by Asser,' this would be, says Professor Freeman, 'among our best authorities for these times. But it seems hardly possible that all of it can have been written by Asser, because it contains some things which there seems hardly any way of piecing on to the real history.'[2] And again, 'we cannot put the same trust in the book called Asser as we do in the Chronicle.'[3] It is unfortunate that Sir Walter Besant's *Story* rather implies that this order of merit is to be reversed. Professor Burrows also seems disposed to think highly of Asser. Some, he says, 'have attempted to discredit the authenticity of Bishop Asser's account of King Alfred, but not very successfully' (p. 8, note). Asser, who was first a priest and monk of St. David's, and then Bishop of Sherborne, was engaged on the Life, according to his own statement, in 894. He died possibly in 909, and certainly after 904. The controversy about the integrity and value of his work has raged for a good long time, and the question may be said now to have been as much thrashed out as it can be. The details of the matter have been pretty fully discussed by Mr. Thomas Wright[4] adversely, and by Dr. Pauli favourably (pp. 5 *sqq.* of the Introduction). Mr. Hunt describes very well the present attitude of historical students towards Asser. 'While there can be little doubt that Asser wrote the King's Life, and that much, if not all, that he wrote has come down to us, the book, as we have it, contains many interpolations and inconsistencies.' Some of these 'are now of no importance, because they are known to be late insertions; but

[1] *A Short History of the English People*, i. 83, 97–8 (ed. 1892).
[2] *Old English History*, p. 103.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 104.
[4] *Biographia Literaria Britannica*, i. 405–13; *Archæologica*, xxiv.

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others are still puzzling, and it is hazardous to rely absolutely on many things which the Life contains.'[1] But some of the chief difficulties in it are concerned with the relations between Alfred and Asser, and the matter can hardly yet be regarded as determined.

Bishop Stubbs, 'while pointing out the grave doubts that arise from the present condition of the text, is not disposed to question the general truth of the work as history, or to throw suspicion on its genuineness and authenticity.'[2]

When we pass from the Chronicle and from Asser we leave our prime authorities and come to later writers who have in various ways made use of them. Florence of Worcester, who died in 1118, does not mention Asser by name, but at any rate he made use of a document which contained much that is in Asser's *Life* as we now have it, and William of Malmesbury seems to have had a copy before him which was similar to our own. It is, to be sure, a long leap to take from Asser to Dr. Pauli, but it is significant both of the paucity and the value of intervening attempts that Green, after mentioning the *Life* by Asser, goes straight to the 'admirable modern life' by Pauli, and mentions no other. Dr. Pauli himself gives a list of books, with some comments upon them. These were two seventeenth-century works. The earlier of the two, by Robert Powell, was entitled 'The Life of Alfred or Alvred, the first institutor of subordinate government in this kingdome, and refounder of the University of Oxford, together with a parallel of our Soveraigne Lord, King Charles, until this year 1634.'[3] As Dr. Pauli observes, this title shows what the spirit of the work is, and what is to be learned from it. In 1678 appeared the *Aelfredi Magni Vita* of Sir John Spelman, son of the better known Sir Henry. This was an Oxford folio which was, says Dr. Pauli, 'formerly written in English'; it is mentioned by Professor Freeman in his article on Alfred in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Dr. Giles calls it 'old and quaint, but useful.'[4] An eighteenth-century *Life of Alfred the Great, King of the Anglo-Saxons*, by A. Bicknell, reduced the diffuse labours of previous writers to order, but there are few signs in it of original research, and it was marked by a contempt for the Church which was

[1] *English Church*, p. 276.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 267, note. Mr. Hunt gives the reference to Bishop Stubbs's opinion, 'Will. of Malms. *Gesta Regum*. Pref. Vol. ii. Rolls Series.'

[3] London, 1634.

[4] *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, pref. p. ix.

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characteristic of the time of its appearance.[1] An article on Alfred in Dr. Rees' *Cyclopædia*, a voluminous work in thirty-nine volumes, enlarges upon the campaigns and legislation of Alfred, but passes over the details of his relation to the Church almost in silence.[2] Dr. Giles's own book was issued in London in 1848, and has a coloured representation of King Alfred's jewel as a frontispiece. Some fifty years ago the volume in a handsome binding was considered to be an appropriate addition to the library of a country squire. Such a copy now lies before us, and it may be thought to possess more merit than Dr. Pauli allowed. In his judgment it was neither sound in criticism nor graceful in style. Certainly it is pompous, and there was a disposition on Dr. Giles's part to treat all previous writers as of more or less equal value which rouses modern critical instincts to arms. The book was really supplanted by Dr. Pauli's 'youthful work' as Freeman calls it, which was written for Germany, and was more important than another German Life by Wyss, which need not detain us. The copy which we have read and used is the earliest translation by Mr. Wright, but the work has been more recently translated again by Mr. Thorpe.[3] The book is well arranged, carefully written, and a judicious estimate is formed of the leading aspects of Alfred's life. A preliminary chapter is devoted to the rise of the kingdom of the West Saxons, which must now, of course, be read in the fuller light of Freeman's chapter on the growth of Wessex,[4] Green's sections on Wessex and the Danes and on the West Saxon Realm,[5] and Mr. Hunt's chapters on the Viking Invasions and on Alfred.[6] In the three succeeding chapters Dr. Pauli groups the incidents of Alfred's youth, 849 to 866; training, 866 to 871; and early trials, 871 to 881. In the second portion of the book he depicts the labours of the King in Church and State, his work as an author and an instructor, his strenuous struggle with the Danes, when, as Asser says, he rushed at the enemy like a wild boar, his family life, and his character as a man. In the appendices Dr. Pauli inserted some fragments from Alfred's writings, including his will, an account of the jewel, and a useful register of the history of Wessex from 838 to 901. In Mr. Wright's introductory description of the work he justly observes that Dr. Pauli shows 'a sort of chivalrous

[1] London, 1777.
[2] London, 1819.
[3] Bohn's Library (London, 1893).
[4] *Old English History*, pp. 63–99.
[5] *A Short History*, pp. 83–117.
[6] *History*, pp. 247–288.

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sensitiveness at the slightest incident which would intimate the possibility of casting a blot, however small, on the object of his adoration, while . . . he gives up with great reluctance even a palpable fable if it tends to enhance his glory.' M. Guizot's *Alfred le Grand*, the third edition of which appeared at Paris in 1864, is not only a survey of the life of Alfred, but consists of a series of useful chapters which fully justify the larger alternative title of *L'Angleterre sous les Anglo-Saxons*. The writer places Alfred with Gustave Wasa and Henri IV. as a king who 'a été obligé de s'ouvrir, par le travail de la guerre, le chemin du trône, son héritage' (p. 1). After a description of the reign which is similar in style and in value to the same author's treatment of Guillaume le Conquérant and Edouard III., he says, 'pour résumer plus brièvement tous les éloges d'Alfred, on pourrait se borner à rappeler les différents surnoms qu'il a reçu tour à tour: Alfred le berger de l'Angleterre, Alfred le plus sage des Anglais, Alfred le Véridique, Alfred le Grand, Alfred le Bien-Aimé' (p. 222). In strong contrast to the French narrative stands the biography of *Alfred the Great* by Thomas Hughes, which was published in 1869. As may be expected, the author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* found that the life of Alfred was a congenial subject, and there is a bracing tone of enthusiasm in this Life which is not quite equalled by any other except by the little work of Professor Burrows, in which the reader may think that he hears the firm tread of the quarter-deck. Mr. Hughes has not confined himself to one particular aspect of Alfred's reign, but it is with Alfred as a soldier, and with his military campaigns and exploits, that he is at his best.

From this work we naturally pass to contemporary literature, much of which has been called forth by the proposal for a Millenary Commemoration of the great King. If we pass by a very good brief sketch which was written in 1895 by the Rev. F. G. A. Phillips, and was printed in *Good Will* in a series called 'Hearts of Oak,' which comprised short biographies on Bede, Cædmon, Chaucer, Grosseteste, Hugh, and others, the first place in time and in honour must be given to the volume on *Alfred the Great*, which has been so well edited, and supplied with such a worthy preface, by Mr. Bowker, the Mayor of Winchester. We have already made some extracts from the volume. On the cover is impressed a representation of King Alfred's jewel; Mr. Thornycroft's statue affords an illustration as a frontispiece; a map to show what Britain meant in the time of Alfred is inserted before

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the preface, and the illustrations of the seasons are interspersed at various points in the book from the Cottonian Manuscript. Sir Walter Besant's 'Introduction' is in substance the lecture which he delivered in the Guildhall at Winchester on February 18, 1898, and which we are glad to know was published in a cheap form in the same year.[1] Sir Walter's *Story*, which also contains a photograph of Mr. Thornycroft's statue, represents a further effort on his part to make the English-speaking race understand what manner of man Alfred was, what kind of world he lived in, what he did, why we honour him, and why we should continue so to do. Mr. Frederic Harrison's essay makes rather too wide a sweep of the reign of Alfred, and suffers somewhat on this account. Perhaps 'Alfred as King'—the title of the essay—is not sufficiently definite in aim. According to the official programme of the Commemoration, a copy of which has been courteously sent to us by Mr. Bowker, and which contains an admirable account of 'Royal Winchester' from his pen, Mr. Harrison gave a similarly comprehensive title, 'King Alfred the Great,' to his lecture on the evening of the first day of the Commemoration, which seems to have closed the day 'with a satisfactory and vivid realization, and in the artistic sense, idealization' of Alfred.[2] His Harvard address 'On the Writings of King Alfred' is the expression of a strong desire to stir the interest of his Transatlantic audience in the Commemoration, as well as an account of the King's literary works, his lost Handbook, his Laws, and his translations from Orosius, Bede, St. Gregory, and Boethius. A deeper and more technical estimate of 'the literary achievements' of 'Alfred as a writer' is to be found in Professor Earle's contribution to the volume (p. 171) and with this should be read a learned special article on 'the poetry of King Alfred,' which appeared in the *Times* on August 20 last. The King was, we should remember, much influenced by Aldhelm's Saxon poems. Lest our enthusiasm should lead us to ascribe too large a share to Alfred in forming our mother tongue, we may do well to bear in mind that 'the modern English language is based on that of the East Midlands, and not on the literary language of Alfred's time, which was properly the dialect of Wessex.'[3] It may also be convenient to add that a copy of the Lord's Prayer, as in use in the vernacular in the time of Alfred, together with two later

[1] By H. Cox, 8 Bream's Buildings, E.C.
[2] *Times*, September 19.
[3] Boase's *Oxford*, p. 7 ('Historic Towns' Series).

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copies, is printed by Mr. Churton in the appendix to his *Early English Church*.[1] Mr. Hunt gives a concise account of Alfred's translations, his method of working, and the character of his work.[2] The popular biographies also devote chapters to this part of the subject.[3]

The Bishop of Bristol's essay on 'Alfred as a Religious Man and Educationalist,' coupled with his paper in the *Guardian*, refers to an aspect of the King's life which was probably not chiefly prominent in the minds of some of those who took part in the recent Commemoration, but it is an aspect which will win the warmest admiration for Alfred from all earnest supporters of sound religious education, and the Winchester sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury, on 1 Cor. xi. 1, reported in the *Guardian* on September 25 (p. 1289), nobly drew attention to the King's Christian example. 'Regard for religion and its chief ministers,' says Dr. Browne, was 'the settled policy of his great house.'[4] One or two points of importance arise in this connexion. The tradition of the royal house of Wessex was undoubtedly very clearly marked in the direction of regard for the centre of Western Christendom. King Alfred was accustomed to look lovingly to Rome, whither he had been sent by his father as early as 853 or 854, and he sent gifts to Rome, especially between 883 and 890, so regularly that an omission so to do was mentioned in the Chronicle as remarkable. Dr. Browne urges that he was attracted 'to the tombs of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and not to the Pope.' That alone is rather too slender a basis for the whole of his veneration. It is to us difficult to understand why it should be thought necessary to minimize the influence of Rome on early Teutonic Christianity, or how it can be used as an argument for the Vatican theory. Rome was for the English the home of true Christianity; it was the centre of Western Christianity, the place whence the arts, ancient literature, and ancient civilization were imported into the vigorous and growing Teutonic races. England owed a great deal to Rome, and a great deal also to its distance from Rome. Another grave point

[1] London, 1840.

[2] *English Church*, pp. 280–1.

[3] Sir W. Besant's *Story*, p. 161, on 'Alfred as Writer'; Mr. Hearnshaw's *Outlines*, p. 27, on 'the revival of learning'; Mr. Paxton Hood's *King Alfred*, p. 9, on 'King Alfred as author, and creator of English literature,' and as 'a poet and psalmist'; and compare Professor Burrows' *King Alfred the Great*, p. 18.

[4] *Guardian*, July 3, 1901, p. 909.

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in Alfred's relation to religious affairs is his way of speaking of Plegmund as 'my Archbishop,' which Dr. Browne ascribes to the 'secular Imperial influence' of Rome, and in which Professor Burrows (p. 21) seems to find a tinge of wholesome Tory Erastianism, but which we should prefer to understand in the light of Alfred's remark that a King must have his Prayer men, as well as his Army men and his Work men. The phrase was well enough when there was such a King as Alfred and such an Archbishop as Plegmund, but it is obviously open to some serious objections. Our readers are not likely now to go to Soames for their knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and therefore, before we leave the subject of the relation of Alfred to Rome, ecclesiastical or secular, we must quote Soames's amusing view of the matter:

'[Alfred] could hardly fail, through life, of associating with Rome and the papacy all that was gratifying, venerable, polished, and magnificent. A clue is thus found for understanding a weak and sinful compliance which mortifies a Protestant inquirer into the history of this admirable King. . . . Posterity is driven to qualify its veneration for his character, by admitting that he must find a place among corrupters of the national religion.' [1]

So far Soames, who had delivered a course of Bampton Lectures on the doctrines of the Anglo-Saxon Church in 1830, and issued the aftermath of his materials in the form of a History, which reached a second edition in 1838. We are glad that the Catholic instincts of modern Church historians have led most of them to write in a more excellent way both of Alfred and of Rome, though Mr. Paxton Hood speaks of the 'crafty wisdom of Rome' (p. 14).

Alfred's career as a warrior is truly described as both interesting and baffling by Mr. Oman in his essay. We know enough to make the story interesting, and yet the inner motives and the details often baffle us. Hughes's Life, at all events, leaves nothing to be desired in the mode of telling the story of Alfred as a soldier for the general reader, and Professor Burrows (p. 6), Mr. Hearnshaw (pp. 16, 19, 30), and Sir Walter Besant (p. 79, on 'Alfred's wars') give excellent epitomes of military events. Mr. Paxton Hood boldly calls Alfred 'the father and founder of the English Navy' (p. 8), and the 'foundation' and 'development' of the navy alike find a place in the index to Mr. Bowker's volume. A phrase of Dr. Pauli's well sums up Alfred's relation both to the army

[1] *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 141–2 (ed. 2).

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and navy. He says that Alfred was 'the saviour of his people from total destruction' (p. 389). 'Many precious boons we owe,' in Archbishop Trench's words, to Alfred, 'but this the most precious, because it included or made possible all other—namely, that the Danish invasion was a scourge and no more, that the very life of Christian England was not crushed out by it.'[1]

The King's claim to be a geographer is, of course, based in Sir Clements Markham's paper chiefly on the translation of Orosius. The remaining essays, by Sir Frederick Pollock and the Rev. W. J. Loftie, describe the part which Alfred took in making laws for his people, and in bringing them into touch with the fine arts in which his stepmother Judith had taught him to be interested. Mr. Hunt dwells upon the Christian basis of the King's code of laws, in which the Decalogue has some curious omissions.[2] We cannot leave Mr. Bowker's volume without paying our tribute of gratitude to him for the indefatigable industry with which he has laboured to make the Commemoration worthy of the occasion, and not least for the contribution with which he has enriched the official programme. The book was dedicated by gracious permission to Her Majesty the late Queen, who signified her approval of the proposed Commemoration. The patron of the official programme is His Majesty King Edward VII., and thus the greatest successor of Alfred and her son have both joined in the Commemoration.

One of the best of the recently issued lives of Alfred is certainly Mr. Dugald Macfadyen's *Alfred the West Saxon.*[3] It is well written, reliable, and carefully composed in the light of the latest knowledge. Mr. Edward Conybeare's *Alfred in the Chroniclers*[4] is a book for the graver student as well as for the general reader. He gives a short and excellent introductory sketch of early English history down to Alfred's time, an outline of the King's reign, a rendering of Asser's Life, passages from the English Chronicle, and from the writers of a later time. Mr. W. H. Draper's *Alfred the Great*[5] is useful not only because it gives a life of the King in outline, but because, somewhat after the manner of the Commemoration volume, it groups the multiform work of Alfred under various 'studies' or heads, such as his legislation, his anticipation of local government, and his literary labours. A special 'study' is made of the King's burial-

[1] *Lectures on Mediæval Church History*, pp. 42–3.
[2] See *Lingard*, ii. 418.
[3] Dent & Co., 1901.
[4] Elliot Stock, 1900.
[5] *Ibid.*

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place,[1] and some convenient bibliographical notes are included. A reader of Mr. Draper's book will find abundant reason for regarding Alfred as 'the glory of our Saxon monarchs,' and for the justification of Dr. Rees's remark that 'had he not been a King, he would have been eminently distinguished as a grammarian, a rhetorician, a philosopher, an historian, a musician, and architect.'[2] Among the shorter Lives is Mr. Page's *Alfred the Great*, in which the reader must remember that an unsifted Asser is a snare, though Mr. Page has written his story in a useful and readable way. A similar book, *The Story of Alfred the Great*, is the joint work of Messrs. Hawkins and Thornton Smith, and is well illustrated. Cheaper still, and ostensibly written 'for the people,' is Sir Walter Besant's *Story*, which we have mentioned above. Mr. Hearnshaw's *Outlines* is intended primarily to serve as an inexpensive guide to fuller knowledge of the life and times of Alfred. As a skeleton it will be found to be full of help, and admirably accurate. We are glad that Mr. Paxton Hood enables us to say in the Millenary year that a Life of Alfred can be bought for a penny. There is a little playing to the Protestant gallery in a passage about the Church of Rome which we regret, but for type, simplicity, and cost we have nothing but praise, and we hope that in many places it may be found possible to introduce this 'short biography' into elementary schools. Professor Burrows's lecture on *King Alfred the Great* is more suitable for adult readers, and might usefully be placed in clubs, parish rooms, and guild libraries. The Dean of Ely's sermon contains the famous passage from Freeman's introduction to the *History of the Norman Conquest*, in which Alfred is called 'a saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a warrior all whose wars were fought in defence of his country, a conqueror whose laurels were never stained by cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, never lifted up to insolence in the hour of triumph.' And from these and other aspects of Alfred's life suitable homiletic lessons are drawn. A sermon preached by the Rev.

[1] The Rev. W. Benham, *Diocesan History of Winchester*, pp. 57–8, draws 'consolation rather than irony' from the reflection that the spot of William Rufus's resting-place is known, while that of Alfred is uncertain.

[2] *Cyclopædia.* Article on Alfred. Dr. Rees, we may add, quotes Sir W. Blackstone as saying that Alfred's 'mighty genius prompted him to new-model the Constitution.' And he says that the story of King Alfred and St. Cuthbert—which Freeman relates in full (*Old English History*, pp. 127–9)—was represented in a painting by Mr. West, and presented to the Stationers' Company by Alderman Boydell.

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C. L. Engström before the Cordwainers' Company has been expanded and annotated into what is now practically a lecture on *The Millenary of Alfred the Great*, 'Warrior and Saint, Scholar and King.'[1] In its enlarged form the pamphlet contains a certain amount of padding, but also some useful pieces of information, such as that the official statement and appeal of the Commemoration Committee—printed at the end of Mr. Bowker's book—may be obtained gratis at the Mansion House, and that the British Museum has issued a penny paper, entitled 'Alfred the Great Millenary Exhibition, 1901.' We are informed by the authorities of the British Museum that their *Guide* is already out of print, and unlikely to be reprinted. Lord Rosebery's speech at Winchester, on September 20, was reported in the *Times* on the following day, and has since been printed in a penny eight-paged pamphlet.[2] We may add that Mr. F. B. Jeffery has published a 'condensed biography of England's one and only Alfred,' under the title of *A Perfect Prince*,[3] and that Mr. E. L. Hill has wrought a play of three acts in blank verse called *Alfred the Great*.[4] The extremely meagre article on Alfred in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* hardly deserves to be mentioned.[5] It is obvious from what has been said above that there is no lack of good Alfred literature to suit the taste, the scholarship, and the purse of all; and we hope that we have done more to spread the knowledge of Alfred by reviewing this literature as fully as we have done than would have been possible if we had simply added another necessarily brief biography to the existing lives. We shall simply, in the space which remains, notice the great landmarks of Alfred's life, and make some observations on a few salient points.

He was born in 849, or, as Mr. Hunt, on the authority of the preface to the so-called Winchester version of the Saxon Chronicle, would say, in 848,[6] at Wantage, the birthplace, in 1692, of the author of 'the most argumentative and philosophical defence of Christianity ever submitted to the world,' and the scene in the last century of the labours of one of the typical parish priests of England. Mr. Hearnshaw, at the

[1] Longmans, 1901.
[2] Humphreys, Piccadilly.
[3] Elliot Stock.
[4] Fisher Unwin.
[5] It consists only of 3 columns, and follows an article of 5 columns on Dean Alford. Other comparisons show that 6 columns are devoted to Pope Alexander VI., 11 columns to Alexander the Great, over 100 to Algebra, and 250 to Agriculture.
[6] *English Church*, p. 260, note.

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heading of his eighth chapter, prints the inscription of Count Gleichen's statue of Alfred which stands at Wantage:

'Alfred found learning dead, and he restored it;
Education neglected, and he revived it;
The laws powerless, and he gave them force;
The Church debased, and he raised it;
The land ravaged by a fearful enemy, from which he delivered it.'

When the child was about four years old he was taken, in 853, on the celebrated journey to Rome, and in the words of the Chronicle, 'Lord Leo (Pope Leo IV.) hallowed him and took him for his Bishopson,' so greatly to the horror of Soames! What this actually means is not determined. Mr. Hunt and Mr. Hearnshaw think that the phase refers to confirmation, and Dean Stubbs makes no choice between baptism, confirmation, consecration, and dedication to kingship. Asser's narrative is not easily harmonized here with the Chronicle, and on the whole it seems better to understand the statement merely of a general fatherly spiritual patronage and benediction. The pretty story of Alfred winning a book from his mother Osburh, when he could read it, is mixed up with impossible dates, but connects Alfred's name with love of learning, and so fixes in the mind a true trait of his character. In 868 he married Ealhswyth, of the tribe of the Gainas. They occupied a region in Lindsey which is rich in Saxon and Danish memories, with Gainsborough for its capital, and Sidnacaester (Stow) and Tiovulfingacaester (Torksey or Littleborough) a few miles away. To have provided Alfred with a bride may rank as the chief historical claim of a town which is not without some other points of interest, for it was practically the capital of Swegen, and in later times was the birthplace of a Richard who built the Angel Choir at Lincoln, of a fourteenth-century bishop of Worcester, and of Simon Patrick, Bishop of Ely. It was the scene of a skirmish in the Civil War, and is well described under the name of St. Ogg's in the *Mill on the Floss*. The devastating Danes burnt the venerable church at Stow two years later, and the building still bears the marks of the fire. With Alfred's marriage some mention must be made of that frightful and mysterious malady which tormented him from the day of his wedding to the day of his death, 'a strange disease,' says Freeman,[1] which makes all the great things that he did even more wonderful. An extract from Pauli is given by Bishop Lightfoot in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,[2] showing, as Professor Jowett had

[1] *Old English History*, p. 116. [2] p. 190.

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already pointed out, that this agonizing visitation bore some distinct points of likeness to St. Paul's thorn in the flesh. The bishop says that 'the value of the illustration is diminished by the suspicion attaching to the so-called Asser,' and the professor, though he says that 'this is a remarkable parallel,' is careful to qualify his words by a quotation from Luther to the effect that St. Paul's 'was not that manner of temptation.'[1] The passage on the nature of the disease in Sir Walter Besant's *Story* (p. 78) is as good as any that we have seen, and is all the better because, as he frankly says, he has 'no theory to offer.'

It will not be necessary here to enter into the details of the struggles with the Danes. It is enough to note that the battle of Ashdown in 871 was the crisis of the first campaign; the battle of Ethandune, followed by the treaty of Wedmore in 878, of the second; and the defeat of the army under Hasting in 897 of the third. To the period of retirement at Athelney in the spring of 878 belongs the story of the cakes which, if not of prime authority, is popularly inseparable from Alfred's name. At any rate, from this retreat Alfred came forth, as Mr. Wakeman says, by a happy parallel, 'like a second David from the rocks of Engedi,' to be 'a hero and a saviour,' and 'the pattern of Christian royalty. No speck of self-seeking or of brutality mars the brightness of that sunny life.'[2] The closing years, about which full information is sadly wanting, were filled, it seems, with the constructive works of peace. The King sorted the old laws, rather than made new ones, but, as Green observes, 'unpretending as the work might seem, its importance was great. With it began the conception of a national law. The notion of separate systems of tribal customs for the separate peoples passed away; and the codes of Wessex, Mercia, and Kent blended in the doom book of a common England.'[3] However highly we appreciate what Alfred did for learning, we no longer call him the founder of the University of Oxford. The legends about Oxford and about Alfred have been analysed so thoroughly in Mr. Parker's *Early Oxford* that the work will not need doing again. The time was, however, and that not so very long ago, when Alfred's foundation of Oxford was gravely

[1] Jowett's *St. Paul's Epistles*, i. 369.

[2] *History of the Church of England*, p. 59.

[3] *History*, p. 93; compare Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, i. 224 (Library Edition, 1880); see also under 'Alfred' in Dr. Stubbs's index. The concluding chapter of Asser contains some important information both as to the King's judicial functions and as to his 'local courts.'

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accepted as a fact, in common with other late interpolations of Asser. Mr. Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, thought that the Alfredic foundation of Oxford University, if not maintainable as a truth, yet contained no intrinsic marks of error.[1] Mr. Churton says that one of Alfred's first labours was to restore the school at Oxford, 'which seems to have remained from Archbishop Theodore's day.'[2] A good many details of evidence are enumerated by Collier,[3] who both says that he will not pretend to draw his own conclusion from them, and also that 'it is certain that Alfred settled a noble seat of learning at Oxford.' The crucial fact, duly recorded by Mr. Boase, is that the earliest reference to Alfred's founding the University of Oxford is in Higden's *Polychronicon*, written under Edward III.[4] Singularly little is recorded of Alfred which lowers our admiration of his character. If we mention his impatience at Escendune when Ethelred persisted in his attention to the Mass while the heathen Danes were rapidly advancing; the fact that once he trusted, credulously, to the Danes' oath upon Christian relics; the alleged levity, haughtiness, and neglect of justice to the poor of the early years of his reign—which Freeman did not at all believe, and supposed to have originated in the mind of some biographer of Alfred's hermit cousin, St. Neot, who rebuked the king for his conduct—we have mentioned all. Happy is he against whom so little can be truly said! The minor stories and legends about Alfred—his pious division of time, his use of candles and of lanterns, and other tales—will serve a useful purpose if they engage the attention of the people first to the stories themselves, and then to the character and the great work of the man of whom they are told. Among the relics of the King which remain, the chief place in popular regard certainly belongs to the Alfred jewel. Here it is not necessary to do more than refer to Professor Earle's book, the expansion, as it seems, of an earlier lecture to which Professor Burrows alludes (p. 14). It is a relic at least of the tenth century, and Professor Earle is inclined, on linguistic and other evidence, to say of the ninth; it is a specimen of pure Anglo-Saxon workmanship, owing something probably to Celtic sources, but not con-

[1] iii. 524.
[2] *Early English Church*, p. 210.
[3] *Ecclesiastical History*, i. 392-7. The curious reader may turn to Soames, p. 153; Dr. Giles, p. 298; and the *British Critic*, xxiv. 139.
[4] *Oxford*, p. 128. Compare *A History of the University of Oxford.* By the Hon. G. C. Brodrick, pp. 1-2

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nected with Byzantine art. Mr. Elworthy wrote to the *Times*, on October 1, to express his satisfaction that his view of the 'jewel,' as part of the 'oestel' or pointer sent by the king with one of his presents of books, was favourably entertained by Professor Skeat and Sir John Evans at the Winchester commemoration. It was made presumably for Alfred's use, and at Alfred's orders, before he became king. It was lost by him in Athelney, found there in 1693, and afterwards deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

Alfred died, says the Saxon Chronicle, in 901, 'six days before the mass of All Saints.' This day cannot be October 28, as Sir Walter Besant says (p. 201). Dr. Giles reckons it to be October 26. We rather suppose that in the ecclesiastical method of counting in both the first and the last day of reckoning it was October 27. The year is a matter of dispute. Dr. Giles quotes various enumerators (p. 367), and Sir Frederick Pollock has recently said that 899 appears to be the true date.[1] Mr. Hunt says that the dates in this part of the Winchester version of the Chronicle are a year in advance, and therefore places the death in the year 900.[2] Sir Frederick's date is supported by Mr. Stevenson.[3]

Truly Alfred deserves to be praised among our 'famous men and our fathers that begat us.'[4] The early verses of that notable chapter of the Son of Sirach are applicable to him almost without change. Alfred, as Dean Church has said,

'was the flower and type of the Wessex Kings. Sober, dauntless, resolute, patient, he met his circumstances, dark or bright, as they came, with the same steady temper, the same high public spirit. Receiving his kingdom amid calamity and disaster, overpowered and overmatched, he retired, biding his time, but not losing hope, till his opportunity came, and he was able to win and enforce a peace. By the peace of Wedmore . . . he abated though he could not entirely check the pressure of the northern rovers for nearly a hundred years, and thus gained a breathing time for the works of peace. Alfred, serious in his religion as in all he did, and in this as in other things full of sympathy with his people, applied himself to raise and improve them. He set on foot reformation in the Church. He rekindled the lost learning of Bede and Alcwin; he awakened what was equally precious—greater in this than the great Charles—the faith, the confidence of Englishmen, in the powers and worth of the English tongue. He wrote, he translated, he edited in English. He represents in the highest degree all the humanising tendencies of

[1] *Times*, August 13, 1901.
[2] *English Church*, p. 285.
[3] *English Historical Review*, xiii. 71.
[4] *Ecclus.* xliv. 1.

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the time, the efforts to bring out what was excellent and noble in the national spirit, and to cast off what was barbarous. In this he was like Charles the Great; but in Alfred there was more soberness of aim and purity of life, with more care for justice and mercy. Alfred is the father of the English Navy; he saw, like Edgar after him, that England, to be safe, must be powerful on the sea. He was a legislator, reverencing and holding to the past, but owning the changes of the present, and not venturing too much to bind the future. . . . Alfred set the standard of an English ruler; one who thought not of himself, but of his charge and duty; who did nothing for show, and sought not his own glory, but gave himself, and his credit too when necessary, to the interest of his kingdom, and the work of his place. . . . The strong personal influence of the West Saxon Kings had much to do with uniting the English people. . . . But there was another influence continually at work. . . . The great agency of fusion and unity was the Church. . . . The Anglo-Saxon Church was pre-eminently a popular Church.' [1]

Certainly Oswald, Alfred, Victoria are bright names in English history, never to be forgotten (Psalm cxii. 6). But the greatest of Sovereigns pass away, like the meanest of their subjects, from their earthly realms. One King alone there is who reigns for ever, and the Church of England, through which He pours perpetual benediction upon the English people, will remain as our abiding treasure until He come.[2]

ART. IX.—EDUCATION IN PARLIAMENT.

1. (*a*) *Education Bill*, 1896. (*b*) *Board of Education Act*, 1899. (*c*) *Education Act*, 1901.
2. (*a*) *Orders in Council under the Board of Education Act*, 1900 *and* 1901. (*b*) *Minute of the Board of Education establishing Higher Elementary Schools*, April, 1900. (*c*) *Return of Statistics of certain Higher Grade Schools*, August, 1901.
3. *The Times*, September 13, 1901. Address of Sir John Gorst to the Educational Science Section of the British Association Meeting at Glasgow.

IT will, we believe, be a great misfortune to this country if the present Government does not succeed in—we will not say solving the education question—but in introducing a

[1] *Beginning of the Middle Ages*, pp. 177–8, 181–2.

[2] Messrs. Putnam's Sons announce a volume on *Alfred the Truth-teller*, as in preparation by Mr. F. Perry in the series of 'Heroes of the Nations.'

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coherent national system. The education question cannot indeed be solved any more than any other political problem, for it has been well said: 'The educational problem is perpetual; it has not been, nor perhaps can ever be, solved. For it is the adjustment of moral and intellectual discipline to the characteristic conditions of the times, and these conditions are necessarily variable.'[1] But the time has clearly come when the chaotic and incoherent inefficiency which at present prevails should give way to an efficient and practical system.

There is certainly a need. If we look back at the experience of recent years, we believe that the failures of the country have largely been due to intellectual shortcomings. It is that which has become painfully apparent to many of us who have been quite ready, as far as possible, to avoid unnecessary criticism of the conduct of a war which circumstances have made abnormally difficult. Yet, whether in the preparation for it or in innumerable details of the operations, there has been a conspicuous absence of thought or trained intelligence. It is the great want of technical training and of mental effort which is helping to undermine our commercial supremacy. Many of us who have been following the record of our public schools with great care are becoming more and more conscious of the failure of the schools in just the one thing for which they primarily exist—mental training. Not only do they exaggerate athletics, but athletics have lost half their true value as a training since they have become so highly organised, and since the athletic masters, the professional, and the lavish supply of funds have taken away the need of thought, organization, and management on the part of the boys. And this corresponds to a very definite decay of mental culture and interest among the classes which claim to be educated. Almost every country house has a well-selected library made in the early half of the last century; how few have in any way kept it up to date! We believe that the same criticism might be directed against other departments of life, and notably, of our religious life. But our illustrations are probably sufficient.

We are of opinion that the present Government, if it braces itself for the task, is peculiarly fitted to solve it. If the country is unintellectual, our Government is singularly intellectual; probably one of the strongest bodies, from an intellectual point of view, that has ever governed a country. Both its strength and weakness proceed from this cause. It

[1] J. E. C. Welldon, *Fortnightly Review*, May 1890.

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has been wisely unsentimental. But it has been cynically indifferent to conciliating sentiment. It is often strangely wanting in sympathy, and it shows the curious absence of conviction in many directions which is the result of over-intellectual subtlety. But all these qualities, if it would only attack the problem seriously, would make it singularly fitted to deal with the education question. It would have no sympathy with the professional educationist or the School Board devotee; although, as Churchmen, we may hope for fairness from it, we need not expect and should not claim more. If it would only have the courage of its convictions, and would believe that the problem demands to be attacked seriously, it might pass a useful, even a great measure.

All these qualities are conspicuous in the Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education. Sir John Gorst has shown his ability and, we may add, his curious detachment, at the meeting of the British Association. If on any of the great opportunities which during the last five or six years have presented themselves he could have been induced to take himself, or his audience, seriously, the education question in England would not be in the state in which it now is. The demand which education makes upon those charged in England with its public administration is perhaps excessive; but the claims on time and thought made by a subject not only of intrinsic greatness but of supreme national importance cannot be small. One thing, however, is necessary. An Education Minister must possess a real conviction of the value of education, a conviction shown not merely on the platform but in the patient continuance of well-doing in the seat of administration. Such a test may be a severe one, but it is time that those who are responsible to Parliament for this department of State should enlist the interest of the public in the difficulties and the importance of this task: if these problems are to be solved, it can only be by the intelligent pressure of public opinion, and such opinion can best be formed by authoritative, popular, and repeated expositions of the facts of the case and the needs of the country.

But Sir John Gorst appears to bring to his present task neither personal conviction nor carefully thought-out plans. If only this last of the Vice-Presidents could for a whole Session forget himself in his work and apply his undoubted ability to the task of informing himself, Parliament, and the public of the momentous importance of establishing in England, without further delay, a right system of education

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his name might yet outshine in public esteem that of any of his predecessors in office, to whom, indeed, so great an opportunity never came. We do not, however, expect so eminent a conversion, and, since the fight over next Session's Education Bill will be won or lost in the House of Commons, it is our fervent hope that the Leader of the House will take charge of the measure. In our opinion its fate depends almost entirely upon that condition being fulfilled.

The problems of education are partly legislative, partly administrative, partly more directly educational. The present phase is consciously legislative, and as such we shall here attempt to deal with it. Not that the administrative and the educational phases are in themselves less important, but because, for the moment, their consideration may be postponed. The legislative aspect of education is now before the country; the Government has undertaken to deal with it immediately: Mr. Balfour has definitely promised that an Education Bill shall have an early and honourable place next Session. It therefore behoves us to turn serious attention to the problems of the legislator and the administrator with the object, at this crisis, of helping forward the solution by all means that lie in our power. And we believe that we shall treat the religious question in the wisest way, not by isolating it, but by treating it as one part of a great national need.

It will afford slender consolation even to the most ardent supporter of the present Government, to reflect that most of the difficulties which are likely to beset the promised Education Bill will have been brought about by a timid and half-hearted policy which hardly deserves the name of policy. For a responsible Ministry to have brought in a great Bill, as was that of 1896 when first conceived, and to have allowed it to be smothered by amendments; to have brought in a partial measure like that by which the Board of Education has been established, and to have occupied two sessions passing it; to have brought in, under compulsion of the Cockerton judgment, an Education Bill of nine clauses, and to have withdrawn it in favour of a one-clause Bill, is not merely to have incurred discredit, it is to have courted disaster. To the friends of the Government such procedure has entailed a series of bitter disappointments, since it is impossible to say whether the golden opportunity for a great conciliatory measure may not already have passed beyond recall.

It may, at any rate, confidently be predicted that the autumn will witness throughout the country the excursions and alarms of threatened vested interests. Aggrieved School

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Boards, supported by the National Union of Teachers, will make every effort to influence and prejudice members of Parliament against any redistribution of educational powers among existing local authorities which may be proposed. A one-sided view of the duty of the State to education will be vigorously expounded from many platforms; few voices will be heard advocating quality rather than quantity of education as essential to national welfare, while fallacy and misstatement will, as in the spring and summer, once more be strenuously advanced by those who desire the present order of things to continue. The Government will be denounced as attempting to defraud the working man's child of his chance in life, and the Church of England will be accused of having entered into an unholy alliance with the Government to hamper and possibly to overthrow School Boards. It may be said that false cries and false issues such as these do little harm except among the ignorant or prejudiced, but those on whom will fall the brunt of the conflict for the establishment of a comprehensive and equitable settlement of the Education Question cannot afford to ignore the fact that those who deliberately adopt a method of warfare by which the true issue is concealed and the interest of a part is declared superior to that of the whole, possess the stupendous advantage of solidarity and mobility. School Boards and associations of Elementary Teachers have, by constant practice, learned not only how to organize their forces, but also how to manufacture public opinion, and how to make individual members of Parliament uncomfortable. We believe that there are, as a matter of fact, no grounds at all for this feeling of discomfort, and that the number of votes which the Free Church Councils and the National Union of Teachers will change is quite infinitesimal.

It is the duty, then, of the supporters of the Government to call to mind what has already been accomplished since 1895 in the way of evolving a national system of education, and, if that record seems insufficient, to recall the unprecedented claims on public money and parliamentary time which have been made during the last two years by affairs in South Africa. It then remains to rouse themselves once more to the conflict, and to endeavour by reasonableness, by conciliation, and by harmonious co-operation to assist the Government to perform its difficult task and to redeem the honourable pledge it has given.

It may be well briefly to enumerate what legislative and administrative steps have been taken since the present Govern-

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ment came into power, to indicate in what the real importance of these steps consists, and to point out the chief difficulties which seem likely to confront the promised Bill. For the present purpose of review the Report of the Secondary Education Commission of 1895 may well form our point of departure. We select this Report as containing the latest authoritative presentment of the case for legislation on secondary education, and although it has been the fate of every Royal Commission on Education not to have had its recommendations adopted *in toto* as the basis of legislation, yet the recommendations of this Commission have already been more fortunate than most other similar Commissions in this respect; and, if we are not mistaken, its influence, although it dealt only with one branch of education, has by no means yet become exhausted. But, in any case, its members deserve the grateful remembrance of the public, because they have indicated clearly what the chief defects of English organization are, and what are the various modes by which, so far as legislative and administrative actions can be made effective, these defects can best be overcome or minimized. Two points are specially urged in the weighty words of the concluding paragraphs—the urgency of the situation, and the need of a system. Neither of these points has become less important in the course of the six years which have passed since their issue. The Commission called attention to the urgency of systematic organization, not merely, they said, in the interest of the material and intellectual activity of the nation, but no less in that of its happiness and its moral strength; by 'system' they meant, they carefully explained, neither uniformity nor the control of a central department, but *coherence*, as an organic relation between different authorities and different kinds of schools, which would enable each to work with due regard to the work to be done by the others, and would therewith avoid waste both of effort and of money.

'Of the loss now incurred through the want of such coherence and correlations it is impossible,' continues the Report, 'to speak too strongly. It is the fault on which all our witnesses and all our assistant commissioners unite in dwelling. Unfortunately, so far from tending to cure itself, it is an evil which every day strikes its roots deeper. The existing authorities and agencies, whose want of co-operation we lament, are each of them getting more accustomed to the exercise of their present powers, and less disposed to surrender them. Vested interests are being created which will stand in the way of the needed reforms. . . . Thus the difficulty of introducing the needful coherence and correlation becomes constantly greater,

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and will be more serious a year or two hence than it is at this moment.' (Vol. i. pp. 326-7.)

We have already referred to the steps taken in Parliament since the accession of the present Government to power. From one aspect this seems a slender move, but it has a satisfactory side. The steps are few, but they will not have to be retraced; hesitating, but in the right direction; and what is more the result is cumulative. The substitution of a block grant for the variable grant would of itself work a silent revolution in elementary schools by evolving reasoned and appropriate courses of study instead of the present series of unrelated subjects. Add to this the recognition of higher elementary schools, also with regulated courses of study, and the new regulations for evening schools, and it is evident that the lines of organization as regards one branch of education are already planned out, and that too with due regard to the place of that branch in a national system.

Further, a new method of legislation has been discovered which will have the effect of minimizing the necessity of recourse to the cumbrous machinery of legislation. What Mr. Bryce called the new patent method of legislation has been applied to the framing of Education Bills: this method consists in presenting for Parliamentary sanction a mere outline or sketch of the scheme proposed; when this outline has been adopted the details are filled in afterwards by the department of State concerned and placed before Parliament. This method was strongly objected to by certain members in the House, as taking away effective Parliamentary control, but it appears to possess certain very considerable and compensating advantages: in the first place, some such method has become necessary owing to the skill with which opposition by amendment has been carried on. Parliamentary opposition has been thus elevated almost into a fine art; and it becomes incumbent on the Executive to devise some method for carrying on the business of the country. Secondly, the method gives an elasticity which education of all subjects needs, for if experience proves the first filling in of details to have been wrong, the office can start afresh without the inordinate delay which the need of a fresh Act of Parliament necessitates. Of the need of this elasticity the Technical Instruction Acts form a case in point. The first Act, passed in a hurry in 1889, contained a detailed definition of technical instruction, prolix, confused, and self-contradictory, which, as Lord Salisbury has recently

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pointed out, was impossible of application. Fortunately a plenary power of interpretation had been given to South Kensington by the Act, and the definition was in fact ignored and never became operative. Even with that safety-valve the Act as it stood was unworkable, amending Acts in 1891 and 1892 were passed, and last session the Government boldly proposed to repeal the whole series. In the third place, the method of proceeding by Order in Council, under which each proposed Order lies for forty days on the table of both Houses, happily combines the advantages of official experience and Parliamentary sanction, the former welding details into a unity of policy, the latter accepting or rejecting the policy as a whole. Such a method effects a double saving of public time, first, when the measure is before Parliament, and again after it has become operative. It is true that the method adopted has a tendency to shift the supreme control of Parliament over details from the determination of the precise wording of a definition or a clause to points of administration which can be raised on the Estimates. In the subject under discussion this seems an indisputable advantage, and we are of opinion that experience will approve the method thus adopted.

The next step of the Government has met with almost unanimous approval. It has taken power under the Board of Education Act to consolidate into one the three central authorities which formerly divided between them the administration of English education, viz. the Charity Commission, the Science and Art Department, and the Education Department. Although the Act which authorised this needed reform was passed two years ago, the process of consolidation is by no means complete. By an Order in Council only now coming into operation (September 1901), the power of making schemes for endowed schools has been removed from the Charity Commission, which henceforth will deal with non-educational charities only, and has been entrusted to the Board of Education, the clerical staff of the Endowed Schools side of the Charity Commission being transferred to the office at South Kensington, which, under the style of the Board of Education (South Kensington), now administers all education that does not come under the Elementary Education Acts. Thus the Education Office, triple as to tradition, has become dual as to its working, and it is probable that real unification will only take place when the buildings of the new Education Office in Whitehall are completed, and when all the officials of this Department

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of State are accommodated under one roof, and serve, in practice as well as in theory, one chief secretary. As yet, virtual unity of spirit, combined with actual diversity of operation, is far from attainment in the Education Office.

Meantime, the fact remains that there is general approval of the main principles and aims of the Board of Education Act, and that there is discernible everywhere, and not least in the House of Commons, the desire that in the local administration of education also there should be a consolidation of educational forces. This aspiration has crystallized into the phrase: For all branches of education—one local authority. But is this consummation desirable? Is it practicable? In view of next Session these questions are specially worthy of consideration. For the Education Bill of 1902 will contain the answer which the Government proposes.

Speaking broadly, two main courses, and only two, are open for decision. The measure might deal with Secondary Education only, or with both Secondary and Elementary.

The advantages of dealing with Secondary Education only are considerable; the approximately best local area is not difficult to fix upon; the overlapping of rating areas is thus reduced to a minimum; the religious question, at least in an aggravated form, need not arise; there would, therefore, be no need to reopen old controversies or to overturn old compromises. From the point of view of Parliamentary time such a solution might appear eminently desirable, especially as it may be truly affirmed that secondary, rather than elementary, is the branch of education which most needs improvement and systematic handling. It may, however, be objected that many of the foregoing advantages are more fictitious than real; the rating difficulty, the religious difficulty, are in solution, as it were, even in a Secondary Education Bill, and might be precipitated at any of its stages. In view of this contingency the Cabinet might reasonably conclude that the time has come for discarding half measures, and for facing these difficulties in a large and comprehensive measure, by which the Government would be content to stand or fall. We cordially hope that this course will commend itself to the Cabinet, that a comprehensive and conciliatory Bill may be introduced, that the intolerable strain under which Voluntary schools suffer may by this means be at once removed, and that the principles of a lasting settlement may be adopted.

Before discussing the difficulties which stand in the way of establishing a national system of education in England,

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the sense in which the phrase is used should be indicated. It may, perhaps, be assumed that a really national system must include the nation, and not merely sections of it. It must be applicable not only to town but also to country districts; it must provide for denominational as well as undenominational education; it must assign to education a definite place, with specific powers and defined responsibilities among other Imperial and local interests. The aim of such a system would be to focus for the service of the State all the moral and intellectual resources which can be made available by training and developing the natural powers of the individuals of which the State consists.

In order to accomplish this object with any approximate degree of completeness, a methodical system of relationships must be set up between the duties and powers of the various bodies and individuals on whom depend in various degrees the carrying out of the aim proposed. Appropriate educational and financial audits must be devised and enforced, links between the various parts of the system must be established throughout, and reports and comparisons as to the working of the whole, and of its various parts must be provided for and periodically issued. In other words, if Education, in a national sense, is to become the care of the State, imperial and local funds must be made available for all its branches; the respective duties and powers of the central authority, local authorities and governing bodies must be clearly defined; proper methods of inspection must be instituted and applied, and annual reviews of the work done must be issued.

Such a task would be difficult of completion even under an autocratic government and in a new country. In England its accomplishment is rendered of tenfold difficulty by the hostility of vested interests, by false ideals of local government, even by the existence of old buildings costly to adapt and impossible to move. Any practicable constructive scheme has therefore to recognize these limitations, and be content to fit existing bodies and institutions into the new order with as little disturbance as may be. It is thus evident that all the various interests concerned must concede something of their extreme claims if a settlement is to be arrived at. But it is also probable at this stage that an Education Bill which, in order to deal justly with the many claimants for consideration, proposed a large scheme of reconstruction, would by its completeness be more likely to commend itself to public favour than a small Bill dealing

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with one branch only of the matter. A good deal of the criticism on the Government side of the abortive Education Bill of the last Session was based on its slight and inadequate character. A larger measure would appeal to principles of the highest importance. If a 'large Bill' policy were adopted by the Government, the questions raised in 1902 of the relation of the State to education would be those of 1870, only set in a new and enlarged conception; and a settlement thus arrived at would affect in a greater or less degree all branches of education, not elementary schools alone. The main questions to be decided in Parliament would be whether denominational schools shall receive rate-aid, whether one local authority, or more than one, in each area shall be empowered to raise a rate for educational purposes, whether such rate shall be limited or unlimited in amount, what educational powers and duties shall accompany such rate, and in what measure and degree the provision and maintenance of the various educational institutions shall fall upon the local bodies concerned.

Difficulties such as these might well make even a strong Government pause, and only a certainty of widespread and strenuous support is likely to hold the present Government to so considerable an undertaking; for it is not alone the religious question, as it is called, which will make the Bill contentious; the rating question is almost as complicated, and any proposal to mark off the different branches of education from each other will raise many a gale of controversy. Moreover, the difficulty of coping with each of these problems is much increased by the fact that each separately divides both sides of the House. The line which divides one political party from another is not determined by views held concerning religion, or rates, or education. It is therefore strongly to be hoped that the Bill will be drafted so obviously on national lines that the broad principles which it embodies may win acceptance for the actual details it includes and implies.

The main principle of the Bill must, we conceive, be that of local option. Local authorities must be created, and must be entrusted with large educational powers, such powers being fettered only by such restrictions as Parliament shall in its wisdom think desirable. At present the restrictions placed on local authorities as to rate expenditure on elementary schools are considerable; all denominational schools are debarred from rate-aid by the Cowper-Temple clause of 1870; in secondary education, schools conducted for private profit

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(however efficient they may be) are ineligible to receive grants from the County Council grant; in technical education the rate itself is restricted to a penny in the pound. Such restrictions are opposed to the principle of local option, and ought one and all to disappear. The local authority may on one condition, even with an unlimited rate, be trusted to exercise sufficient economy. That condition is that it should not, as are the Board schools, be elected directly for educational purposes. A committee of the County Council may be trusted to realize that, however great the importance of education, the money expended on it must bear some proportion to the resources of the county, and the other very considerable demands upon the ratepayers. The danger, indeed, lies in an opposite direction; it may be feared lest, among the many claimants on the common purse, education, especially in the higher branches, may be neglected. In our opinion this danger ought to be met by a Treasury grant proportionate, though not necessarily equal in amount, to that raised by rate by the district. This method, suggested by the provisions of the Welsh Intermediate Act (1889), under which the Treasury grant to the County Governing Body is equal to the amount raised by the county rates, has been highly successful in Wales, and if adopted in England, with such modifications as might seem necessary, would serve to bring central experience and oversight into fruitful relations with local interest and initiative.

We now turn to discuss seriatim the three difficulties spoken of—those, namely, which deal with the position of denominational schools in a national system; the possibility of setting up a single or a paramount local education authority; and the means by which educational requirements shall receive due attention.

It is not necessary for us to convince our own readers of the importance of the religious question. They are firmly convinced that in the interest of the State quite as much as in the interest of the Church, the preservation of religious education is of paramount importance. There is, however, one consideration which we should like to urge. If education is to be efficient and capable throughout the country, the great body of the clergy must be enlisted on its side. They have for the most part made considerable sacrifices and devoted a great amount of energy to the cause of their schools, and in many places they are the only people who have any interest in education. The farmers dislike it, the squires are half-hearted, the parents are always grumbling at

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being prevented from making use of their children. The result may be seen in many of the rural School Boards, which are among the greatest blots on our educational system. We do not hesitate to say that the effectiveness of education, certainly in the rural districts, and we believe also in many town districts, will depend upon the hearty co-operation of the clergy being secured.

But if education should never be anti-clerical, there is no need, and the Church does not in the least desire, that it should be clerical. The clergy do not demand the exclusive control of the schools, nor is it in the least to their advantage that they should have it. Many of them would be glad to have some one to share the responsibility and work. What they do demand is that they should have an opportunity of giving religious instruction to their own children, and that in Church schools there should be some guarantee as to the religious fitness and moral character of the teachers. The present system, which practically excludes from the teaching of religion in Board schools the person most fitted in the case of a majority of the children to control it, is supremely foolish. But we need not dwell further on the general aspect of the question. It is not necessary to remind our readers of the value of religious education, or of the futility and unfairness of undenominationalism; nor again will the majority of those interested in religious education and Church schools doubt that something is needed. The system of Voluntary schools has become unfair. We wish we could feel that it was not so, for we regret every failure of voluntary effort, and every instance as it occurs of the increase of compulsion. But now that the burden of education has become so great, it is not fair that religious people should be doubly taxed because of their convictions, or that the wealthiest people in a parish should be able to leave all the burden of the schools on those who are less wealthy than themselves.

We have now to discuss what practical measures are possible. The Church has made an offer; and it is one which we believe to be perfectly fair and reasonable. Certain resolutions of the Salisbury Diocesan Conference were considered by the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, and after consideration adopted in the following form:

1. 'That a national system of elementary education, working in accordance with the resolutions following, should take the place of the present system, and should be administered by authorities representing and acting over large areas, embracing one or more administrative counties.'

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2. 'That all Government grants should be paid to this authority, who shall have power to levy an educational rate over the whole area towards the maintenance of all elementary schools in that area.'

3. 'That the funds needed for capital expenditure on the school buildings belonging to any religious body, as well as for necessary extensions and structural alterations, be provided by the body to which the school belongs, but that the managers be not liable for any other expenditure.'

4. 'That power of borrowing on the security of the buildings be secured by statute.'

5. 'That all schools be financed by this authority, and that in the future certified efficient schools should receive pecuniary assistance.'

6. 'That in the management of schools belonging to religious bodies one-third of the managing committee be representatives of the educational authority of the area and of the parish, and the remaining two-thirds to be appointed as at present.'

7. 'That the appointment and dismissal of teachers be in the hands of the managers, subject to confirmation by the local authority.'

8. 'That opportunity should be given for opening new schools by means of a provision (similar to that accorded in Scotland) whereby, in considering the claims of any new school for a parliamentary grant, the Board of Education shall have regard to the religious belief of the parents of the children.'

9. 'That opportunity of denominational religious instruction should be secured by statute in all elementary schools, when desired by a reasonable number of parents, provided this can be done without expense to the managers.'

10. 'That elementary education, being a national concern, should be mainly provided for from Imperial sources.'

To these we must add the following adopted—and, we gather from the *Guardian*, unanimously—by the Joint Conference of the Convocations of Canterbury and York sitting in committee, July 1901.

1. 'That all schools be financed as far as the cost of maintenance, exclusive of repairs of the structure in Voluntary schools, is concerned, out of public funds whether Imperial or local, and that it be no condition of participation in these funds by Voluntary schools, whether any form of religious instruction be, or be not, taught in those schools.'

2. 'That the funds needed for capital expenditure on the school buildings, as well as for necessary extensions and structural alterations, be provided by the body to which the school belongs, but that the managers be not liable for any other expenditure.'

3. 'That the government of every school, and especially the appointment and dismissal of the teachers, be left in the hands of the present committee of management, with the addition of certain members appointed by, or under, rules made by the local authority,

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such additional members not to exceed one-third of the whole number.'

4. 'That whenever a reasonable number of parents desire that religious instruction in accordance with their own belief should be given to their children, opportunity for such instruction should be secured to them by statute in all elementary schools, provided that this can be done without expense to the managers.'

5. That in view of the grave issues involved in the conclusions arrived at in the foregoing resolutions, a united effort be made by Churchmen to urge upon his Majesty's Government the necessity of introducing and pressing, during the coming Session, legislation on the lines therein indicated.'

Here we have a distinct offer made by the Church. Let us look at the manner in which it would work. We have in our parish a school. That school is administered by the clergymen and three or four local Church people, including the squire. We wish to make it as efficient as possible, but are continually hampered by want of funds. We receive liberal subscriptions from some of our parishioners, but one or two wealthy men refuse to take their fair share of local burdens. What is now proposed is that we should provide and keep up efficient school buildings, and that all other expenses should be borne by the local authority. In return we should be asked to have two or three members added to our managers nominated by the local authority, or perhaps elected by the ratepayers of the parish. They could not interfere with the religious teaching: they would only strengthen the hands of the managers. Moreover, if there were any considerable body of Nonconformists in the place, they would be able to provide instruction by their own minister in a class-room, while in places where there was only a Board school, the Church would be able to claim the same right for its own children. We believe (and we speak from practical experience of country parishes) that there would be nothing but gain to the Church if this proposal were accepted, and that not the least gain would be that we could feel that Nonconformist children were being treated with perfect fairness.

In a speech before the Oxford Diocesan Conference,[1] Sir William Anson put forward substantially these proposals, and he may be considered to represent a fair lay opinion,[2] but

[1] See the *Times* of September 26, 1901.

[2] We notice that the Chairman of the London School Board, in his Annual Address, claims that 'Board and voluntary schools would [as in Scotland] be treated with equal justice and impartiality.' Such a statement from such an authority ought to make it clear that the demands of the Church are both reasonable and possible.

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he raised one further point which we must touch on. He would put the ultimate selection of teachers in the hands of the local authority, *i.e.* clearly the county committee. 'The managers should submit a limited number of names of teachers for selection by the local authority, while the managers should be able to require a change of teachers on the ground of incapacity to give the necessary or suitable religious instruction.' We believe that this would be a very clumsy way of appointing teachers. The managers themselves know best the local requirements of each school, and the inspector should see that the teachers are competent. But it would be absurd for a local authority administering a county area to attempt the task of making hundreds of appointments every year. What is needed and what the teachers may justly demand is that there should be an appeal to the local authority against unjust dismissal. Such an authority having financial control could easily prevent injustice.

The resolutions regarded as a whole embody a distinct and conciliatory policy. Denominational schools make a claim for maintenance on the local purse, but they are willing to accept local representation on their managing bodies, and to submit their accounts to public audit. If this offer be accepted, it cannot be doubted that the efficiency of denominational schools as a whole will largely increase, and with increase of efficiency will come increase of influence, not only to the schools but to the religious bodies to which they belong. It is a true instinct which refuses to separate the school from the Church, but the closer the partnership, the closer should be the care of the one for the welfare of the other. Too often it is forgotten that it is only the efficient school which helps and honours the denomination to which it belongs. The inefficient school, on the other hand, is a continued source of anxiety and danger in a parish.

We turn now to the educational aspect of the question, and to the difficulties which the proposed Bill will have to meet. The aim of organization, affirms the Bryce Commission, is to ensure *coherence*—in other words right relationships —between schools and educational institutions among themselves on the one hand and towards public authorities on the other. Such an orderly series of relationships simply does not exist at present: England possesses no national system of education. Existing schools and institutions in England form, not one system with co-ordinated and related parts, but several independent or parallel systems. Among

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schools there is the Public School system, the Grammar School system, the Elementary School system, and besides this, there are the technical institutes and the universities.

Each member of each system is regarded as a separate and independent entity owing no duty even to the system in which it happens to be placed, still less to any member of another system, and, as owing no duty, acknowledging no outside claim. Again each system, though with varying degrees of success, endeavours, in the absence of legislative prohibition to the contrary, to provide for the whole school career of its pupils, and hence to be complete in itself. Thus the Public School system consists of the great public schools together with the private preparatory schools: these latter receive their pupils at about eight years of age, and at about fourteen pass them all on to public schools, at which they complete their school career. This Public School system of boarding schools has but a slight relation to the other public secondary schools—that is, to the smaller endowed schools (both day and boarding) and to the large town grammar schools, while its relationship to local authorities is non-existent.

In sharp contrast to this is the Elementary School system, in which the relationship of the schools to the State is of a highly organized character. Even there, however, the two branches of which this system consists have very diverse relationships to the local authority, the one being rate-founded as well as rate-aided, the other receiving no rate aid even for maintenance. As far as statute or administration is concerned, each branch of this system is complete in itself. No statutory or administrative provision exists to connect the two, or either, with any part of the other systems. It is in consequence of this lack of connexion that School Boards endeavour to prevent their pupils from passing to secondary schools, thus placing the maintenance of the School Board system above the welfare of the child.[1]

Between the foregoing systems come the lesser secondary schools. These include both boarding and day schools, and form an unconnected series—not yet a system—which is badly in need of co-ordination and completion. The relationship of these schools to local authorities varies considerably, but in no case can it be called a close one, being solely dependent on the continuance of a money grant which some

[1] 'To look on Board schools as recruiting grounds for secondary schools was out of the question.' (London School Board Chairman's Annual Address, October 3, 1901.)

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county authorities make. Some of these schools, as Schools of Science, receive through the same channel a Government grant under the regulations of the South Kensington Directory. The county grant is in general conditional on the Council possessing representation on the governing body, and also on the school being open to some form of county inspection. This middle section has no definite relationship to either of the other two systems, and although it is true that in town schools of this type a considerable proportion of the pupils are drawn from public elementary schools, this is a relationship which has not been provided for either by legislation or by administrative regulations, and is deliberately being weakened by the present policy of School Boards; also, not even in towns is there at present any relation whatever between the courses of study in elementary and in secondary schools in the same locality. So long as this is absent, this passage from the elementary to the secondary school is made both difficult and wasteful. In addition to these parallel groups of schools, there have now come into existence, without any assigned relationship to the foregoing, evening continuation classes, and technical institutes which provide for both day and evening students.

The want of relationship acts wastefully in several ways. It is no duty of the elementary school as at present constituted to supply the secondary schools with pupils whose ability merits an extended school course, nor of the secondary school to feed the technical institute, nor in either case to construct its curriculum, or course of study, with any specified end in view. Nor is the technical institute able to insist on a certain minimum of attainment for admission. Instead, therefore, of supplying a definite type of education, which, relatively to the schools concerned, is of an advanced character, most of these institutes throw open their doors to all comers, whether educated or not, and arrange their classes to meet the wants of the miscellaneous crowd thus collected. In consequence, elementary work that should have been done at school has to be done in class; really advanced work becomes impossible; and the outcome, as far as the nation is concerned, is an army of smatterers whose acquirements in no sense correspond either to the money and efforts expended, or to the national needs in commerce or industry, or, indeed, in any department of national life.

If, as may be assumed, the aim of setting up a national system of education be to get out of individuals and institutions the best educational work of which they are capable, it

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is evident that many connexions must be established and enforced, in order that waste and undue overlapping may be minimized. It is waste of public money and effort when separate local bodies are allowed, by doing the same work, to become competitors for the same pupils: it is a waste of individual effort and intellect when pupils are retained in schools and classes in which they no longer advance. Each school and educational institution ought to have its aim well defined. Schools in the same locality ought to be linked to each other by a system of scholarships and bursaries, and pupils of ability ought to be passed onwards at specified stages to appropriate schools. The degree of success which attends this later aim is a test of the coherence which exists, and it must sadly be acknowledged, despite scholarship schemes and the attention which the Press bestows on cases of Board-school pupils who by successive scholarships have won their way to the University, there is less of this coherence to-day than existed ten years ago. Then, a steady stream of boys passed from the elementary to the secondary school; to-day, that stream has seriously lessened owing to the conflicting claims of School Board and County Councils, and it is probable that the stream will cease to flow altogether unless the whole of the educational work of a locality be undertaken by a single authority, which not finding its dignity called in question, can pay chief attention to the welfare of the children entrusted to its care.

This brings us to the consideration of educational responsibility which such an authority would have to undertake and the conditions which determine the form its work would take.

Speaking broadly, social and economic conditions tend to divide the children of the nation into two sections: those whose education ends at fourteen, and those whose education is continued in school till sixteen or nineteen, or at universities till twenty-three. Ample provision ought to be made for both these sections, the former because it contains the vast majority of children, the latter because it contains those on whom the intellectual progress of the nation and its administrative efficiency will largely depend. To the Elementary School system attaches itself the higher elementary school, and, less intimately, the evening continuation class. The Secondary School system leads to the technical institute (for which a broader base of knowledge and a longer time of preparation is necessary than for the evening continuation class), to the local college, and to the university.

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Each of the types named above possesses a kind of natural area or basin of supply, and this ought to be the dominant factor in the assignment of powers to the respective local authorities. Elementary schools serve their own immediate neighbourhood; it is for this reason that the parish or union of parishes was adopted in 1870 as the School Board area, and has been continued as such ever since. Secondary schools, by train, tram, and cycle, draw from a considerably larger area. The district served by the lower continuation classes is determined by trade conditions and by the time spent in travelling; their district is larger than that of the elementary school, but less than that of the secondary school. Technical Institutes of the right kind, in order to be efficient, must possess small classes and advanced pupils. Only a very large or populous area can supply within its own boundaries an adequate number of such students.

From an educational point of view it would appear that each of the schools and institutions named above requires a different area for its proper local administration, and must therefore be assigned to local authorities administering different areas. This conclusion seems inevitable if the detailed management of individual schools which commends itself to School Boards is to continue. But this is to assume a belief in centralised administration which is by no means widespread in England. Furthermore, County Councils have adopted a method equally effective from a business point of view, and much better educationally. The bodies, owing to the multiplicity of business which comes before them, have learned the art of devolution. They devolve their work in sections to various committees, and these, in turn, devolve the details of management, including finance, upon governing bodies which, in all cases, contain representatives of the county authority. The managers appointed by Board schools are managers in name only: they have no financial power and very little responsibility beyond that of reporting to an overburdened Board. The consequence is that details come to be settled by the permanent officials, and a large degree of centralization is thus set up, and the administration of schools proceeds on uniform and mostly on rigid lines. The relation between the county education authority and the managers of schools should resemble in some degree that which exists between Parliament and the various departments of State: the broad lines of policy are fixed by the former; the latter carries these out in practice, and establishes traditional methods in dealing with questions left open to its action.

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The difficulties raised by questions of area and rating powers are consequent on the foregoing considerations.

The question then arises whether it is possible for all branches of education to select one local area. The county area was not in existence in 1870; if it had been, it cannot be doubted that this area, or integral portions thereof, would have been selected in 1870 for the School Board area. If now the county area be selected, could County Councils undertake so large an extension of their present powers and, if they are able, are they willing? The latter point can only be ascertained by official inquiry; as to the former, we have already indicated an answer. By acting through governing bodies possessing defined duties and powers of managing schools, or groups of schools, it would seem quite possible for a county education committee—that is, a composite body containing both members and non-members of the County Council—to undertake the responsibility of administering elementary schools, as well as secondary schools and technical institutes; different sub-committees would undertake the various branches, and unity of administration would be secured by the committee. Such a consolidation of educational powers would ensure to the committee the services of the fittest men and women of the locality. The duties and powers of School Boards would be transferred to such a committee, but the statute might provide that, at any rate for an assigned period, the School Board might be the administrative body under the County Council. Board schools and other elementary schools would go on as before, but a series of relationships would be instituted between the various institutions, and would gradually come into operation.

The conclusions which seem to emerge out of the foregoing discussion of difficulties may now be summarized. The Government should be pressed to include elementary as well as secondary education in its measure. Voluntary schools cannot afford to leave the settlement of the religious question to the next Government, knowing by Mr. Acland's Bill of 1892 the conditions on which alone rate-aid for such schools would be granted. Local option must be accepted as the dominant principle of the promised Bill. Local education authority should be established which should be paramount over all rate-aided schools of whatever kind within its area. This authority should be a statutory committee of the County Council, and possess all the educational powers of the Council. The power of rating should be reserved to the Council. The Council should be responsible for the suffi-

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ciency and efficiency of elementary education. Since such education is compulsory, no restriction of the rate for this purpose is possible; on the principle of local option no limit should be placed on the rate for secondary and technical education, especially as any limitation acts unequally over different areas. The Statutory Committee should consist as to about one-half of members of the Council, the remainder should consist of men and women specially appointed for their knowledge and experience of the various branches of education; provision should be made by statute if necessary for the delegation of powers to sub-committees, to which position such School Boards as might be retained would be relegated. The case of county boroughs would thus be fully provided for.

We feel that it would be hardly within our province to go into further detail. It is quite clear that some special provision would have to be made for London and the London School Board. The omission of this was one of the causes of the failure of the last Bill. Care, too, will be required in dealing with the larger School Boards. We certainly believe that in the schools under them more power should be given to the local managers and over-centralization thus avoided; and in whatever way they are preserved they should be definitely submitted to the county authority. The adjustment of these various details will, we believe, gradually be worked out by experience. We believe that one preliminary step is necessary, and that is, the creation of a single local authority for education, and that this authority should be a committee of the County Council. This should act by delegation, not by centralization; but possessing as it would complete financial control, as far as the rates were concerned, its ultimate authority would be paramount.

Counties, on the other hand, are far from possessing the homogeneity of county boroughs, and, in their case, a distinction should be drawn between the three areas of which the county consists, viz. non-county boroughs, urban districts and rural districts. Elementary and evening continuation schools might be placed under the control of non-county boroughs and urban districts, such areas having already developed a large sense of local responsibility; but in such case there should be reserved to the county, under conditions to be fixed by them, the power to subsidize such schools out of a county rate.

But secondary schools and technical institutes should be in the sole charge of the county, and the county should raise

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an education rate over its whole area. The county, moreover, should control and maintain the whole educational provision of the rural district. Such a plan would encourage both local autonomy and county unity. The local education authorities should be expressly prohibited from managing any school or institution, except through its recognised governing body. They should be prohibited also from making it a condition of a grant to a school or institution that any particular form of religious instruction is or is not taught therein.

In conclusion, it may be hoped that the Government will thoroughly inform itself beforehand of the attitude which important local bodies are likely to take up towards any of the larger proposals of their Bill. The omission of this essential step was largely responsible for the fiasco of 1896. Also the provisions of the Bill must be such as to ensure a large measure of active public support, since the opposition is certain to be both violent and sustained. Finally, it is imperatively necessary that the Bill be in the charge of the Leader of the House, who during the past Session has shown not only an unmistakable interest in the subject, but a masterly grasp of the principles involved. It surely is a misfortune for education that at this crisis its fortunes are in the hands of two Ministers whose views of constructive statesmanship are so diametrically opposed as are those of Sir John Gorst and the Duke of Devonshire.

ART. X.—BISHOP WESTCOTT.

Lessons from Work. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Durham. (London, 1901.)
And other works.

A PERSON looking on quite from the outside would not find it easy to state the qualifications required by the Church of England in its bishops, or to account for the mode in which they are appointed. Of late years the tendency has grown to look for the rulers of the Church in the ranks of the parish clergy: but there have been times when almost any other qualification was taken into account—learning, birth, political convictions, experience in teaching boys, but not experience in dealing with the clergy or with the problems which arise in their daily parochial life. On the whole,

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though the whole process has probably come into being on the basis of a strongly secular view of the Church, it has worked well. The men have risen to the work, and the result is that the line of English Bishops is adorned with the names of men who have not only served the Church well in their high office, but have brought to it powers elaborately trained in other walks of life.

On the whole, perhaps, the impartial outsider would be least likely to regard profound learning as giving any promise of vigorous and successful administrative power. For the outsider is apt, not altogether without reason, to distrust the learned. They are liable to say things of which he does not catch the meaning, to be dissatisfied with his rough generalizations, and to make criticisms which seem to him dreamy and unpractical. Moreover, he does not see what use learning will be in the work of a Bishop: he is content that anyone who likes should acquire it, but he cannot see that there will be any occasion for it in the course of a Bishop's life. The strength of the plain man's case lies, of course, in the series of so-called Greek-play Bishops: men who owed their elevation to their scholarship, and never became anything else but scholars, or found it possible to turn their intellectual skill to the solution of practical problems.

The See of Durham has enjoyed, for the last twenty years, the rule of two scholars who were summoned straight from the work of the University of Cambridge to their exalted and difficult post. Both were already famous in the world of scholarship; neither had had any direct experience of parochial life. Yet both were successful as diocesans, not in spite of, but because of their learning. They brought to the work of the See powers which only the discipline of learning can produce. There have been many great administrators among our Bishops, and many men of high spiritual power, but Lightfoot and Westcott stand alone. Their learning enabled them, in their several ways, to deal comprehensively with the problems of an age of increasing specialization. Lightfoot's wide knowledge of the life of the Church in various ages enabled him to see the signs of his own day, to answer its questions, and produce the organization it required.[1] Westcott's vast and various knowledge helped him to put out in act his conviction of the unity of all in Christ, which gave him so much power with different classes.

[1] Cf. his speeches at the Lambeth Congress, 1888.

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Both were signal instances of the power and value of learning when applied in the practical sphere.

That this should have been so was, perhaps, more legitimately surprising in the case of Bishop Westcott than of his younger predecessor. The line of his thought and the special character was not such as to suggest—at any rate to those who knew him through his printed works only—the promise of successful administration. The truth is, as we hope to make plain in the present article, that those who had fears of his competence for the task set before him were in error, mainly through ignorance of the man behind the books. The Bishop himself would have admitted that he had learned much from his years at Durham, but the new learning was continuous and consistent with the old.

The relevant facts of Bishop Westcott's life are soon told. He was born at Birmingham in 1825, was educated at King Edward VIth's School in that city, passed to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1844, graduated in 1848, was elected Fellow of Trinity in 1849. He did not reside long on his Fellowship, but became an assistant master at Harrow in 1851. From 1868-1883 he was Canon of Peterborough; from 1884 till his elevation to Durham he was Canon of Westminster; and from 1870-1890 he was also Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. These are the bare facts of the quiet career of a scholar; they form the setting of a singularly vigorous and active spiritual and intellectual life. It is always difficult with Bishop Westcott to get to the beginning of things: his mind seems to have suffered curiously little change in its main positions. Probably the strongest influence of all upon him was that of Prince Lee, the Head Master of the School at Birmingham. In his speech at Birmingham in 1896 the Bishop described his old head-master's teaching, emphasizing the vivid way in which ancient history was made to live again, the 'eloquent discourses on problems of life and thought suggested by some favourite passage of Butler's *Analogy*, the depths which he opened to us in the unfathomable fulness of Apostolic words.'[1]

When the Bishop spoke thus he was past the age of seventy, and had spent many years in incessant intellectual labour: it is conceivable, therefore, that he may have reviewed his school-life through the experience of a lifetime, and that his memories may have been coloured by it. The vivid realiza-

[1] *Christian Aspects of Life*, p. 186.

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tion of ancient history, a profound interest in the great problems of life and thought, a sense of the unfathomable fulness of Apostolic words, have been throughout the most marked features of his own mental character, and one cannot but feel that Lee's teaching must have fallen on singularly receptive soil. But even if we allow something to the idealizing power of memory, it remains that we have here a glimpse of a very great teacher, a man who strove to raise his boys to his own level, and did not try to dwarf himself to theirs; who trusted to their possessing glimmerings, at least, of interest in life and thought, and some extra-athletic sympathies.

The result was that when Westcott went to Cambridge he had a real sense of the purpose for which he had come; he had visions and ideals, an object towards which he could work.[1] He was, doubtless, exceptionally gifted, and it may be that he was serious beyond the usual level of his years. But it is difficult to avoid contrasting this history of him with the effects of some modern types of educational product. There are very few, comparatively speaking, one is inclined to say, who come to the University with any particular object in view. They are sent there; most people go when they leave school; but they do not know 'what they are going to be,' and will leave that question to be settled till they have got their degree. Lee had his failures, no doubt; there must have been many who could never have responded to his teaching. But it is easy to see how much Westcott owed to a man who invited him to a share in his own lofty interests, with what pinched and starved resources he would have passed to Cambridge if the chief representative of learning within his horizon had aped the opinions of the least intelligent of his companions.

From the first there could have been no doubt as to the general line of Westcott's future life. His high academic distinctions made it obvious that he should succeed to a Fellowship at his College, and follow the course to which that is an opening. It is on record that Bishop Lightfoot, when he, a few years later, was elected Fellow of Trinity, was attracted by the Greek classics, and projected an edition of Æschylus. We are not aware that Westcott had any hesitation as to the line of study he was to pursue, though the Essays on Virgil, Æschylus, and Euripides in *Religious Thought in the West* show with what care and insight he

[1] *Lessons from Work*, p. 299.

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had read the classics. From the first he devoted his powers to those branches of learning which lie round Theology.

It was a time when recruits were sadly needed for this work. The negative theology of the Tübingen school was making its way in England, and Dr. Pusey, who had foreseen its progress and felt the danger of it, was under the cloud which Newman's secession had brought over all who thought with him, nor had he the type of mind which was needed for the contest. It was a time when to have wavered and deliberated might have meant loss of the opportunity. And Westcott does not seem ever to have wavered. Firm in his conviction that the highest truth he knew in religion would only become more vividly certain the more carefully its connexion with historical and critical evidence was investigated, he started with his friends on the series of books to which all Christians owe so much. There are few more remarkable documents than the letters (published in the *Life and Letters of Dr. F. J. A. Hort*) interchanged between the three friends when they are projecting their *Commentary on the New Testament*. There is no idea of constructing an apology for the faith, but it is clear that Hort was somewhat nervous at first—anxious to have it clearly in black and white that the investigation to be begun was quite free, and that no consequences were to be expected except those which arose from the facts discovered. And Westcott eagerly accepts this condition: if he differs from Hort, it is only in being rather more sanguine as to the result.[1] Of the three, Westcott achieved far the most of the original plan. Lightfoot published his editions of four Epistles of St. Paul, and then turned to what he calls 'repairing a breach not indeed in the House of the Lord itself, but in the immediately outlying buildings.'[2] Hort's contribution never extended beyond the Fragment on S. Peter published after his death. In Westcott's case the original purpose branched out into three different series of works. In the first place, we have the works on the *Origin of the Gospels* and *History of the New Testament Canon*. The former of these rose out of a prize essay with which the author won the Norrisian prize in 1851; the other is an historical work stating the evidence for the authenticity of the various books of the New Testament. The theory presented in the *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels* as to their origin is certainly not the one most in vogue now. The notion of an oral basis underlying the various presentations

[1] *Life and Letters of Dr. F. J. A. Hort*, vol. i. pp. 417 foll.
[2] Pref. to Edition of *Ignatius*, p. xii, ed. i.

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in the three Synoptic Gospels has given way to that of one or two earlier documents upon which our present Gospels rest. It may be doubted whether either theory is adequate to solve a problem of such unparalleled complexity; indeed, whether either is more than a formula attempting to co-ordinate the facts. The oral traditions have to take on something of the fixity of written documents in order to account for the agreements in the Gospels; and, again, their differences imply a freedom of modification from various sources on the part of the editors, which comes to look like oral tradition. But whatever be the value of the theory put forward, there is no question that the facts collected in the book are presented with the author's characteristic accuracy and exhaustiveness. The work on the *Canon* dealt less with theory and was more exclusively occupied in the collection of references: hence its value is less affected by the passage of time. The author was familiar with all that had been written on the subject at the time when he wrote, and had searched diligently and scientifically through the early writers of the Church for indications of the use of the various books. This part of his work is not likely to be superseded. New evidence will come in, and this may alter the significance of parts of the old; but the book stands so far as it goes. The first edition was published in 1855, and was followed by several others; but, though some notice was taken of the strictures of the anonymous author of *Supernatural Religion*, the author did not pursue the subject into all its ramifications. It remains a text-book of first-rate value: it does not come into comparison with works like Zahn's *History* or Harnack's *Chronologie*.

A second line of study, apart from the work of the Commentaries, was that upon the text of the New Testament, pursued in conjunction with Dr. Hort. The two friends found themselves impeded in their progress by the inferiority of the text of the New Testament as it appeared in the current editions; and so they determined to construct a manual text, based upon the free investigation of MS. authority only, for their own use primarily, but with some hope that it might prove to be of some use also to others. The task was a more extensive one than they anticipated, and the text did not see the light till 1881, when it appeared with an accompanying volume containing Dr. Hort's famous Introduction. In the meantime, earlier drafts of it had been placed by the two scholars in the hands of the Revisers, and as a result the Revised Version bears indelible marks of their

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textual theory: some will regret that these marks are not more numerous. The text resulted from the independent labours of the two scholars. Westcott was at Harrow in the earlier years of the work, then at Peterborough or Cambridge; and Hort was mainly at his parish of St. Ippolyt's. Their discussions were carried on by correspondence, which, we believe, still exists. It is greatly to be hoped that some of the letters may see the light; it could not fail to be both interesting and instructive to note the process by which two such men reached agreement, or agreed to differ. The appearance of the text caused great discussion, as well it might, for the changes of it from the traditional text are numerous and, in many cases, startling. But, of all charges that could be brought against it, the most curiously irrelevant was that of Dean Burgon, who stigmatized it as the result of imagination. It was based upon the most exact statement of the facts accessible at the time; and the theoretical element in the construction and defence of it was the simplest application of common sense to the classification or interpretation of varieties of reading. The real objection to it was a deeper one than this: that the authors would not allow that the prevalence of a particular type of text from the fourth century onwards gave it any exceptional claim to authority, while Dean Burgon regarded this traditional text as inspired. Over such a difference as this there is no bridge. Recent investigations are said to have modified the situation in regard to the textual theory. New facts have come to light which will involve a different judgment upon some points, especially in connexion with the Western text. But the principles upon which the authors based their text are not imperilled by such discoveries. Any change that is made will be an advance from their position, not a going back to older theories. They did not claim to have discovered all the facts in existence; but they claimed to have dealt fairly and scientifically with those at their command, and this claim has been generally granted them by scholars.

So we come at last to the Commentaries which were originally assigned to Westcott, when the three friends made their scheme of work. These were the works of St. John—exclusive of the Apocalypse—and the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is needless to say that this task was approached in the light of the other studies of which we have spoken. All that falls under the head of 'Introduction' was carefully and completely set forth. Where critical questions arise, as they do notably in the case of St. John's Gospel, the arguments on

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opposite sides are candidly and clearly given. But in a very characteristic way. The Bishop presents us with a finished result, and does not always let us follow him through the process of establishing it. Thus we do not find at the beginning of his Commentaries any elaborate account of the views of various critics such as is common in German editions. The slight or extensive distinctions between writers on one side or another—which seem to have so great a charm for German commentators—are of no interest, apparently, to Westcott. If here and there among all the crowd of writers one has produced some original contribution of importance, that is discussed; and so the reader learns incidentally that Dr. Westcott is familiar with the whole ground. But he has clearly digested the whole controversy before he begins to write, and has reduced it to manageable form. Such a method has its dangers, no doubt; and there is certainly room for the more cumbrous plan. But one cannot help the feeling that the mere question of the authorship of a book is, after all, a comparatively simple one, and that a limited number of considerations is really relevant. Schemes of composite authorship, which are the source of so much of the variety of theory among critics, are often only half-way houses between the direct Yes or No, and have little probability in their favour.

When we pass from the Introduction to the Exegesis we find characteristics which have been the subject of much criticism. Dr. Westcott inherited from Lee a profound belief in the value of exact verbal criticism. The following passage from a speech already quoted [1] might have been used of the Bishop himself:

> 'Mr. Lee had an intense belief in the exact force of language. A word, as he regarded it, had its own peculiar history and delivered its own precise message. A structural form conveyed for him a definite idea. In translating we were bound to see that every syllable gave its testimony.'

This principle was the one which ruled the Bishop's interpretation of Holy Scripture. He did not make the mistake of supposing that there was no difference between Classical and Hellenistic Greek: but he maintained that each had its own exactness; that in neither were words or tenses used indiscriminately; and that there was no excuse for neglecting any minute detail that could possibly be induced to yield a

[1] *Christian Aspects of Life*, p. 191.

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meaning.[1] Nor was he perturbed if it were argued that the author could not have had in mind all that his interpreter extracted from his words.

'Some, perhaps, will think that in the interpretation of the text undue stress is laid upon details of expression; that it is unreasonable to insist upon points of order, upon variations of tenses and words, upon subtleties of composition, upon indications of meaning conveyed by minute variations of language in a book written for popular use in a dialect largely affected by foreign elements. The work of forty years has brought to me the surest conviction that such criticism is wholly at fault. Every day's study of the Apostolic writings confirms me in the belief that we do not commonly attend with sufficient care to their exact meaning. The Greek of the New Testament is not, indeed, the Greek of the classical writers, but it is not less precise or less powerful. I should not, of course, maintain that the fulness of meaning which can be recognised in the phrases of a book like the Epistle to the Hebrews was consciously apprehended by the author, though he seems to have used the resources of literary art with more distinct design than any other of the Apostles; but clearness of spiritual vision brings with it a corresponding precision and force of expression through which the patient interpreter can attain little by little to that which the prophet saw. No one would limit the teaching of a poet's words to that which was definitely present to his mind. Still less can we suppose that he who is inspired to give a message of God to all ages sees himself the completeness of the truth which all life serves to illuminate.'[2]

In these words, in the Preface to the last of his great Commentaries—the book which completed the programme of 1853—the Bishop states his creed as a scholar. It is easier to smile at it than to criticise it seriously. After all, a man writing in his own language uses unerringly and by the instinct of the language certain forms. The tongue is familiar to him, and he talks or writes readily without conscious deliberation. But an interpreter in another tongue must laboriously reconstruct all that was instinctive and habitual in the writer; he will find out the precise use of words and the value of tenses, not by practice in speech like the writer, but by collection of instances and induction—laboriously. His comments will look laboured and pedantic when compared with the free movement of the text, but from the mere psychological point of view they may be

[1] The present writer well remembers the Bishop's horror on discovering in a book much belauded of reviewers—Blass's *New Testament Greek*—the statement that St. Luke used a particular tense because he liked rolling, loud-sounding words.

[2] *Ep. to the Hebrews*, Pref. p. vi.

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necessary, much more if the subject of the book lies in the spiritual world, where much that the spiritual eye discerns escapes from the trammels of words. If these things are true it is not pedantry to deal minutely with the words; it is just the scientific plan of using for each subject the proper method.

There is, therefore, very little difficulty in understanding the method and the result of Dr. Westcott's exegesis. His notes are very brief; in very rare cases are they complicated by the discussion of rival views; and there is a considerable certainty about them when once the principle on which they are made is conceded. Those who do not accept the premiss will be inclined to reject its application; but there is no doubt about the method employed. It is when we go further, and ask what type of theological teaching did the Bishop draw from his study of Holy Scripture, that some difficulty begins; for we have, at this point, to consider the charge of obscurity frequently alleged against the Bishop's thought in his lifetime, and recently reiterated in two articles contributed by Dr. Sanday to the *Pilot* (September 7 and 14, 1901).

What was the Bishop's theology, and what was his philosophy? To answer these questions, even approximately, it will be necessary to recall, as far as we are able, the conditions of his education and development. It would seem probable, though we have only inferential reasons for saying so, that the Bishop was brought up in Evangelical circles; he must have started upon his theological development with Evangelical ideas. By these are commonly meant a very firm sense of the individual's right of access to God, and a strong conviction of the necessity of conversion and of the Atonement of Christ. In many Evangelicals these ideas are developed in direct opposition to others. The right of individual access is held to dispense with the necessity of an organized body—a visible Church; the attainment of conversion seems to exhaust the demands of God upon the Christian soul; the Death of Christ upon the Cross is dwelt upon to the exclusion of the wider aspects of the Incarnation. There were various reasons why this limited Evangelicalism could not retain his allegiance. As a boy, so he has told us, his attention was drawn to the corporate aspect of human life by the speeches of the Chartist leaders; and he seems to have learnt very early the emptiness of the individual apart from the society. Nor could so accurate a student of Scripture fail to notice that, while the limited Evangelical view of

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things derived great support from certain isolated texts, the whole drift of the New Testament rests all man's hopes on the Twofold Nature of Christ, so that it is on His being really both God and man that the efficacy of His sacrificial acts depends.

These two doctrines—the Incarnation of the Son of God and the existence and necessity of a visible Church—were prominently defended by the Tractarians. But Dr. Westcott could never have been a Tractarian. He was an independent scholar, not a follower of a Movement; and, with all their learning, there was a sad deficiency in critical power among the Tractarian leaders. Moreover, Newman and those of his way of thinking were trained in speculative thought rather than in scholarship, and it would seem that this way of attaining results was viewed at Cambridge with profound distrust. The letters preserved in Dr. Hort's Life seem to show a sympathy with the school of Stanley and Jowett; but again there was not to be found among these scholarship of the Cambridge type, and such thinkers sat far too loosely to fundamental dogmas to approve themselves to men like Westcott and his friends.

There is thus no intelligible party designation that can be affixed to the Bishop. He was neither High, nor Low, nor Broad; but he worked out for himself a theology of his own, based upon exact and scientific exegesis. And, therefore, people who read his works are apt to be puzzled. They find premisses asserted from which they are accustomed to draw certain conclusions, but they do not find the conclusions. Instead of that, they are shut off from the conclusions they would like to draw by some note on the exact meaning of a word, or a tense, or a phrase. And then they do not quite know where they are.[1]

Something of the same sort may be said of Dr. Westcott's philosophy. He had been inspired, as we have seen, by Prince Lee with an interest in the problems of life and thought, but it seems very doubtful whether he had received any special training in philosophy. At Cambridge he attained high distinction in mathematics, and must necessarily have studied Plato. But the technical language of philosophy is largely absent from his works. That comprehensive view of things which is called the philosophical view seems to have been reached by him as the result of

[1] Cf., as an illustration of this, the Bishop's treatment of St. John vi. in relation to the Eucharist; and his notes on the Intercession of our Lord in the *Ep. to the Hebrews.*

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reflection upon his own wide range of learning, and not by the study of the works of philosophers. He never, indeed, had any special training in philosophy, technically so called, but shortly after he took his degree he spent a long vacation in reading the works of the great Positivist writer Comte, and always looked back to that as an epoch in his intellectual progress. It would account for the absence of anything like metaphysical or technical philosophic expressions, and for the wide and manifold grasp of human nature and the created world which form one of the bases of his religious thought. His discussion of the nature and limits of law in regard to miracles [1] sounds like Kant; but the Bishop was assuredly not a Kantian. 'A law of nature,' he tells us, 'can mean nothing else than the law of the human apprehension of phenomena. We are forced to regard things under conditions of time and space and the like, and the consequence is that phenomena are grouped together according to certain rules.' [2] Here one might have looked for some explanation of the relation of phenomena to the reality underlying them; but none is offered. In philosophical matters, as in matters of scholarship, the Bishop is primarily an observer. He notes differences in the nature of the facts which make up our experience; he shows that different methods are necessary for the approach to various forms of truth; but we get from him no scholastic scheme of things—articulate and complete—and scarcely any technical language. For he is more of a mystic than a philosopher; he sees principles, and reports what he sees. Though he speaks of them in abstract terms, they are always present to his mind in the concrete.

It is now time to approach the two questions: What was Dr. Westcott's Theology, and what was his Philosophy? The key to both is to be found in the doctrine of the Incarnation. To the Bishop's mind—and in this respect he thought with the greatest of the Greek Fathers—the Incarnation was more than an expedient devised to meet the difficulty caused by sin: it was part of the order of Divine Providence, its special character only being affected by the presence of sin in the world. Hence it was an event of which the significance was most profound and far-reaching. It was essentially a reconciliation of opposites. Before it there was an unbridged gulf between the finite and the infinite. Man, the finite spirit, limited by the flesh and the conditions of his earthly life, longed for but could not reach to God. Through the

[1] *Gospel of Resurrection*, ch. i. [2] P. 25.

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Incarnation—that is, by the entry of the Divine upon the conditions of humanity—this longing was satisfied; through Christ the fundamental religious impulse of man was fulfilled. Christ revealed the Father. He gave strength and directness and assurance to the weak, vague, and indecisive aspirations of man: the best of men among the heathen had thought of one God; the belief in one God was the basal dogma of Judaism. Christ, without disturbing the monotheism, revealed the Father and promised the Spirit. He spoke in human language, and lived a human life, and therefore His message was intelligible. And this message must have come in any case: it was part of man's true heritage; *vita hominis visio Dei.*

Thus the Bishop approached the Incarnation, if we may so say, from the cosmic side. He thought of the Word of God become—not made—flesh: of the Image of the invisible God in Whom all things had their system revealed in the world of experience. And this affected all his inferences from the Incarnation as a principle of thought. His natural form of expression for those in whom the purpose of Christ's coming was fulfilled was not 'the saved,' but those 'who abide in Christ,' who are 'in Christ.' With his strong sense that the Incarnation affected all nature and had a meaning for nature in all its stages, he held strongly to a belief in the value and dignity of all the lower forms of life, and the symbolic significance of all true art; and had only horror of great artistic power—such as that of Aristophanes—that was not actuated by moral purpose.[1] So, again, the thought of Christ as the typical Man—the Son of Man—led on to his Socialism. This was not an accident of political opinion, but a real outcome of his religious point of view: his strong conviction of the unity of all men in Christ made him long for some practical exposition of the idea.

Those who think most of the Incarnation from the cosmic side have a certain temptation before them in regard to evil. They are predisposed—like the great Alexandrines—to minimize it, to treat it as an element in an imperfect state of things which would work itself out almost by the inherent necessity of God's ordering of the world. So also the accompaniments of evil—death, pain, and the like—tend to receive somewhat imperfect appreciation. It may, perhaps, be maintained that on these points the Bishop was not wholly con-

[1] 'I dare not read Aristophanes,' he said; 'he terrifies me. Such power and such recklessness!'

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sistent. He maintained the reality of evil,[1] but with his wonderfully ethereal and heavenward view of life he had a peculiar confidence in regard to it. Sin was not to him the blazing offence that it seems in the eyes of some; he marvelled at it, and trusted that wider knowledge and deeper insight would clear away it and the temptation to it. In the same way, though he spoke freely and believed devoutly in the efficacy of the Death of Christ, yet the Cross always appeared to him as a Victory. He could not endure representations of the Crucifixion which in any way laid emphasis on the physical side of the death, and his main ground for praising Francia's representation of the dead Christ was that 'the Body is not dead.'[2]

All these lines of thought are obscure in themselves, or, at least, are very difficult and not very common. And they did not gain in clearness from the Bishop's method of exposition. In the sermons and other works which were not directly exegetical he expounded his philosophy and his theology. And he did so in a peculiar way. He produced no connected or reasoned scheme in either region; but he put forward thoughts and, as it were, meditated aloud upon them, never repeating himself or putting a difficult idea in more shapes than one, but presenting his thought in a variety of aspects and leaving the reader or hearer to connect them into a whole. No doubt this made a serious demand upon persons who had the knowledge to understand and appreciate the principles of his thought, and still more upon those who had not such knowledge. But we do not think he was naturally obscure or a confused thinker, as Dr. Sanday rather seems to imply;[3] though it is certain that he had a great horror of definiteness where definiteness meant loss of variety and fulness of thought, and he was fond of repeating the utterance of the painter Haydon, 'There are no outlines in Nature.'[4]

We have left ourselves but little room to speak of Dr. Westcott's work as Bishop of Durham, although his eleven years as ruler of that great See were perhaps the most splendid in his whole life. He came to a Diocese that was already fully and firmly organised, and thus the problems which confronted him were very different from those which Dr. Lightfoot had to meet. And it is well that the two great Bishops came to Durham in this order. For Bishop

[1] *Gospel of Resurrection*, p. 23 *sqq.*
[2] *Lessons from Work*, p. 448.
[3] *Pilot*, September 14, 1901.
[4] *Christian Aspects of Life*, p. 193.

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Westcott's interests and habits of mind did not lead him in the direction of organization; his disposition was to leave men very largely to themselves, and he was tempted to ignore the facts, often the undesirable and regrettable facts, of actual life. It cost him, for instance, some trouble to realize that the legal boundaries of parishes in large towns were treated by the inhabitants as entirely conventional, and that few recognized the claim of their parish or district church as binding. But he had many gifts that enabled him to win his way to the hearts of the people and the clergy. He had an extraordinarily wide and unprejudiced interest in the pursuits and thoughts of men. He was prepared to listen to what people said and to consider schemes they had in view, not as matters of curious pathological interest, but with real sympathy and openness of mind. He might not be persuaded, but no one could doubt his readiness to listen and to understand. So in his successful work with the coal-strike in 1892, it was not his Socialistic sympathies which won his victory, but it was the fact that he had made a real effort to know the causes of the quarrel, as well as the fact that he could put before the combatants a lofty ideal of conduct. Either of these alone might have failed.

And he had the gift of inspiring and winning the confidence of his clergy. There has rarely been in any Diocese such an enthusiasm for Mission-work as in Durham during his Episcopate. And in times when most Bishops were agitated by ritual problems his Diocese has remained at peace. This was not because the people or clergy are all of one colour in Durham, but because they trusted and revered their Bishop. Of course he had vast learning. The boldest reader of the correspondence columns of Church newspapers would not venture to stand up against him on points of scholarship or even of ritual history. But it was not only learning that gave him his power. It was because everyone knew that he was not the Bishop of any party but recognized his relations to all parties in the Church. We have already said that he was probably inclined by education to the Evangelical point of view, but High Churchmen worked gladly with him, because they knew that he gave them credit for what they did in the light of their own convictions, and was scrupulously fair in all his interpretations of law.

Much of all this came naturally to him because he was learned, because he had, for years, been accustomed to weigh accurately problems requiring research, and wisdom, and freedom from prejudice. And more still depended upon that

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which people gradually came to know of him, his simple and saintly life, his ready sympathy, his unmistakable pleasure in seeing and trying to help those who came to him at Auckland. But of this it is not the place to speak. Left the last of the four great companions, there has gone with him the last, or almost the last, example of the best learning of the last century, and it seems sometimes as if the union of great learning with the vocation to the priesthood had ceased to be a natural product of the Universities of which the Bishop thought so highly. But if it is hard to see who will carry on his peculiar work it would be unfaithfulness to his teaching to dream that it will not be carried on. The last words the present writer heard from him were these—'I am full of hope.'

SHORT NOTICES.

Magic and Religion. By ANDREW LANG. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.)

OF this work about half is a criticism of the theory which Mr. Frazer has put out in the second edition of the *Golden Bough* with regard to the origin of the belief in the Divinity of Christ. The remainder is largely devoted to strengthening and confirming Mr. Lang's own theory 'that perhaps the earliest traceable form of religion was relatively high, and that it was inevitably lowered in tone during the process of social evolution.' Mr. Lang's theory of the earliest form of religion is again incompatible with Mr. Frazer's theory of the origin of religion generally, and especially with Mr. Frazer's view that man had recourse to religion because by experience he found magic to be a failure.

From the nature of the book, as thus described, it follows that *Magic and Religion* makes a somewhat severe demand upon the reader's attention. In the *Golden Bough* resemblances, comparisons, and analogies are continually being brought forward which delight the reader because they introduce order into what otherwise would be, and indeed previously was, a mere chaos. Many of us would be glad to rest when order has thus been introduced, and be satisfied to dwell upon the simple propositions to which the progress of mankind can thus be reduced. It is not a grateful task, though it is imperative, to examine those propositions, to test the comparisons, and to ask whether order has really been restored. But that is the task to which Mr. Lang has felt himself called, and to which he has addressed himself. The first difficulty of all criticism is the difficulty of making sure that you are doing justice to the object of your criticism; and Mr. Lang is constantly aware that in a subject of such vast complexity he may not have seen or seized Mr. Frazer's

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real meaning, when he has exposed the want of logic or of evidence in the chain of reasoning which he happens to be examining. To many readers it will appear manifest that the defective chain really is of Mr. Frazer's forging; and to all it will be obvious that Mr. Lang has not spared labour in endeavouring to ascertain the real meaning of Mr. Frazer's arguments. If Mr. Lang has a distaste for what he thinks he can show to be not true, he has also shirked no trouble in the attempt to get at the truth.

The earlier chapters, forming about one quarter of the book, are devoted to the task of showing that magic has not yet been proved to be prior to religion. In North America, in Greenland and in Australia, Mr. Lang calls attention to the high gods which we find among low races and among the very peoples who, on the theory that magic preceded religion, ought still to be in, or scarcely above, the stage of magic. These high gods have been dealt with in two different ways. Mr. E. B. Tylor has always recognized that they are there, and of late years has explained their presence by the theory that they have been borrowed from Europeans. Mr. Frazer simply does not mention them; and his failure to do so is the more remarkable because his acquaintance with the literature of the subject is undoubtedly great, and he quotes freely and trustingly from the writings of Mr. Hewitt, whose evidence on the point is direct and whose testimony stands high. On the whole Mr. Frazer seems to have exposed himself to Mr. Lang's criticism that 'it is only by omitting mention of the evidence for what nobody else can deny to be religion, that he can secure his theory.' Mr. Tylor's theory, on the other hand, that these supreme gods have been borrowed from Europeans, is a more workmanlike proceeding, and requires a detailed consideration of each case of alleged borrowing. Such details would here detain us too long, and we can only say that after examination of the details we are inclined to hold to the opinion which Mr. Tylor once expressed (in 1871): 'this view [that the doctrine of the Great Spirit was borrowed] will not bear examination . . . it can hardly be judged that a divine being, whose characteristics are so unlike what European intercourse would have suggested, and who is heard of by such early explorers among such distant tribes, could be a deity of foreign origin.'

As, however, Mr. Frazer does not discuss the evidence for the early belief of low races in high gods, we must assume that in his opinion it may be safely neglected, however serious the neglect may seem to other students. Neglecting it, then, Mr. Frazer is in a position to lay down his theory of the evolution of religion, in which he distinguishes three stages: (1) there is belief in magic (though not in any form of religion), and some magicians have powers so great that if the notion of gods had existed at the time they might have been called by their contemporaries man-gods; next we find that man has somehow become possessed of the idea of gods, and that these gods either (2) sojourn in the human bodies of god-men or (3) are quite independent of human tabernacles. But in any case, in Mr. Frazer's words, 'lacking the idea of eternal duration,

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primitive man naturally supposes the gods to be mortal like himself.' On this Mr. Lang's first comment is that early men consider themselves to be essentially immortal and invent all sorts of myths to explain the occurrence of death as an accident, error, or infraction of a divine command. Next, according to Mr. Frazer's theory, 'primitive' man had no gods at all. Thirdly, as a matter of fact, the few instances of the graves and deaths of gods which Mr. Frazer cites cannot possibly serve to prove that the Greeks, the Egyptians, or the Babylonians believed their gods to be mortal. On the contrary, as Mr. Lang says, among all peoples 'the gods keep on being immortal.' Mr. Frazer's 'instances of beliefs that the high gods are dead notoriously contradict the prevalent belief that they are deathless. And the prevalent belief regulates religion.'

But whether the gods are or are not believed to be deathless, they are, in the second of the three stages of religion mentioned above, supposed to reside in the bodies of mortal men; and Mr. Frazer conjectures that their worshippers, having got them, are afraid of losing them. If the human body in which the god resides were to die unexpectedly, then the god would escape from the body, and would thus evade the control which his worshippers exercise over him. Therefore, according to Mr. Frazer's conjecture, the greatest care is exercised to prevent this contingency: another human frame, more youthful and less liable to collapse, is provided; and the old, or relatively old, human body is killed, and the god, in some mysterious and unexplained way, is transferred into the more youthful body. That is the conjecture; and the question is whether there are any facts to support it. Mr. Frazer produces some fourteen instances in confirmation of his conjecture. But the result of Mr. Lang's examination of these instances is to show that they do not confirm or in any way support the conjecture. 'So recalcitrant is the evidence, that of all Mr. Frazer's kings who are here said to be gods, or to incarnate gods, not one is here said to be put to death by his worshippers. And of all his kings who are here said to be put to death, not one is here said to incarnate a god.' The importance of this for the Christian religion is that, according to Mr. Frazer, the supposed Divinity of Christ found ready acceptance 'wherever men had heard the old, old story of the dying and risen god.' The unfortunate thing for this theory of Mr. Frazer's is that the fourteen instances adduced by Mr. Frazer to show that a god is supposed to be transferred from one dying human body to another more healthy body 'do not contain one example of a "dying and rising god" stated to be represented by a living man who is therefore killed.' As Mr. Lang says, 'Christ is to be reckoned divine as representing a king who was killed as an incarnation of a god,' but no proof is adduced, as far as Mr. Lang can see, that kings ever were killed because gods dwelt in them.

Thus far we have been concerned with the conjecture that when a god was resident in the body of a man, and the natural dissolution of that body was impending, a younger body was provided and the god somehow was induced to move from the one body to the other.

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That conjecture is not yet supported by any single fact: no single instance of any case in which such transfusion or transmission is supposed to take place has been adduced. We are, however, now required by Mr. Frazer to believe that in Babylon the king originally was thus slain every year; that in course of time a son of the king, or some other member of the royal family was substituted; and that, finally, a criminal was made to take the place of this substitute. Mr. Lang's words on this matter are strong, but they do not seem to us to be too strong: 'Mr. Frazer asks us to suppose that any men of royal race, anywhere, men free and noble, not captives, not condemned criminals, would accept a crown, followed, in 365 days, by a death of fire! A child knows that no men have ever acted in this way.' Any royal family would soon be used up at this rate of one per annum. 'No government could be carried on in the circumstances imagined by Mr. Frazer. The country would not stand it. No individual king would ever accept the crown. Human beings never had such a preposterous institution.' Not only is the thing impossible, 'the sacrifice is wholly without evidence.' And once more, this wholly imaginary sacrifice was, as Mr. Frazer suggests, carried on annually for countless years, and in one of those innumerable years the victim was Christ; and to that fortuitous coincidence we owe the idea that Christ was divine. At the time of the Crucifixion and in Judæa it was of course not a king of Babylon nor any of his family who was sacrificed: substitutes had long been allowed, according to Mr. Frazer. But this custom of substitution is just as baseless and unproved as the original sacrifice of kings: 'not one single historical proof that there ever was such a custom is adduced.'

But though no case can be adduced in which an actual king (or substitute criminal) was sacrificed, one case is produced by Mr. Frazer which goes to prove the sacrifice of a mock-king. At the beginning of the Diocletian persecution, the soldiers in Lower Mœsia are said to have annually chosen one of their number to represent Saturn and be a mock-king for a month, at the end of which thirty days the soldier was to cut his own throat at the altar of Saturn. In A.D. 303 one Dasius, a Christian, was chosen but declined to act, and was 'knocked on the head' (ἐκρούσθη) on November 20 in consequence.[1] The date of the Greek manuscript of this legend is the eleventh century, and that of the original text is conjectured to be the seventh century, or even A.D. 500–600. Dasius is represented to have recited the Nicene Creed in A.D. 303. The Saturnalia seem to be supposed by the writer of the legend to have lasted for a month: they really lasted, at most and latest, a week. Human sacrifice formed no part of the Saturnalia as celebrated in Italy, or as known to Roman antiquaries. If the legend of S. Dasius may be accepted as proof that a human sacrifice did form part of the Saturnalia as celebrated by Oriental soldiers in Mœsia, we are not warranted in inferring that it was part of the Roman feast—the

[1] *Analecta Bollandiana*, xvi. 5–16.

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ignorance of Lucian and Macrobius would be inexplicable—the inference would rather be that in Mœsia, where alone it occurred, if it ever did occur, it was imported by the Oriental soldiers of the Roman Empire, who contaminated the Saturnalia with Oriental rites and sacrifices, and were encouraged or sanctioned in so doing by 'the licensed ferocity of the persecutions under Diocletian.' In any case, even if a human victim was sacrificed as the god Saturn on this occasion, there is no allegation that the god was supposed to have migrated from the body of the victim thus slain to the body of some other person in whom he was supposed to become incarnate. The 'dying god' may have been there; but no 'risen god' is producible, and both are equally necessary if Mr. Frazer's theory is to work at all.

If we bear in mind that it is a sacrifice which Mr. Frazer's theory requires, we shall have no difficulty about following Mr. Lang in rejecting the Sacæan victim produced by Mr. Frazer. At the festival called Sacæa, which was celebrated at Babylon in the month Lous, it was the custom for masters to be under the orders of their slaves; and in the royal household, the slave who impersonated the king, in this topsy-turvy feast, was called Zoganes. For this we have the authority of Athenaeus, quoting Berosus, and the feast is also described by Strabo and Hesychius. But none of these authorities seems to be aware that the royal slave was executed. Mr. Frazer, indeed, says that 'according to the historian Berosus, who, as a Babylonian priest, spoke with ample knowledge,' the slave was hanged; but this is a slip. Berosus, speaking with ample knowledge doubtless, does not happen to have said so in any words transmitted to us. Our earliest authority for any such statement is Dio Chrysostom, who says that at the Sacæa one of the prisoners, condemned to death, is taken to lord it in the king's household; and that at the end they strip, scourge, and crucify (or hang, ἐκρέμασαν) him. It is a doubtful point whether we can place much credence in this story, which, as Mr. Lang says, is 'put into the mouth of a professed humourist,' Diogenes, by Dio. But even if we accept it as historically true, it does not fulfil the conditions required: the slave, the mock-king of the Sacæa 'is robed, and crowned, and scourged, but he is not sacrificed. We have no hint of a resurrection; none of a religious character attaching to the victim. The feast is traditionally a revel commemorative of a victory: the victim is a condemned criminal.' Further, 'to suit Mr. Frazer's theory, the victim must not only have been divine at the origin of the institution, but must have been recognized as divine at the time of the Crucifixion of our Lord,' for according to Mr. Frazer the 'halo of divinity' was thrust upon Him by the accidental fact that He was chosen to play the part of the 'dying god' in the drama which was celebrated annually both before and after the year of His Crucifixion.

Mr. Frazer started with the idea that primitive man, when he had a god resident in a mortal man, was anxious to keep him; and, for fear that the god should escape and be lost when the mortal tabernacle died, provided every year a more healthy person, into

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whom he conveyed the god by killing the man in whom the god had hitherto dwelt. As Mr. Frazer admits, there is no instance known in which any such transference is supposed to take place; but there are various feasts or sacrifices which, according to Mr. Frazer, may be regarded as survivals of this supposed original transference of a god from one human frame to another. In none of these feasts or sacrifices, save the Crucifixion, does Mr. Frazer suppose that the original translation survives intact; but in all he claims that some *disjecta membra* of the original proceeding are still preserved. Thus, Purim celebrated the execution of Haman, and though Haman is not known to have been supposed to be a dying god, it is necessary for Mr. Frazer's hypothesis to assume that he was a god worshipped by the Jews. In the Tammuz feasts there was an effigy of the dead god, Tammuz or Adonis. At the Sacæa a criminal was (possibly) executed, but he seems to have been executed for his crimes, not sacrificed as, or supposed to have been, a god. In the Zakmuk there is not known to have been an execution or a sacrifice of a criminal, god, or anyone else; but there is a resemblance in the words 'Zakmuk' and 'Sacæa' which, though probably fortuitous, is enough to induce Mr. Frazer to identify them, and to ascribe to the one the proceedings which are stated (on insufficient authority) to have taken place at the other. To the seeing eye therefore of Mr. Frazer all these religious anniversaries, the Zakmuk, Sacæa, Purim, the Tammuz feasts, and even the Crucifixion itself, are one and the same thing: all are the same sacrifice, handed down from the earliest religious times, and having the same 'religious' object, viz. to transfer a god from one human body to another, so that he may never escape from his 'worshippers,' but always be subject to their control and subservient to their needs and purposes. Now if all these feasts or sacrifices are one and the same, though celebrated in different countries and by different nations, Mr. Frazer feels that they ought to be celebrated at one and the same time of year. Mr. Frazer therefore undertakes to argue that they were so celebrated. Mr. Lang argues that they were not. It is essential for Mr. Frazer's purpose of bringing the other rites into close connexion with the Crucifixion that he should fix the month of March as the time at which they took place. That was the time of Purim, and is fairly near the time of the Crucifixion, or, Mr. Frazer suggests, the Crucifixion may really have occurred at Purim. Mr. Frazer therefore has to fix the other rites or sacrifices in March also. With regard to the Tammuz festival it is not necessary to argue: as Mr. Lang says, 'the Tammuz feast was certainly in June–September.' The Zakmuk, in which no god or anybody else is known to have been sacrificed or killed, fell in our March–April. As to the Sacæa, in the first edition of the *Golden Bough* Mr. Frazer unhesitatingly accepted July as the date. In the second edition he sees, in his own words, that 'if the Sacæa occurred in July and the Zakmuk in March, the theory of their identity could not be maintained.' He therefore falls back on the uncertainty as to when the month Lous, the date of the Sacæa, really did fall: 'as

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to the month Lous in particular the evidence of ancient writers appears to be conflicting, and until we have ascertained beyond the reach of doubt when Lous fell at Babylon in the time of Berosus it would be premature to allow much weight to the seeming discrepancy in the dates of the two festivals' (Zakmuk and Sacæa). But when Mr. Lang proceeds to inquire what the exact uncertainty with regard to the month Lous is, he finds, from Mr. Frazer's own references to Robertson Smith and to Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, that the uncertainty is whether Lous fell in July, as Robertson Smith argued, or in September. 'So that the effort to make the Sacæa identical with Zakmuk, and therefore more or less coincident with Purim, and with our Easter, is an absolute failure.' And, as we have seen, the Tammuz feast fell in June–September. So of all the festivals which, according to Mr. Frazer, are and must be one and the same festival, no two coincide; and unless all coincide Mr. Frazer's theory of the Crucifixion breaks down. Mr. Frazer's theory is that the Crucifixion was but what took place one year at a religious ceremony which had been celebrated for countless years before and was celebrated for an uncertain number of years after the Crucifixion; and that the object of the ceremony was to transfer a god from one human body to another.

Mr. Frazer does not profess to be certain whether the Crucifixion took place at Purim, or, as the account of the Gospels makes it, a month after Purim. If it took place at Purim, then, for the purposes of his theory, it is necessary to show that at Purim the Jews 'may at one time have burned, hanged, or crucified a real man in the character of Haman;' and Mr. Frazer accordingly has 'some positive grounds' for thinking that a real man was annually so done to death. This positive evidence, however, resolves itself into the fact that in A.D. 416, after 'certain sports,' some Jews in Syria bound a Christian child to a cross and so ill-treated him that he died. Mr. Frazer has no evidence and also no doubt that the sports 'were Purim and that the boy who died on the cross was Haman.' The purpose of the Jews was 'to deride Christians, and even Christ Himself.' But, as Mr. Lang says, 'these motives did not exist before Christianity, so how does the anecdote of brutal and cruel mockery, ending in murder, afford "positive grounds" for the hypothesis that ever since the Exile, the Jews, in imitation of the Sacæan proceedings in July or September, yearly hanged a mock-king in March?' The anecdote of A.D. 416 does constitute, it must be confessed, poor evidence (and it constitutes all the 'positive grounds' for maintaining) that the Jews in pre-Christian times hanged a mock-king as Haman every year at Purim. Indeed, as Mr. Lang does not fail to point out, 'Mr. Frazer himself is so far from being convinced that the Jews hanged a man at Purim (*G.B.* iii. 172–174) as to suggest the supposition that they did not do so (*G.B.* iii. 189).' If they did not, then, as Mr. Lang says, Christ could not have been 'the Haman of a year, which it is Mr. Frazer's contention that He may have been.'

Finally, Mr. Lang calls attention to the essential incoherence and

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mutual contradiction of Mr. Frazer's two incompatible views of the Crucifixion. On the one hand the death of Christ as the Haman of the annual mystery play of the dying god, according to Mr. Frazer,

'impressed upon what had been hitherto mainly an ethical mission the character of a divine revelation culminating in the passion and death of the incarnate Son of a heavenly Father. In this form the story of the life and death of Jesus exerted an influence which it could never have had if the great teacher had died the death of a vulgar malefactor. It shed round the Cross on Calvary a halo of divinity.'

On the other hand, only seventy-five pages before, Mr. Frazer had argued that even as early as the Sacæan festival it was as a vulgar malefactor and not as a god that the victim was killed :

'The divine character of the animal or man is forgotten, and he comes to be regarded merely as an ordinary victim. This is especially the case when it is a divine man who is killed. For when a nation becomes civilised, if it does not drop human sacrifices altogether, it at least selects as victims only such wretches as would be put to death at any rate. Thus, as in the Sacæan festival at Babylon, the killing of a god may come to be confounded with the execution of a criminal.'

The same fatal incongruity marks Mr. Frazer's treatment of Barabbas :

'By Mr. Frazer's theory Barabbas represented the re-arisen god, "the Son of the Father." Was Barabbas revered? No; "some pretended to salute his mock majesty, and others belaboured the donkey on which he rode" (*G.B.* ii. 192). Therefore, by Mr. Frazer's own explicit statement, the divine facts about Barabbas were not recognized. Yet he was the counterpart of the sacred Victim.'

We cannot but rejoice that Mr. Lang has so promptly produced this searching criticism of Mr. Frazer's theory. We have but given a rough and inadequate idea of that criticism, and there is much else in *Magic and Religion* which will add to the respect and admiration felt for Mr. Lang both by those who are learned and by those who are not learned but only claim to be interested in this branch of the science of religion.

The Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in their bearing upon Christianity. A Study in Indian Theism. By FRANK LILLINGSTON, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

THIS work, which is dedicated by the Rev. F. Lillingston to the Cambridge Brotherhood in Delhi, falls into two parts. In the first part the author gives us a short historical sketch of the development of monotheistic thought in India from the Vedas to the present time. In the second part he contrasts the monotheism of the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj with the monotheism of Christianity. The first part, from the limited space within which it is condensed, is necessarily sketchy; but something of the kind was plainly essential to a proper understanding of the Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj in their bearing upon Christianity; and this part of Mr. Lillingston's work further has a value of its own, in that its references point out the proper line of reading for those who are called upon to pursue

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the subject further. It is, however, in the second part of the work, in the examination of the doctrine of the two theistic societies whose names enter into the title of the book, that the interest and the merit of the essay are to be found. The investigation itself is primarily of importance to those who are, or may hereafter find themselves, brought into personal relation with these theistic societies or bound to be acquainted with their work and tendency; but the work is of interest to all to whom theology is a living thing. Without attempting to follow out the lines of Mr. Lillingston's examination, we may call attention to two or three points in it. He cites from the trust-deed of the first meeting-house of the Brahmo Samaj a declaration forbidding 'any direct or indirect attack upon opposing creeds.' This prohibition at once gives us an insight into the fundamental feebleness of the Brahmo Samaj and its necessary unfitness to survive. 'A religion,' Mr. Lillingston says, and the words deserve to be quoted, 'a religion that claims to be universal must, we think, be aggressive as well as contemplative; even amongst those who have become its adherents there must be many whose temptation to relapse into idolatry needs to be counteracted by the stern denunciation of the evil, as well as by the commendation of the good, and this not only in questions of morals, but also in questions of faith.' Throughout his criticism Mr. Lillingston rightly insists on the essentially subjective character of the faith of the Brahmo Samaj, and the fatal effects to which subjectivity leads in the world of action: 'such a subjective faith is destructive of all sense of responsibility.' He quotes the words of Mozoomdar: 'we deserve no credit for (the) existence (of our church), for its success, for its influence—neither do we deserve any discredit for the singularities, accidents and dangers that have befallen the Samaj at different times,' and Mr. Lillingston comments with penetration and with justice: 'man's "free-will" and consequent responsibility is implicitly denied.' It is obvious that there is an inner connexion between Mozoomdar's implicit denial of free-will and the purely contemplative, non-aggressive attitude enjoined by the founder of the Brahmo Samaj; and that both are the outcome of that subjectivity which is characteristic of Hindoo philosophy. That subjectivity pushed to its logical consequences yields the doctrine that all is illusion, Maya. Where that doctrine has settled into the soul, the conception of sin can hardly be formed. Mr. Lillingston thinks it 'probable that Rammohun Roy's shallow conception of sin was due to a tacit assumption of its derivation from Maya;' and though the Brahmo Samaj has reached a conception less shallow, it is wholly destitute of the idea that forgiveness of sin is necessary or even that such a thing is possible. What Mr. Lillingston says, pp. 91–95, on the subject of sin and the forgiveness of sins is admirable.

Synesius the Hellene. By W. S. Crawford, B.D. (Rivingtons, London, 1901.)

It is a little unfortunate for Mr. Crawford that his very elaborate monogram on Synesius should have appeared three years after Pro-

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fessor Dill's admirable book on 'Roman Society in the Last Century,' which was reviewed in these pages,[1] and which besides its own intrinsic high qualities had the advantage of a wider range and greater variety of subjects. Yet it may well be that the earlier work—of whose existence Mr. Crawford appears to be ignorant—has helped to renew the interest in the critical period when the versatile Greek philosopher and ecclesiastic flourished whose biography fills these ample pages. How the life of such a man as Synesius should be written must have been a problem which Mr. Crawford pondered anxiously before he decided upon the form into which his work should be cast. A man who combined in his own person the manifold characters of philosopher, scientist, poet, humorist, and ecclesiastic; whose literary productions include philosophical works, letters, rhetorical compositions, and hymns; and whose activities (despite his genuine preference for a life of retirement and learned ease) embraced in turn the pursuits of a sporting squire, the responsibilities of an ambassador to the imperial court, the energetic action of a local magistrate, and, to crown all, the arduous labour of a conscientious episcopate—such a man, of whom it might be said without any suggestion of insincerity,

> 'That he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome—'

affords a veritable crux for the skilful handling of a well furnished biographer. Mr. Crawford wisely, as we think, devotes a separate chapter to each phase of his hero's career, and in ten consecutive sections puts Synesius before us in the varied parts he played on life's shifting stage. An introductory sketch of the life precedes these delineations, which are followed by chapters on the friends and the works of Synesius, and all is concluded by a brief summary. To these are added no less than four appendices, containing (*a*) 'Five Letters of St. Isidore's,' (*b*) an excursus on the 'Sacramental Curtain,' and (*c*) on 'The Sacred Fire;' while the fourth gives us a very full catalogue of the quotations and literary allusions in the works of Synesius, printed in parallel columns, with the extracts to which they refer. The whole is completed by an Index which is more than usually indispensable in a work so replete with names and so varied in its subject matter.

It is obviously impossible within the limits of a short notice to give an exhaustive account of such a work, extending as it does in Mr. Crawford's hands over nearly six hundred pages. We cordially acknowledge and appreciate the great pains he has lavished on his subject, yet we cannot help thinking that he would probably have accomplished his object more effectually, and would have secured a larger circle of interested readers, if he had condensed and abbreviated his narrative more unsparingly. Modern students are not very tolerant of bulky volumes unless exceptional skill in narration and charm of style help to beguile their weariness, and Mr. Crawford's own style is singularly unequal, and occasionally quite unworthy

[1] See No. 91, April 1899.

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of a serious historian. He perpetually indulges, *usque ad nauseam*, in the use of the phrase such a person or thing *seems* to be this or that: this unsatisfactory and halting form of assertion not unfrequently occurring several times in the same page. He interlards his paragraphs with slang terms, as *e.g.* 'the man in the street,' and even such vulgarisms as 'nice young man for a tea party,'[1] to express a *dilettante* in literature. Strangely enough, these blots meet us at the very moment when he is recording that Synesius 'disapproved of that most exasperating mark of many prolific authors, careless writing' (p. 174). Even more *exasperating*—if we may borrow Mr. Crawford's own caustic epithet—is the habitual allusion to Synesius as '*our worthy friend*,' or '*the worthy philosopher*,' as if he were an alderman of some country town depicted by the local newspaper reporter. Perhaps it may be thought more just to illustrate our criticism by letting a complete paragraph speak for itself, and we therefore select the following:

'Our friend was an eye-witness of the exciting circumstances summarized above (except the end of Gainas). He was a writer: he considered himself a poet. Surely he would give us a graphic description of the stirring scenes just represented? Oh, but, unfortunately he was also a philosopher and a bit of an antiquary! He had been living in Constantinople, but Alexandria was to him the finest city of the world. He was proud of being a Roman, but he was full of the mythology of Egypt. He set himself to work to relate what had occurred; and, lo, when we look for history we meet with fable; when we hope for an accurate account of facts, we receive a treatise on the instability of a kingdom not founded on righteousness. The *On Providence* is an interesting composition in itself and pleasant reading; but when we reflect how the making of history was proceeding by leaps and bounds during those few eventful months, we are tempted to be indignant with Synesius, and to ask him whether he supposes that men ought always to walk about with their heads in the air woolgathering to the top of their bent, and that the earth is not deserving of consideration. Perhaps it is well that such a question cannot be personally addressed to the worthy man' (pp. 28, 29).

If we pass from the manner to the matter of 'Synesius the Hellene' we find, as we might have expected, additional confirmation of the truth *Le style c'est l'homme*. The book is singularly unequal, and combines evidence of careful study with occasional indulgence in speculative fancy to serve for solid fact. Quotations and references are multiplied with microscopic particularity to establish the claim of the Hellene to be an adept in philosophy, literature, and science. His allusions to country pursuits and his eye for the charms of nature, his touches of humour and his skill as a *raconteur* of lively stories; his ignorance of Holy Scripture and his questionable orthodoxy; his unwillingness to accept the episcopate and his faithfulness in the discharge of its duties when once he had reluctantly undertaken them, are all most laboriously discussed with superabundance of extracts from the writings of Synesius in confirmation of every moot point. We have the most ample insistence on the

[1] Page 171.

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obvious, and the fullest discussion of the unimportant. Page after page is replete with citation and argument which might well be relegated to swell the bulk of notes already of no mean dimensions. And when, after almost four hundred pages of what are rather *mémoires pour servir* than a well digested life, we come to a chapter of another fifty pages of '*the worthy man's*' friends, many of whom are mere shadows, and some by the writer's own confession not friends of his at all—*e.g.* we read: 'At the head of a new set of friends (made at Constantinople) we place, on account of his importance, Anthemius, *though we do not think that Synesius actually made his acquaintance*' ! ! (p. 404)—we are tempted to lament that Mr. Crawford did not—to use Bishop South's words—'Take more time and write a shorter sermon.'

We are unfeignedly sorry to have so largely to qualify our commendation of a work on which so much pains has been bestowed. Despite the marvellous versatility of Synesius—or more probably in consequence of it—his career hardly deserved fuller treatment than it had already received in Mr. Halcombe's masterly summary in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. We are almost tempted to think that Mr. Crawford's own estimate does not differ very widely from our own, and it is with but a faint protest that he quotes Kingsley's appreciation that Synesius was

> 'one of those many-sided, volatile, restless men, who taste joy and sorrow, if not deeply or permanently, yet abundantly and passionately . . . with a very clear practical faculty and a very muddy speculative one . . . whose detractors hinted, not without a show of reason, that he was far more of an adept in soldiering and horse-breaking than in the mysteries of the unseen world' (p. 349).

Dionysius of Halicarnassus. The Three Literary Letters. The Greek Text edited with English Translation, Facsimile, Notes, Glossary of Rhetorical and Grammatical Terms; Bibliography and Introductory Essay on Dionysius as a Literary Critic. By W. Rhys Roberts, Litt. D., Professor of Greek in the University of North Wales. (Cambridge: at the University Press. 1901.)

The title-page of this work, the whole of which we have not abstracted, reminds us a little of the opening of Macaulay's Essay on Dr. Nares's History, though it is not easy to see how it could have been compressed, if it was to describe with precision the contents of the volume, which is in itself a most welcome addition to the small number of editions that have been devoted by English scholars to the post-classical literature of Greece; for, with the exception of the monumental work on Pausanias by Dr. Frazer, the admirable commentaries by the late Dr. Holden on several of the *Lives* of Plutarch, which have done so much to restore to that writer his former popularity, and the two volumes issued by the Clarendon Press of selections from Polybius and Strabo, edited respectively by Strachan-Davidson and Tozer, we can recall scarcely any other recent contributions of the kind published in this country to our

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knowledge of the later Greek prose authors. Dr. Mahaffy justifies the exclusion of them from his *History of Greek Literature*, as meant for young students, on the ground that, as a rule, they are not read as classical, however valuable they may be for their matter, and even for their tone and sentiment. With regard to Dionysius, he admits indeed that he is necessary to any proper appreciation of classical oratory.

Professor Roberts has already earned the gratitude of all scholars by his edition of Longinus *On the Sublime*, and the present volume is an instalment of a series of studies on some specimens of the post-Alexandrian literature, to be carried out on a still larger scale. The object here aimed at by the editor is in some respects a unique one; for, as he says in his Preface, 'no sufficiently resolute and comprehensive effort seems yet to have been made to view Greek literature through the eyes of Greek critics.' After distinguishing the different points of view taken by Dionysius and Longinus, the former writer dealing mainly with questions of literary form and technique, the latter with moral nobleness, he proceeds in the following passage to make clear the scope of the present volume:

'The letters are interesting, and variously suggestive in themselves. But it is hoped that the present volume will also serve as a kind of general introduction to the entire body of extant critical work which we owe to Dionysius. In the Introductory Essay and in the Bibliography no pains have been spared to give full information, and abundant references, with the view of shedding light on all the literary essays of Dionysius; and in the Notes and Glossary a like effort has been made to illustrate his literary opinions and technical language by means of quotations from himself and other Greek critics. The task has been one of some difficulty, since no general introduction of the sort here offered, exists either at home or abroad, and no English translation of any of the literary essays of Dionysius has so far appeared' (Preface, p. viii).

The principal facts in the literary career of Dionysius are these: He came to Rome about the year 29 B.C. and remained there for twenty-two years. During all this period he devoted himself to the study of the Latin language and history, and to the collection of materials for his great work, the *Antiquitates Romanæ*, or Early History of Rome, on which he believed erroneously that his reputation would rest. This he published in the year 7 B.C. in twenty books, of which the first nine and a few other fragments have survived. His profession was that of a teacher of rhetoric, and what vitiates so much of his History is the fact that he writes in the spirit of a Greek rhetorician. Its value is further impaired by the deliberate object with which it was composed, namely, to gratify his countrymen by removing their false impressions, showing that the Romans were not barbarians, but a pure Greek race, and tracing all the merit of the nation to this source. Its disproportionate minuteness and prolixity is sufficiently proved by the single fact that no less than *eleven* books are occupied with the subject contained in the first *three* of Livy. Niebuhr was more just to Dionysius than Macaulay, by whom he is

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labelled as a 'tasteless' writer and a 'pedant.' Probably the general prejudice against Dionysius has been due in no slight degree to this sweeping condemnation of Macaulay, whose latest and most enthusiastic critic, Mr. Herbert Paul, admits that he sometimes 'overstated his case and was too much of his own opinion.' Dr. Roberts's estimate, however, of Dionysius is only indirectly connected with his work as an historian and an historical critic, on which he touches at the end of the fourth section of his Introductory Essay, where he says that, if some of his detailed criticisms of Thucydides are well founded 'others seem to show that Dionysius was greatly lacking in width of view and in historical perspective. He has, however, as has been (perhaps too piquantly) observed, cruelly expiated any injustice in his judgments on Thucydides by coming before the world as a historian himself' (p. 34).

It is to his literary criticism that Dionysius owes what fame he preserves, and the degree in which he is entitled to it is fully and impartially discussed by Dr. Roberts in his able Introductory Essay, wherein he deals first with other shorter and detailed writings of our author, chief among which is the *De Compositione Verborum*. In this, which contains a comparison between Herodotus and Thucydides, is illustrated the importance attached by Dionysius to the art of arrangement, and we are reminded of the story of the beginning of Plato's *Republic* mentioned by Dionysius (iii. 37) as well as by Quintilian,[1] how, in the author's tablets the opening words *κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιᾶ* were found variously transposed.

He next proceeds to analyze the Three Literary Letters. These last we do not propose to speak of minutely, but will remark briefly upon each of them. The interest of the First Letter (*Ep. ad Ammæum I.*) consists in its chronological disproof of the assertion that Demosthenes had formed his style on and owed his success to the precepts of Aristotle's Rhetoric. The Second Letter (*Ep. ad Cn. Pompeium*, in which he explains the scope of his lost work, *De Imitatione*) illustrates the attitude of Dionysius towards Plato, and accordingly forms one of the most attractive portions of this volume. Dr. Roberts, in another connexion (p. 183), says that Dionysius, though technical, is anything but a pedantic writer. This is true. Nevertheless it is here we must plainly recognize his limitations, and we see what a wide difference there is between the critical and the imaginative faculty. The strictures on Plato, which, in spite of his respect for the great name of the philosopher, he permits himself to make, have regard chiefly to questions of style. We see, as we should expect, that he is insensible to his fine irony, and other subtle qualities. In truth, the soaring genius of a Plato refuses to be confined within the trammels of a technical literary critic.

The last of these three letters (*Ep. ad Ammæum II.*) is concerned chiefly with grammatical and linguistic topics, its subject being the peculiarities of Thucydides. This section is full of interesting and suggestive remarks to which we can but allude. Dr.

[1] *Instit. Or.* viii. 6.

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Roberts concludes his Introduction with a discriminating sketch of the 'Relation of Dionysius as a literary critic to the Romans and Greeks,' and a general estimate of his aims and achievements. His knowledge of Latin literature was probably only general, and it is somewhat remarkable that he mentions neither Livy, nor Horace, nor Cicero. We see in him a man of independent judgment, robust common sense, solid research, and praiseworthy diligence, certainly not one who thought that easy reading ever came without hard thinking and patient labour, practising, moreover, himself the rules that he prescribed to others. His own style is eminently lucid and unaffected, and 'his true distinction as a critic,' Dr. Roberts asserts, 'is his purity of taste.' Nor should we forget that it is by him there have been preserved to us two of the gems of Greek poetry, the *Danae* of Simonides and Sappho's *Hymn to Aphrodite*. 'Vivid, graphic, and (we are tempted to say) *modern*' (p. 183), thus Dr. Roberts speaks of Dionysius. This somewhat strong language on a writer so little in fashion seems to be justified by the editor's 'Translation of the Three Letters,' of which we have as yet said nothing. The style in which they are rendered is eminently suited to the subject. It is that of the literary essayist or critic. It has been said that modern phraseology never conveys the exact meaning of a Greek writer, and as a rule this is true. But the works of this school of later Greek writers seem to form an exception. They stand on a different plane, and lend themselves to translation more than the great masterpieces. In some respects they are more readable than the original. We must not omit to mention with high praise the very interesting Glossary of Rhetorical and Grammatical Terms appended to this volume, the difficulty of which, as Dr. Roberts says, with truth, is far greater than any, who have not essayed the task of translation, can well imagine.

The execution of this book does great credit to the readers of the Pitt Press, to whose carefulness Dr. Roberts (p. ix) pays a well-merited tribute.

From the general excellence of the volume, and the high standard of scholarship maintained throughout, we look forward with great interest to the publication of the two other works promised in the preface—a *Critical Edition of Aristotle's Rhetoric* and a *History of Greek Literary Criticism*, by the same editor.

The Age of Decision. Sermons to Young Men. By P. N. Waggett, M.A., of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley St. John. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.)

The author of these thoughtful and striking addresses is evidently familiar with the causes which too often make youth a time of *indecision*. He repels the common notion that 'the man of chosen and bounden service, the man of accepted vocation,' finds life 'eventless, stereotyped, fixed in the lines of an arbitrary code.' That obedience to early visions and faithfulness to an accepted task opens to a man 'ever wider prospects of duty and ever freer enterprises of obedience;' that such a life 'cannot grow old, but in

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God and in His service and love continually renews its youth'—this is the underlying thought of the whole book. Thus in dealing with certain aspects of personal religion Father Waggett insists that 'there is no alienation between the religion of the heart and the religion of the Church; between the awful claims of the body of Christ, and the interests of the individual soul.' He conceives of religion not merely as the apprehension of supernatural truth by the intelligence, but as the participation in a Divine *Life*. 'That which comes from God to us, and lifts us from earth to Him, is not a thought merely, but a powerful stream of forces and of love, a vast communication and endowment of realities, even the reality of the Divine Life.' The life of active service and devotion in the Catholic Church is at the same time bound to be a life of inward, intimate communion with Christ.

There is something in the pathetic and eloquent pleading of the following passage which reminds us of Ruskin's later tone and manner, though Father Waggett is pleading not so much for the diffusion of culture or for social reform as for a revival of religion:

'It is for you and for such as you to labour at the restoration, the revival of religion. . . . It is your task to restore its simplest elements: the worship and the fear of Almighty God. You have to restore these in our great desponding populations of London, in the vast cities, and in the desolate fields; populations which are so burdened by the task of keeping body and soul together that they have no leisure and no heart for problems which do not seem to be concerned with the interests of their daily life. It is to these, by consolation, by encouragement, by leadership, by devoting the keenest powers to the consideration of their needs—it is to these your brethren, that you are to restore liberty of soul, that they may rise up and claim their heritage in God. It is for you to make the Empire Christian; it is for you to render politics once again a deep and powerful stream of life, containing in itself a real debate, having in it real parties, real conflicts, enough strength to provide an Opposition as well as a Ministry. It is for you to purify the literature and the stage of the country. . . . It would seem, from what we hear, that in spite of much which is noble and true in some quarters there was never greater need for discrimination than now, and in certain directions for the gravest rebuke. But instead of rebuke we have the silence of the wise and the apathy of the pure. . . . Since all this lies with you, and so much more, . . . see to it that in your time of formation you make strong resolves and lay clear plans, that you do not waste and squander that precious youth which is the only power under God by which, through grace and faith, these works can be attempted.'

On three subjects especially Father Waggett speaks with great insight and force. In his second address he describes faith as the temper of 'mutual confidence' between two spiritual beings. Confidence is the root from which springs the generosity and joy of a living faith in God—such faith as is the one secret of moral and spiritual power. The next address deals with truthfulness of character as the condition of spiritual insight: and incidentally the author touches on the subject of Confession. 'Confession,' he says, 'is not a Popish thing, or a High Church thing, or a mystical,

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fanciful thing. It is simply an honest thing. It is a way of being honest, of dealing the truth in love, of being delivered from a false position and a miserable state of pretence.' This, as it seems to us, is the wisest way of commending the practice of Confession to those who need it. 'It is an honest thing;' a way of recovering inward truth and sincerity, 'by which,' as Father Waggett says, 'we are restored into the full honesty and happiness of dear sons.' In his fifth address he deals with the subject of vocation, and his teaching is specially helpful and encouraging to those who have never properly understood, or at least never practically experienced, the truth of vocation. In one suggestive passage the preacher points out the reason why 'God does not always choose men according to natural fitness.' 'A society,' he says, 'in which fitness ruled position would lack movement.' 'The safe course is for each man to go where he is *sent*, according to a judgment and a scheme which are outside his information altogether.'

The other addresses (including one preached in substance at Charterhouse on Founder's Day) do not call for any special comment. We feel inclined to suggest that Father Waggett's powers of reflection and insight fit him peculiarly for the devotional exposition of the Bible; and we hope he may be induced to turn his attention in this direction. His scientific training, of which abundant traces appear in this book, would be an added qualification for such work.

Prospice. Sermons preached in Clifton College Chapel. By the Rev. M. G. Glazebrook, M.A. (London: Rivingtons, 1900.)

This is a rather exceptional volume of school sermons, marked not only by masculine force and originality, but by an imaginative and poetical vein of thought, which gives a peculiar attractiveness to the treatment of even commonplace subjects. Perhaps the most striking sermon is that on 'Education,' which we should like specially to commend to all who are charged with the mental training of the young. Canon Glazebrook follows Aristotle in regarding the 'educated' man as the man who can reason rightly, and nothing could be better than his description of right reasoning. The following is a typically good passage:

'Secondly, a man must be able to see the force of objections. . . . You many have learned to follow an argument step by step, and yet be quite unable to deal with an objection, or even to see whether it has real force or not. This is to be under the influence of prejudice. Probably no man ever attains such perfect fairness of mind, such entire freedom from prejudice, that he can do full justice to the arguments on both sides of every question. . . . Here again the training of school is a training for life. When you are discussing the date of some ancient battle or the authorship of some ancient book, the issue which is really at stake is not merely your opinion upon that question, but your power in the future to judge fairly between opposing interests, or to sacrifice your own prejudices to the truth, or your own claims to the rights of others.'

And elsewhere a 'trained mind' is described as 'one that can endure fatigue, can adapt itself quickly to a new subject, can observe and

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reason and remember.' For 'the popular cry about useful knowledge' the preacher has scant respect. 'Knowledge,' he says, 'is useful in itself, but the chief use of learning in youth is to develop the judgement, upon which the conduct of life depends.'

These extracts are characteristic of the sane and broad-minded teaching which pervades Canon Glazebrook's sermons. He seems to realize keenly the extent to which wrong ideals of education have acted disastrously on national character. The sermon on 'The Intellectual Side of Patriotism' is specially interesting in this connexion. Preaching in January 1900, when the nation was passing through a period of special despondency after recent disasters in South Africa, he points out that 'our shortcomings have been mainly intellectual.' Not only the conduct of the war, but the interests of commerce, of literature, and even of religion itself, have suffered from 'the unwillingness of our people to admit new ideas.' The weakness of the age is a certain dislike of 'the serious toil which thoroughness of any kind demands.' . . . 'The cry is always for something practical, as it is called—that is, concrete, material, anything but spiritual.'

Here again is a fine and inspiring sketch of an ideal public school:

'We all at some time have seen a vision of Clifton as a perfect brotherhood, where confidence reigns between all its members, young and old; where the strong compulsion of love has power by itself to drive out every form of falsehood and vice; where no evil tongues invent or circulate rumours; where each works for all with his full strength; where each brother is growing, not only in stature, but in wisdom and in the fear of God, because the atmosphere is charged with high thoughts and pure desires. We picture this our home as a garden of the Lord, whose trees are full of health and sap, ready when they are planted out in the world to be an ornament and a shelter for men.'

Throughout these striking and suggestive sermons Canon Glazebrook seems to us to rely with true insight on the capacity of young minds to 'see visions.' He steadily keeps in view and holds before the boys a picture of what they may become; he fixes their thoughts upon the needs of the time, and upon the various ways in which each of his present hearers may play his future part in the uplifting of their fellows and the enrichment of their country. This is the moral very happily drawn from the text (1 Sam. xxx. 24), 'As his share is that goeth down to the battle, so shall his share be that tarrieth by the stuff.'

'The text,' says Canon Glazebrook, 'bids you remember that you are the reserves—not for this [the present South African] war—but for the wars of ten, or twenty, or thirty years on. You are, so to speak, guarding the stuff—that is, the manhood of England in years to come; and . . . if you are storing up strength of body, and mind, and will, if you are training character and gaining knowledge, then you are building up the England of the future, which is the hope of the present. Thirty years hence you and your contemporaries will be the main power in the country,

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and what you will desire to do and be able to do then must depend in a great measure upon the use you make of your time now.'

We have said and quoted enough to show that this is no ordinary volume of school sermons, but a wise and powerful plea for a bolder and broader conception of education than is at all widely diffused nowadays. It may be added that a deep tone of reverence and true spirituality is apparent in all the sermons—especially, perhaps, in those on 'Prayer,' on 'The Sense of Sin,' and on 'The Psalms.' The last deserves to be compared with Dean Church's more elaborate essay on the same theme. Canon Glazebrook has a keen sense of the educational value of the Psalter—its capacity to mould, purify, and elevate religious feeling. Both in this sermon and in that on the 'Prayer Book' he points out with equal simplicity and force the true value of liturgical forms as an element in spiritual education. We should like to refer to several passages of real poetical beauty in these sermons, but our space only admits of the general comment that Canon Glazebrook's style is throughout worthy of the vivid and inspiring teaching which gives a rare distinction to this little volume.

Schoolboys' Special Immorality. By M. Hime. (London: Churchill, 1899.)

It is a commonplace among those who have charge of boys that the subject with which Dr. Hime deals in this book is one of singular intricacy and difficulty. It goes down into the very deeps of human nature, and concerns certain aberrations of the human will at a time of life the most inarticulate, the most inscrutable of all—the time of the passing from childhood to manhood. Moreover, the nature of the evils under consideration is not more obscure than the effect of various remedies which have been proposed, and concerning which great variety of opinion exists. It is, in short, a subject under some aspects solemn and awful, but capable of the utmost triviality and offensiveness of treatment. In no subject is competent guidance more urgently needed, and in none are crude prescriptions more dangerous. Thus in any adequate treatment of it we ask first for knowledge of boys derived from long experience and insight into character; then for delicacy of language and lucidity; then for manly common sense, untinged by cynicism, but kindled by strong religious principle; then for firmness in the tracing of cause and effect; but perhaps more than all for a certain reverent agnosticism with regard to some of the symptoms of perversion in boy nature, and a freedom from all cant and exaggeration. Some of these requirements Dr. Hime's book fulfils; but in respect of the last there is much to be regretted in his pages. We will select a few of the more prominent instances.

On p. 16 there is a very misleading classification of headmasters into two groups, the one consisting of those who talk and write about immorality more definitely than Dr. Hime himself, and 'hundreds' of others who sinfully ignore the evil altogether. The truth is that the mass of headmasters belong to neither section.

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They do not ignore the evil, nor do they speak about it, but patiently and quietly combat it. Then Dr. Hime tilts heavily against the system of cubicles. If half of what he says were true, schools in which this system obtains would be not only hotbeds of vice, but of physical ill-health as well. A sentence like the following inspires the reader with a deep distrust of Dr. Hime's judgment: 'For the promotion of schoolboys' special vice there could not possibly be a more effectual school arrangement than cubicles.' And yet schools in which there are cubicles are, generally speaking, just as wholesome as others where there are none, and it is well known that authorities quite as well qualified as Dr. Hime differ wholly from him as to this point.

But perhaps the most annoying exaggeration often to be found in writing about boys is in the tone adopted on the subject of smoking. Dr. Hime says (p. 24): 'On the injury done to the *morale* and to the still growing brain and growing body of a boy by tobacco I need not dwell, neither need I dwell on the sneaking, underhandedness . . . inseparable from indulgence at school of the forbidden weed.' To say nothing of the slipshod English, where is the evidence for the statement that smoking injures the *morale* of boys or their physical health? There are obvious disciplinary reasons why smoking at school should be checked; but the common and unproveable assumption that even in moderation it stimulates dishonesty, stunts the growth, and spoils the memory is a very silly and tiresome piece of cant. Is smoking at schools dishonest only because it is a breach of rules? If so, why not all kinds of disobedience? If, on the other hand, it is dishonest in itself, why is it so perfectly innocent a practice in manhood? And, again, if it is fatal to physical health, growth, digestion, memory, &c. in boyhood, the splendid health of many young men who smoke regularly is a miracle.

Dr. Hime believes in constant supervision of boys by masters in playhours, and implies (p. 30) that the chief reason for its non-adoption is that it is expensive. This reason in many schools has nothing whatever to do with the matter. The objection to constant supervision is the instinct deep in the English heart that the training for manhood is more wholesome if the presence of adults is only intermittent. And the dilemma on p. 33 is a false one, and seems to show that the author has no understanding of the prefect system. When mischief among young boys is frowned upon by older ones, the former believe in the genuineness of the disapprobation and learn to hate evil. When the only check comes from masters, the common conventional boy looks on this as an interference which he may tolerate, but can never approve. It is merely professional zeal. We admit that in grammar schools where there are no boys over seventeen years, the prefect system is hardly possible, but Dr. Hime strangely condemns it where it is possible.

On p. 51 our author again is sadly one-sided in his confident assertion that no sort of reading should be allowed in the regular playhours, but should be confined to the holidays. This is athleticism run mad. Perspiration is a good thing, but many boys have

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risen to eminence through being allowed to subordinate it to literature in the days of their youth.

The usual homage is paid to the cold bath, ending with a reference to one of the falsest maxims ever spoken, that 'cleanliness is next to godliness.' Some of the most vicious boys at school or at home have been physically the cleanest, and there is no certain connexion between washing the limbs and subduing the passions.

We are glad to find that (p. 62) Dr. Hime strongly condemns the system of reticence still far too common among parents. But so far as we understand him, he advocates only an emphatic warning against vice, but has no words too strong to pour contempt on carefully graduated instruction in laws of sex and birth. In no part of the subject is there more need of an enlightened and judicial mind. But Dr. Hime does not seem to be aware that anyone has written on this subject before, and in a sense quite contrary to his own. He derides instruction, but contends hotly for warning. But why should there not be both? And why should it be assumed that the instruction is of the sort jeered at by Dr. Hime on p. 70? We venture to say that his attitude towards this question of instruction betrays the most lamentable ignorance of the deeper parts of the subject.

We should be inclined to think that the attitude of headmasters towards this evil which is denounced in the chapter on Expulsion is a thing of the past, though there is doubtless a lingering belief that to get rid of a bad boy is the same as securing that a good boy takes his place. The belief is a foolish one undoubtedly, and we hold that Arnold's example in this matter has been followed by headmasters with a deplorable want of discrimination. But does any headmaster believe in expulsion by itself? Probably not. On this subject, however, we think Dr. Hime's language is on the whole justified. But in his treatment of corporal punishment there is again no recognition of the deeper truths underlying the subject, only a rash positiveness which repels even a reader who agrees with the conclusions. And once more we have to ask, why slay the slain? Is there a single schoolmaster in the United Kingdom who looks on caning as a remedy for this vice?

More might be said on the concluding pages; but we must sum up by expressing our sense of a great deal of honest zeal manifested in these pages, while we deplore the superficial and rhetorical treatment of an obscure and solemn subject. The book is spoilt by dogmatism, often divorced from knowledge.

The Faith of the Millions. A Collection of Past Essays. By GEORGE TYRRELL, S.J. First and Second Series. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.)

THIS is a very attractive book. Its style is brilliant and epigrammatic, its tone gentle and charitable. In the places where the Anglican position is attacked in the most uncompromising way we have never to charge the writer with either unkindness or unfairness. If every Roman controversialist would but write in the spirit of Father Tyrrell,

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Canon Gore might withdraw his assertion that 'we have ceased almost to hope to find in a modern Roman writer a candid review of the whole facts of a case where the Roman claims or dogmas are in question.' But indeed the Anglican position is not the primary objective of Father Tyrrell's controversial writings. He considers that 'the tidal wave of unbelief whose gathering force bids fair to sweep everything before it' calls more loudly for efforts on his part, and on that of his co-religionists, than the attempt to complete for Anglo-Catholics the work which, from his point of view, has been already half effected by the Tractarians and their present-day successors.

The scope of the book, then, as a whole, is constructive rather than controversial. From the Essays in the First Series, especially from the two on Mysticism, from that on Scholasticism and that on Rationalism in Religion, it is not difficult to see that the writer has elaborated for himself a very simple and consistent philosophy to serve as a handmaid to the Faith. His Theology dovetails into his Philosophy so as to form, along with it, a system of Apologetics which might be thrown into a concise and attractive whole. But few readers of the book will take the trouble which we have taken of tracing out the method which pervades the various Essays, and piecing it into a system. If the writer himself would throw his strength for a time into welding all that he has thought out into a systematic and constructive treatise, we venture to say that not only the Roman Catholic, but the entire religious world, would be placed under a great obligation to him. Whatever claim to originality such a treatise on Apologetics might have, it would have those merits of clearness and winningness and, above all, of perfect readableness which would recommend it to the very class of people who require to be helped on such lines. For, with one somewhat notable exception, which has jarred on us in reading this book, the writer shows throughout that he is in touch with the intelligent thought of people who do not read much. The single exception we have to note is a passage where he goes out of his way to be sarcastic about the very class of people whom he is taking such trouble to reach. Surely the grocer or the sempstress whose derangement of their aspirates he laughs at are not more likely to be won for his deserting in a single passage the sympathetic, tactful treatment which he accords to them everywhere else.

But we will allow him to enunciate for himself the philosophical faith which is in him, confining ourselves to piecing it together, as we have gleaned it from separate passages, with a necessary link or two supplied.

He is well aware that the practical Briton is shy of categories and abstractions. But practical or unpractical, thoughtful or stolid, a Philosophy in some shape he must have. For, 'there is a philosophy, nay, a metaphysics, implied in the common language of the rudest savage or the simplest child. It is not only the Gospel according to St. John, but the Sermon on the Mount, which depends for its intelligibility on a presupposed philosophy.'

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Some sort of categories of thought thus underlying the simplest operations of the mind, as such, 'every new simplification of knowledge, by which the incoherent many is seen to be one and connected, delights the mind, and gives it a moment of ecstatic rest' which makes it 'evident that the mind has an ineradicable craving for some vision in which the totality of truth shall be summed up in the most absolute simplicity and unity of being.' In that growth of knowledge which we sum up under the name of experience we find that 'in some sense all experience and teaching but wakes us to a consciousness of our spiritual self. . . . In revealing to us, day by day, our latent capacities of knowing and loving, life reveals us to ourselves, so that the knowledge of self and not-self go hand in hand. Yet what delights us without is divided and imperfect; what delights us within is united and perfect. In this way the spirit is the microcosm, a pure white light, unaware of its own beauty till it sees it scattered into its components by the prism of creation.'

This is the core and the keynote of Father Tyrrell's Philosophy—the indivisibility of the cognition of self and not-self, the relativity of knowledge, in the sense that we ourselves condition not only ourselves but our universe; that we know both in an indivisible act of intuition; that our unconscious categories of thought are there, whether we like it or no; and that philosophy means simply the attempt to find an ultimate unification in thought for the One and the Many which in fact and experience have ever presented themselves to us in an unconscious, inevitable unity. Philosophize we must and do in some form or another, for 'so far as we have leisure and culture our reason sifts and analyses these multitudinous assents' by which, for the most part through unconscious inference, we have ever been educating ourselves, 'rejects what is spurious and worthless, classifies and orders the remainder, always tending to some comprehensive unification of all our knowledge into one organic whole. So far as this last tendency is conscious and reflex, we may be said to be in quest of a philosophy; but even where reason in any way begins to work on the gathered materials of thought, there is an unconscious groping after this same unity.'

But necessary though this classification, ordering, unifying of knowledge may be, it needs to be ever corrected by recurrence to the ordinary common-sense methods of experience. And the wise man of balanced mind, the wise *orbis terrarum* which ultimately finds for philosophy and philosophers their true level and worth, and sits, safe, in judgment upon them, is ever bearing it in mind, that 'the world at large refuses to be harnessed to our categories, and goes its own rude, unscientific way.' It is 'the exigencies of our own feeble and limited memory which make it necessary to classify our experiences into some sort of unity,' as we classify books in a library. All the same, philosophy is real as far as it goes. Just as we find, not make, the differences and resemblances by which we class the books in a library or the beetles in a museum, so, 'when we map out the world into categories, we do not invent but recognise one or other of these arrangements things admit of.' And

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provided that we do not treat our categories as an end in themselves, but as a corrective to the vagueness of experience, so long our philosophy is in its proper place. And, again, so long as we do not treat experience as the be-all and end-all, but recognise that the unifying instinct is a real and an inevitable one, the two kinds of knowledge, the vulgar and the scientific, supplement each other according to the needs of each. 'Both kinds of knowledge are in their way lamentably imperfect, the one'—that of the backwoodsman who has a vivid but inexact knowledge of nature—'through indistinctness and confusion, the other'—that of the scientist who should think of beetles as 'marching the fields in logically ordered phalanxes, with pins thrust through their middles—through unreality and poverty of content.'

Philosophical thought, then, is for the things of this world, not only inevitable to our intelligence, but useful to our practice, as reducing all our knowledge to an ordered synthesis and unity. But even here 'it is clear that, as far as the natural world is concerned, what is scientifically true in the abstract may be practically false in the concrete. But when we are dealing with the spiritual and supernatural world we are under a further disadvantage, for we can think and speak of it only in analogous terms borrowed from this world of our sensible experience, and with no more exactitude than when we would express music in terms of colour, or '*vice versâ*. Yet in all the reaching out of the mind after that unification of knowledge which is the motive and the basis of its philosophising, that which it 'really, though often unconsciously, craves for is the vision of the Eternal Mind, which alone can evoke and fill to infinite overflowing its utmost capacities of knowing and loving, and thereby fully reveal it to itself: "*In lumine tuo videbimus lumen*," as the mystics say.' With a twofold craving, then, of heart and understanding, the soul aspires towards Him who is at once the '*Ben dell' intelletto*,' and the Supreme Object of affection. Its very Philosophy demands a Theology, if it is ever really to be satisfied. For in truth, that experience by which, as enunciated above, we learn to know ourselves, and by knowing ourselves to work upward to a unification of all knowledge and experience, 'is but a means to another and better conception through which the mind brings forth in itself an idea, or image, or word of God, in the contemplative love of which it finds its best and most unselfish happiness.' Nor is this upward tendency on man's part left without response on the part of Him towards Whom it is directed. For, 'as God cares how we live, how we use our senses, our passions, our members, our will, and other faculties, so He also cares about the perfection of our intelligence, and about the life of thought for its own sake.' This, then, makes it reasonable and hopeful that men should care 'to know about God as far as God might allow them, however imperfect that knowledge might be.' For imperfection, due to the limitation of our faculties, is the worst charge which can be brought against the Church's theological formulæ. 'Although the truths of faith are believed to be objectively one, and linked together, yet to our gaze they are

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but as the projecting mountains of a submerged continent. It is a legitimate exercise of reverent reason to mark any indications of their hidden unity, to observe their angles of inclination, and to conjecture the point at which some of them may meet below and run into one another.' While, therefore, the catholic Christian knows that 'the Gospel is partly intelligible, partly unintelligible; on one side revelation, light, on the other mystery and darkness. Faith takes it all; rationalism takes the intelligible part alone.' But faith takes not only the truths themselves, so far as they can be grasped by our intelligence, but even the very words and phrases in which they are enshrined, as something which may not be altered or abandoned from time to time. 'The words and ordinances in which those Divine truths were couched might not be tampered with, just for the very reason that they did not, and could not, correspond exactly to the reality which they half hid and half disclosed. When we know the object presented under a metaphor, and the exact point of parity, we can safely change that metaphor for another; but when the object is known only through and in the metaphor, we do not know where the correspondence begins or ends, and so cannot afford to meddle.' The Church, then, recognizing the inadequacy and metaphorical character of her symbols, and knowing also that the great bulk of most men's beliefs and principles, on all subjects whatever, are 'caused in them' by authority of some sort—are, in fact, prejudices, not reasoned convictions—has established 'an international consensus,' brings—Father Tyrrell of course says by means of the Papacy—'the collective mind of the present Church, built upon the past . . . the social influence of the whole Christian body, from the beginning, to bear upon the mind of the individual, and to shape its religious beliefs.' This constitutes that element of Divine Assistance, as distinguished from direct Revelation, by which 'ultimate infallibility' is secured. 'Even apart from such intervention, the security of guidance offered by such an ancient, world-wide, close-knit organism would be considerable—although it may be fairly held that it is in the very creation and continuance of this religious republic that the hand of God is most felt.' The Church, then, will have a Theology not to be tampered with. And, since the categories, the unconscious, underlying assumptions of all human thinking, must pervade all our thoughts upon all possible subjects, human and divine, if the Church is to have a Theology, she must, in some sort, have a Philosophy as well; must, at any rate, have 'some sort of public philosophy,' certain regulative canons or categories for all Christian thinking, 'whereby the very notion of faith may be vindicated.' As a fact, she found these ready to her hand, at a great creative period, in the Scholastic System. And so far as she has committed herself to that system it is because, just as Latin in that day was a 'word-language which had a sort of territorial universality,' so Aristotelianism, as taken up by the School-men, constituted 'a mind-language which had attained an universality even wider than that of the Latin or Greek tongue, which was professedly the philosophy of common sense and common language; which, by

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reason of its child-like directness and simplicity, departed as little as possible from the fundamental conceptions common to all philosophies, and in this philosophy she determined to embody her dogmas, leaving it to those who should care to do so at their own risk, to translate them from the mind-forms of Aristotle into the mind-forms of other thinkers, *salva substantia.*' So long as they are kept in the scholastic forms she guarantees them; translated into others, she may tolerate, but she does not answer for them.

There are many other subjects in these delightful Essays which we should like to present to our readers, but this summary has run far beyond what we contemplated in beginning it, and the body of thought which it inadequately sets forth is quite the most valuable portion of Father Tyrrell's book.

The book itself is beautifully got up. But we are sorry to have to add that it needs a table of *Errata.*

Space forbids our giving more than one or two instances of the happy, epigrammatic point of the author's style. Let the following suffice:

'In practical matters, the reasons men give for their conduct, to themselves or others, are often untrue, never exhaustive. Hence to refute their reasons will not alter their intentions.'

'The pompous parades of syllogistic arguments with all their unsightly joints sticking out for public admiration.'

'It was not the crowds of Pagandom that St. Paul censured, but the philosophers. God made man's feet for the earth, not for the tight-rope. Whatever be the truth about Idealism, man is by nature a Realist: and similarly he is by nature a Theist, until he has studiously learnt to balance himself in the non-natural pose.'

But why, we must ask in conclusion, does an author who can write like this blemish his book by introducing such expressions as 'to extravagate,' 'to ambition,' 'to precise'? And why does he call grace 'an illustration of the mind,' when he means an illumination.

Revelations of Divine Love, recorded by Julian, Anchoress at Norwich, 1373. Edited by GRACE WARRACK. (London: Methuen, 1901.)

THE *Revelations* of Julian (or Juliana) of Norwich is beyond doubt one of the most attractive specimens of mediæval devotional literature. It ranks with Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, which was written about the same time, as a beautiful example of English mysticism in the century which produced Tauler and Suso in Germany, and it has a peculiar interest of its own in the charming personal touches in which it abounds. The editor is fully justified in attributing to Julian

'depth of passion, with quietness, order, and moderation; loyalty in faith, with clearest candour; pitifulness and sympathy, with hope and blithe serenity; sound good sense with a little sparkle upon it, as of delicate humour (that crowning virtue of saints); and beneath all, above all, an exquisite tenderness that turns her speech to music' (p. xxxi).

The reader who expects to find in this anchoress the harsh asceticism and gloomy austerity of such cloister mystics as St. John of the

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Cross will be surprised by the geniality and brightness of her outlook upon time and eternity. Her own account of the 'meaning' of her visions is as follows:

'From the time that the revelation was shewed I desired oftentimes to learn what was our Lord's meaning. And fifteen years afterwards and more, I was answered in ghostly understanding, saying thus: Wouldest thou learn thy Lord's meaning in this thing? Learn it well; Love was His meaning. Who shewed it to thee? Love. What shewed He thee? Love. Wherefore shewed it He? For love. Hold thee therein and thou shalt learn and know more in the same. But thou shalt never know nor learn other thing without end.'

Even sin, which, she believed, 'has no manner of substance nor any part of being,' 'purgeth and maketh us to know ourself,' and so is 'behovable.' 'All shall be well and all shall be well,' she repeats like a refrain, when the problem of evil threatens to weigh her down. Julian disclaims book learning, but she must have talked with divines who had read as well as thought. Her psychology includes the 'Substance' or 'Ground' which plays so important a part in mystical theology, and occasionally we find sentences which have an Eckhartian ring. But she never strays into speculation; she tells us only what was 'shown' her, and qualifies every bolder statement with 'as to my sight.' The little book teems with sayings which deserve to be pondered over—*e.g.* 'To me was shewed no harder hell than sin'; 'I understood no higher stature in this life than childhood'; 'It is readier to us to come to the knowing of God than to know our own soul'; 'God is the mid point of all things'; 'Prayer oneth the soul to God'; 'Our Lord said to me, I am the ground of thy beseeching. How then should it be that thou shouldest not have thy beseeching?' 'The love wherein we have our beginning was without beginning; and this we shall see in God without end.'

Miss Warrack has executed her task with taste and judgment. Her appreciative introduction tells us all that is known about Julian, and gives as much information about mystical theology as is necessary in order to enjoy the book. She has been probably well advised in adopting modern spelling, with such slight exceptions as 'shew,' which is rather old-fashioned than obsolete. Those who love Old English will perhaps wish that she had altered nothing else in the text, and had been content to explain difficulties in the foot notes; but the modernizing has been very slight, and the antique charm of Julian's language is almost unimpaired. Many readers will, we hope, be grateful to Miss Warrack for her labour of love in introducing them to this gem of Old English sacred literature.

An Introduction to Christian Mysticism. By ELEANOR C. GREGORY. (London: H. R. Allenson, 1901.)

THIS is a paper read before the Portsmouth Ladies' Society. It is taken mainly from the *Bampton Lectures* of 1899, from which several quotations are made. The writer has also found room for a fine extract from *John Inglesant*, and for a paragraph from one of Canon

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Scott Holland's sermons. Her definition of Mysticism as 'the science of a hidden life' is better than most of the definitions which have been collected from other writers, and her little essay is well calculated to awaken interest in the subject.

The Eucharistic Sacrifice. A Charge delivered to his Clergy, by the Right Rev. CHARLES C. GRAFTON, S.T.D., Bishop of Fond du Lac. (Fond du Lac: P. B. Haber Printing Company, 1901.)

THE acceptance of the Scotist theory that the Son of God would have become incarnate even if man had not sinned leads the Bishop of Fond du Lac in this Charge to regard the purpose and effect of the Incarnation as extending to the whole of the created universe, not simply to man and our own planet. He describes sacrifice as necessary to religion, as having existed in Eden in the form of man offering up to God the tree of knowledge by abstaining from it, as involving death after the fall, and as found in the sacrifice of the cross, with its four aspects of praise, thanksgiving, prayer, and propitiation. He then asserts the identity of the sacrifice of the altar with that of Calvary, calls attention to the existence in the Eucharist of the four aspects described as found on the cross, points out that the Eucharistic sacrifice does not detract from the sufficiency of what Christ did in His death, and refers to the relation of the Eucharist to the sacrifice in heaven in the following words:

'In heaven Christ as ever a High Priest must have somewhat eternally to offer, and Holy Scripture declares what that offering is, when He is seen there as the Lamb of God. If the essence of sacrifice is an actual or mystical immolation, then there is no sacrifice in heaven. But if sacrifice is the law of the creature's relation to God, wherever he may be, then the worship of heaven must express that law. It may be objected that sacrifice is an act; that the sacrifice on Calvary was an act; that each Eucharist is an act; but that the oblation of Christ in heaven is a state, and hence cannot be a sacrifice. But it is not with God or our Lord as with us creatures. We must either be in action or repose. It is not so with God. As cause, rightly understood, connotes the two ideas of action and finality or rest, so it is with the great First Cause. God is at once unceasing Activity and Eternal Rest. So it is with our Lord. He abides in the passionless tranquillity of the Eternal Life, yet His Saints will follow the Lamb in all the marvellous developments of His majestic operations wherever He goeth. He Who is at once Action and Repose is the Priest and Oblation in the Glory of the Blessed Trinity. The Sacrifice of the Altar is one with that in Glory because it is the same oblation. But may we not see there the same fourfold aspects of sacrifice that are to be found in every dispensation? In heaven there will be the greater need of offering a sacrifice of praise. Not only for creation and redemption, but for Glory must we offer also a sacrifice of thanksgiving. The sacrifice of prayer will ever be needed for our Communion with God, and still, should we not ever need the sacrifice of propitiation? for in His sight the very heavens are not clean, and it must ever be ours to be accepted "in the Beloved." Thus the Church of Christ, by Christ her Head, shall ever present and offer Christ, and through Christ receive the gifts of God, which can never come to an end because He is infinite' (pp. 17–19).

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Fond du Lac Tracts. No. 2. *The Holy Eucharist in the New Testament.* By the Bishop of Fond du Lac. (Milwaukee, Wis. : The Young Churchman Co., no date.)

THIS tract is a simple and reverent exposition of the passages in the New Testament which refer to the Holy Eucharist. It is likely to be helpful to many who wish to know what is the teaching of Holy Scripture on this subject. Nearly all which the Bishop of Fond du Lac says in it seems to us good and valuable. We are, however, of opinion that the paragraph in which he asserts that 'the kind of transubstantiation which is repudiated in our Articles' was also 'repudiated by the Council of Trent' (p. 5) should have been either amplified or omitted. As it stands, it will be disquieting to some readers, and it does not show whether, or in what respects, the doctrine which the Bishop advocates differs from any form of transubstantiation. In a tract of this kind, it might be well that this question should not be raised. If it is raised, it can hardly be put aside so lightly as in the paragraph which we have mentioned.

Greek Manuals of Church Doctrine. By the Rev. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, M.A., formerly Postmaster of Merton College, Oxford; Representative in Cyprus of the Eastern Church Association. Published for the Eastern Church Association. (London : Rivingtons, 1901.)

THIS little book is a companion volume to Mr. Headlam's *The Teaching of the Russian Church*, which was published by Messrs. Rivingtons for the Eastern Church Association in 1897. In it Mr. Duckworth has shown very clearly and simply the main features and teaching of four catechisms which are in use in the Greek Church—namely, those of Bernardakis, Moschakis, Kyriakos, and Nektarios. We are acquainted with the four manuals on which his book is thus based, and have compared particular passages to which he refers with his translations or summaries of them, and have no hesitation in recommending his book to those who wish for an accurate account in a short form of the instruction ordered to be given in the Greek Church. He has probably acted wisely in making his translations somewhat freely, though the amplification of the sentence ἐπιγινωσκέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οἵα τις ὑπάρχει, quoted by Nektarios (p. 229) from the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[1] into "Let him be fully taught in the knowledge of his own nature, its laws, its capabilities, its tendencies' (p. 8), is perhaps excessive.

It is of very high importance that English churchpeople should possess much fuller and more accurate knowledge of the doctrine and practice of the Greek Church than is at all usual; and this little volume is well fitted to afford valuable help in acquiring it.

[1] Mr. Duckworth gives the reference to the *Apostolic Constitutions* as viii. 5. It should be vii. 39. The mistake appears to be due to Bishop Nektarios not giving any reference for this passage, and almost immediately after quoting viii. 5 with the reference.

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The Passion. Historical Essay. By R. P. M. I. OLLIVIER, O.P. Translated from the French by E. LEAHY. (Boston: Marlier and Company, Limited, 1901.)

IT is with mingled feelings that we approach a book which professes to contain, as does the work before us, only an historical account of the Passion of our Lord, and which yet extends to over four hundred octavo pages. On the one hand, the awful solemnity of the ineffable suffering seems best safeguarded in the marked simplicity of the narrative given us by the Synoptic Evangelists and the beloved Apostle, and we almost shrink from the fuller details which such writers as Father Ollivier have gathered with long and scrupulous pains, and record with minute yet not irreverent particularity. On the other hand, there are doubtless those among the afflicted in body and mind—and it is to these the author dedicates his work—'who will be strengthened in the hour of humiliation, of desolation, and of suffering' by comparing the Divinity of our Lord with the abasement to which He condescends. In the composition of his work Father Ollivier has consulted a wide range of authorities, including the Talmuds of Jerusalem and Babylon, and the books of eminent Roman Catholic and Protestant authors, and he professes to discriminate between the reliance to be placed upon what he deems to be incontestable evidence and the revelations claimed by such mystics as St. Bridget, Marie d'Agréda, and Catherine Emmerich. Whether many of his authorities could stand the searching tests of modern historical criticism may well be questioned, and it is probably due to the pious facility with which many Roman authors accept legendary traditions that their works have been disregarded—as Father Ollivier complains they have—by so many eminent writers on the same topic.

Father Ollivier divides his essay into six books, which take their titles from the scene in which the events they describe were enacted—viz. Jerusalem, Gethsemane, Mount Sion, In the Antonia, From the Antonia to Calvary, and at the Tomb. In highly realistic and vivid description the several stages of the long-drawn Passion are brought into the strongest relief, and the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the profound earnestness with which the author has studied 'the Passion,' and his eager desire to make his treatment of it profitable to the souls of his readers. He accepts the assertion of the Talmud that Jesus was formally excommunicated by the Sanhedrin:

> 'Thursday morning,' he writes, '13 Nisan (17th March) beheld the faithful grouped around the doors of the four hundred synagogues of Jerusalem, whither they had been summoned by the trumpets of the Levites. A Priest appeared on the threshold, and in a voice of thrilling sadness declared Jesus of Nazareth, the seducer and false prophet, separated from the people in life and in death' (p. 52).

It is perhaps inevitable that in elaborating a history which has been already written under the guidance of inspiration a modern writer should yield occasionally to the fancies of a capricious imagination. Such, at any rate, appears to us the suggestion that our Lord chose

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Gethsemane as the scene of His agony because it contained the tombs of His earthly ancestors, and '*expected consolation and precept from their grave*, as well as from Heaven' (p. 70); or that 'St. John *affects to ignore* (!) the agony of Jesus: he does not even allude to it, as if he feared to lower the Divine Ideal which he was proposing to the admiration and worship of the faithful of his time' (p. 63). We offer these observations in no carping spirit. The like criticism might in our judgment be applied to some of the quotations Father Ollivier inserts in his pages, and which are sheltered under the honoured names of Bossuet and Bourdaloue.

The peril that besets such a path as that which Father Ollivier traverses and the imperative need for self-restraint in venturing to amplify the Bible record are strikingly illustrated in the chapter which treats of the Seven Words from the Cross. It requires a somewhat longer extract to convey an adequate conception of its extraordinary indulgence in unverifiable assumptions:

'The dying Saviour's looks fell upon this little group of faithful friends, no doubt seeking Her whom He expected at this rendezvous of the Last Hour. Mary was standing on His left, near the unrepentant thief, as if she were trying to save him from the justice about to strike him. A vain effort, alas! for the unhappy wretch would not avail himself of Her intercession. There arose from the Heart of the Divine Mother an ardent supplication to the Sacred Heart of Her Son for the whole human race *of whom He had made Her Co-redemptrix* (!). What she desired, above all, was the assurance of pardon for mankind. He understood this well, and He immediately addressed Her in those words, *full of the respect due to the office with which He invested Her*, "Woman, behold Thy son!" and with a glance He designated St. John. Then, addressing the Disciple, He said, in grave sweet tones, "Son, behold thy Mother!" *That is to say*, "*O my Mother, Queen and Mistress of all that is Mine, behold mankind, whom I confide to you that you may be henceforth their Advocate.* I constitute you their Mother, that you may forbid Me to reject them, for I could not do it without rejecting you yourself. Be happy: they are saved. And you, O man, behold your Model and your Refuge. I have pardoned you, for I commit you to Her to whom I can refuse nothing when she intercedes in your favour"' (pp. 373–4).

Comment would appear superfluous upon this extract from a work which we are assured in its opening pages[1] 'is historical only and confined to a recital of the details as they are attested by the Gospel itself, Catholic tradition, or contemporary history.' To the reader who has not been trained in the modern cult of the Virgin Mother it is utterly incomprehensible that a writer who has entered with so much minuteness and feeling into the unapproachable agony with which our redemption was purchased should thus unwarrantably and instantly withdraw a share of its incommunicable privileges from that sacred heart which bore it. By the reader who has understood not merely the letter but the whole pervading spirit of the Gospel such teaching is seen to be irreconcilable with the testimony—of special weight, we should suppose, with Father Ollivier

[1] See Introduction, p. 3.

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—of the Apostle St. Peter, that there is only one Name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved (Acts iv. 12). Nor can we forget that it was the very disciple to whom, according to the author, our dying Lord commended His Mother as *the Advocate of mankind* who in after years wrote, 'If any man sin we have an Advocate'—not the Blessed Virgin—but 'Jesus Christ the righteous' (1 John ii. 2). It is needless to remark that such a licence for reading into the simplest sentences whatever commends itself to the author's fancy, or may serve to bolster up the latest decisions of the Vatican, is absolutely fatal to all claim to be regarded as history, and brings down his book to the level of a pious romance.

An English Commentary on Dante's 'Divina Commedia.' By the Rev. H. F. Tozer. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.)

This book, so far as we are aware, is a new departure in Dante literature. It is the first time, we believe, that a commentary upon the *Commedia* has been published apart from the text, at any rate since the days of the mediæval commentators. The arrangement has its inconveniences. In the case of the early commentaries these were sometimes serious. It not infrequently happened, for example, that a commentary was issued after the author's death in company with a text of the *Commedia* which was in direct contradiction with the remarks of the commentator. A well-known instance is the edition of Landino's commentary accompanied by the Aldine text of the poem, a hybrid production which aroused the wrath of Vellutello. Vellutello himself suffered at a later period in a similar way, his own commentary being several times reprinted along with a text which he had previously condemned as full of inaccuracies. The result of such proceedings has been, as Dr. Moore pointed out in his *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, that there are numerous instances in modern editions of the *Commedia* where, on the strength of the accompanying text, the old commentators are cited as authorities for readings which the evidence of their own commentaries shows them to have rejected.

Mr. Tozer's English Commentary is avowedly intended for use with the Oxford text of the *Commedia* (published last year), to which it forms a companion volume. But it may be used equally well with any other edition, Mr. Tozer, as is explained in the preface, having taken special care to note the more important variations in the text, and to furnish the interpretations of the alternative readings. By this means the most serious inconvenience attaching to a separate commentary written to suit one particular text is to a great extent obviated. Whatever the inconveniences of this plan, however, there can be no doubt about the conveniences of it, and we congratulate the delegates of the Clarendon Press upon their enterprise in adopting it. By a wise provision the book is so arranged that, if desired, each of the three parts of the Commentary can be bound separately. In all material respects indeed the volume is wholly admirable. We have but one criticism to make. We could wish away the representation of Dante on the title-page, which

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is a reduced facsimile of the very interesting woodcut on the title-page of the second (1521) edition of the *Amoroso Convivio*. The original, which has no pretensions to be an authentic portrait of the poet, is an admirable specimen of vigorous wood-engraving; but in the reproduction, which appears to have been prepared from a worn impression, and which is only half the size of the original, all the merits of the latter have disappeared. As no indication is given that we can discover as to the provenance of the portrait, the uninformed are likely to accept it as an unsuccessful modern attempt at the practically lost art of wood-engraving. In any case we cannot but regard it as a blemish on the title-page of an otherwise irreproachable book.

The first question which suggests itself with regard to Mr. Tozer's volume is whether there was any need for another English commentary on the *Divina Commedia*. The English Dante student was already pretty well provided in that respect—we have only to mention the commentaries of Cary, Longfellow, Dean Plumptre, and Mr. Butler, and the admirable *Readings* of Mr. Vernon. All of these, however, are accompanied by, or rather are ancillary to, a translation. Now a translator does not as a rule consider it his business to furnish paraphrases or detailed explanations of difficult passages, besides giving a rendering of them; and the consequence is that many of the acknowledged difficulties in Dante's poem are left unexplained, or only half explained, in the books above mentioned. With Mr. Tozer, on the other hand, to quote his preface once more, the primary aim has been to make Dante's meaning clear to the reader of the poem, and with a view to this, in interpreting the harder passages, translations, paraphrases, or explanations have been introduced, according as one or other of these methods appeared better suited for that purpose. This variety of method, which we may say at once is admirably followed out by Mr. Tozer, and which is eminently desirable in the case of so difficult an author as Dante, constitutes in our opinion a sufficient justification for the publication of this book. Mr. Tozer's notes have the great merit of being clear; and if they are not always exactly concise, they are at any rate to the point. As might be expected from his previous publications, his geographical notes are especially full and illuminating—a good example is the note on *Purgatorio* xxxiii. 112–113, where Dante speaks of Tigris and Euphrates having a common source. Mr. Tozer, who, if we mistake not, has published a paper on Dante as a geographer, very properly insists on the importance of Dante's geographical indications. Some of these, no doubt, as Mr. Tozer points out, were derived from the geographical sections of the work of Orosius, of which Dante has made such full use for other purposes, but a large number were certainly the outcome of his own personal observations. Another point to which Mr. Tozer pays special attention is the consideration of metrical questions. Those who have made use of Dr. Moore's volume on *Textual Criticism*, already referred to, will be acquainted with Mr. Tozer's elaborate appendix on the principles of metre and scansion

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observed by Dante in the *Divina Commedia*, some of the conclusions of which are naturally utilized in the present volume. He oddly enough makes no remark on the scansion of *Livio* as a trisyllable in *Inferno* xxviii. 12, which is no doubt due, as Mr. Butler observes, to the *scr* of the following word (*scrive*).

We do not understand on what principle quotations from Aristotle are given in Greek. Mr. Tozer is fully aware (as appears from a sentence in his preface) that Dante was ignorant of Greek and had access to Aristotle, and such other Greek authors as he quotes, only at second hand, or in Latin translations. It is wholly misleading to quote the Greek text of Aristotle, as we possess it, as if it represented the text known to Dante. That he had to rely upon translations, and that in some cases the translations were inexact, and did not agree with each other, we know from an interesting passage in the second book of the *Convivio* (cap. 15), where, in a discussion as to the origin of the Milky Way, he says he cannot make out what Aristotle's opinion on the subject really was, owing to the contradictions between the two translations of the *De Meteoris* (*i.e.* probably between the version made from the Arabic by Michael Scot, and that made direct from the Greek by, or at the instigation of, Thomas Aquinas). Nor can we approve of Mr. Tozer's practice of quoting from the Italian translation of the *Trésor* of Brunetto Latini, instead of from the original, which is perfectly accessible in the edition of M. Chabaille. It is well known that the Italian version teems with interpolations; consequently there is always the risk that a quotation from that source may not be from Brunetto's own work at all. On the other hand, we are glad to note that Mr. Tozer consistently refers to the Vulgate, bearing in mind that our Authorized Version does not always correspond to the Latin version of the Scriptures utilized by Dante. Failure to recognize this has been responsible for one or two curious mistakes in recent English commentaries on the *Commedia*.

Perhaps the most valuable, and in some respects the most original, portions of Mr. Tozer's commentary are the excellent summaries and analyses which he gives of the philosophical and theological disquisitions with which the poem abounds, especially in the *Paradiso*. These will be found of great assistance not only by those who are reading the poem for the first time, but also by the more practised reader. Controversial notes are happily conspicuous by their absence. In the case of disputed interpretations, Mr. Tozer has adopted the wise course of avoiding lengthy discussions and citations from authorities, and has contented himself with giving that which is most generally accepted, or has the most to be said for it. For example, the question as to the identity of the *Veltro* of *Inferno* i. 101, which by itself has given birth to a considerable body of literature, is disposed of, quite satisfactorily as far as essentials are concerned, within the compass of little more than half a page.

Mr. Tozer appears to have availed himself to the full of the most recent English authorities on Dante and his sources, notably of

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Mr. Toynbee's *Dante Dictionary*, and Dr. Moore's volumes of *Studies*. These works, together with Professor Fay's invaluable *Concordance*, have immensely lightened the task of the Dante commentator of the present day. It is somewhat significant, not only perhaps of Mr. Tozer's own limitations in the field of Dantesque literature, but also of the hold which the study of Dante has taken in England, that, of seventeen works upon Dante cited as authorities in the preface to this volume, no less than nine are English. Of the remainder, four are German, two only are Italian (certainly a grievous disproportion, at any rate so far as numbers are concerned), and two American.

We would suggest that in a future edition of the English Commentary some maps, plans, and diagrams might profitably be added. A few simple diagrams, for instance, would greatly assist in the comprehension of certain of the complicated astronomical problems with which the student of the *Divina Commedia* is called upon to grapple. Before taking leave of the volume we may draw attention to a slip (the only one we have succeeded in discovering); it occurs on page 15, where (in the note on *Inferno* iii. 12) 'Aeneas' should be read for 'Virgil.'

A Commentary on Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.' By A. C. Bradley, LL.D., Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford. (London: Macmillan & Co., 1901.)

The new Professor of Poetry at Oxford, though doubtless well known and highly esteemed by his own friends and by his pupils in the northern University of his adoption, is less well known in his own University, to which he has now returned, and is scarcely known at all by the reading public in general. To many the volume now before us will be their first introduction to him as a literary critic; and although it was composed before his election to the chair of Keble, of Matthew Arnold, and of Shairp, it will be regarded as his credentials upon taking up this honourable post. From this point of view we cannot but consider it as an unfortunate production. There may be those who like to have their poetry eviscerated and deprived at once of its life and beauty, and laid before them as an anatomical specimen, but we cannot regard such a work as worthy occupation for a literary critic of the first rank, nor can we suppose that any single reader of *In Memoriam* will be the better for it. We do not for a moment dispute Professor Bradley's assertion that the meaning of many passages in the poem is doubtful, and that a few are extremely obscure, although the intelligences to which some of his remarks must be supposed to be directed must be of very limited range; but we cannot believe that anyone will profit by working through it, commentary in hand, as though it were a philosophical text-book. The reader who makes his own way through the difficulties, or even he who simply shirks them, will derive lifelong help and inspiration from many of the poet's words; but the reader who reduces the poetry to the dead level of prose will find nothing that he could not have obtained more coherently from religious or

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philosophical treatises. The poet's function is not to produce a system of philosophy, but to render 'current coin' the higher thoughts of mankind; to drive home, and to make part of the common heritage of his countrymen, thoughts which, dimly and dumbly, were latent in their intelligence already, or which their intelligence welcomes readily when once presented to it. An essay on a poem may promote an intelligent comprehension of it; a detailed commentary is more likely to kill it altogether. Mr. Bradley offers both; but in his introductory chapters we find little that is likely to be of value to the ordinary reader, while the commentary, though we have dipped into it in places, we must respectfully beg to be excused from reading in full.

We do not wish to be unjust to Mr. Bradley, and are quite ready to admit that those who wish for a commentary on *In Memoriam* will find one here which is likely to meet all their needs. It is our respect for the poem which makes us wish that, for some generations at least, it might be free from the commentator; and we hope that before long Mr. Bradley will give us something which will justify, in a more satisfactory fashion, the high opinion held of him by those who have been privileged to know him and to learn from him.

Robert Browning as a Religious Teacher. Being the Burney Essay for 1900. By ARTHUR CECIL PIGOU, B.A., Scholar of King's College [Cambridge]. (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1901.)

THIS little volume falls, to some extent, under the same condemnation as that which has just been noticed, as an attempt to reduce a poet's thoughts to the level of philosophical prose; but Mr. Pigou has many excuses which are not open to Professor Bradley. In the first place, the subject of his prize essay was presumably not of his own choosing; in the second, he has not pulverised any single poem, but merely selected and arranged thoughts from a great number of them, so that one's enjoyment of the originals is not impaired; and thirdly, there is so much definitely religious and ethical teaching scattered through the works of Browning that it is not unreasonable to try to bring it together and to see whether it can be expressed as a coherent system. The mistake of this essay lies rather in the prominence given to metaphysics. If any metaphysical system were fully satisfactory, and answered all the riddles of the universe, it might be reasonable to ask how far the teaching of a didactic or philosophical poet is in accordance with it; but it is not reasonable to blame a poet because it is impossible to extract a full and coherent metaphysical theory from the religious teaching contained in his poems. The prophet is greater than the philosopher; and the rank of the poet is with the former rather than with the latter.

Mr. Pigou seems to us to exaggerate the difficulties in Browning's philosophy, as, for example, in reference to his treatment of the problem of evil. It is one thing, recognising the limitations of our human reason, to say that evil may be seen by a higher intelligence to be good; it is another to say that evil (and good also) is unreal,

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because it exists in Time, and Time is but a mode of the human mind; and the former rather than the latter appears to us to be Browning's habitual attitude. But space does not admit of an adequate discussion of the question here; nor do we attach much weight to it. Browning, like Tennyson, but with a wider range and more powerful intellect, gives expression to the highest thoughts and intuitions of humanity on subjects with regard to which the human mind, in its present state, can never have perfect knowledge; and it is no deduction from their helpfulness and their elevating influence to say that, in the last analysis, they involve metaphysical antinomies. The fault is in the metaphysics, not in the poet. Consequently Mr. Pigou's essay might have been more useful, as well as more interesting, if he had devoted less attention to first principles, and more to those *media axiomata* which touch actual life more nearly, and in which Browning's poetry is so rich. No poet, except Shakespeare, has illustrated human life more plentifully or from so many points of view; no poet has given utterance to more helpful and elevating thoughts 'on man, on nature, and on human life.' On these matters of ethics Mr. Pigou's treatment is somewhat scanty and inadequate. With regard to the more definitely religious side of Browning's teaching Mr. Pigou has little difficulty in showing that he was a believer in the essential doctrines of the Christian revelation; and this needs emphatic statement, since Mrs. Sutherland Orr, whose biography of the poet, inadequate as it is in more than one respect, holds the field at present as the only one written with inside knowledge, has gone out of her way to minimise the extent of his dogmatic beliefs. There is good reason to believe that her statement of his attitude on religious matters is not accepted by others who have as good, or better, right to speak in his name; and to us it appears absurd to try to explain away the express language of such poems as *Christmas Eve* and *Ferishtah's Fancies*, or even of more dramatic pieces, such as *A Death in the Desert*, *Saul*, *The Pope* (in *The Ring and the Book*) or the *Epistle of Karshish*. Mr. Pigou does not quote the most emphatic passages in *Christmas Eve*, such as the lines beginning 'Truth's atmosphere may grow mephitic.' Possibly it was too long for quotation in full; but a reference to its argument would have strengthened his position.

For the rest, Mr. Pigou has evidently worked very carefully through Browning's poetry, and has classified his extracts under their appropriate heads. From the literary point of view his method has its drawbacks, since his essay has the effect of a mosaic of quotations rather than of an independent literary whole; but this is the fault of those who appointed the subject for the essay, and it is perhaps characteristic of Cambridge methods and ideals to consider substance, even in a prize essay, rather than literary form. As a work of reference, however, it would have been better if Mr. Pigou had made his work more exact, by giving the numbers of the lines or sections, at least in the case of the longer poems.

It is fair to state, in conclusion, that Mr. Pigou fully realizes the limitations of his own work. He has systematized, very ably and

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adequately, the express religious and philosophical dogmas which he finds in Browning's poems; but he does not make the mistake of thinking that he has thereby extracted the essence of his poetry. On the contrary, it is the essence which escapes such a process. It is not in the formal argumentation of such a poem as *La Saisiaz*, still less in the somewhat sophistical dialectics of *Fifine* (of which Mr. Pigou perhaps makes too much use), that the most essential utterances of Browning's inspiration are found. These we may forget; but we do not forget the 'Love is best' of *Love among the Ruins*, the 'God's in His heaven, All's right with the world,' of *Pippa*, the 'This throws himself on God, and unperplexed Seeking shall find Him,' of *A Grammarian's Funeral*, the last nine lines of *Karshish*, the lines beginning 'There burns a truer light of God in them' in *Andrea del Sarto*, the last four stanzas of *Abt Vogler*, or those beginning 'Not on the vulgar mass Called "work" must sentence pass,' in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, the whole of *Prospice*, the lyric 'So the head aches,' and the epilogue in *Ferishtah's Fancies*, or the final epilogue to his whole life's work, in which he summed up his courageous, cheerful, yet God-fearing and God-loving creed, characterizing himself as

> 'One who never turned his back but marched breast forward,
> Never doubted clouds would break,
> Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
> Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake.'

The Church, the Churches, and the Mysteries; or, Revelation and Corruption. By G. H. Pember, M.A. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1901.)

It will not be necessary to detain the reader for a very long time by our remarks on Mr. Pember's book, although it is part of a large scheme of three volumes, and deals with a perplexing variety of subjects. We only feel constrained to notice it at all because it is marked by a certain literary peculiarity, not to say eccentricity, and because it takes a hopeless view of the Church of England which we should be sorry not to oppose. This volume is described by Mr. Pember as complete in itself, although it forms the second of a series of three upon the great prophecies of the centuries upon Israel and the Gentiles and the Church. Here he endeavours to set forth the Scriptural idea of the Church as he understands it, the practical bearings of the meaning and use of the term, the conditions and behaviour and gifts of the members of the Church, its laws, ordinances, and government. When this Scriptural revelation has been considered Mr. Pember unveils the source of the influence which has so marvellously corrupted it. This corruption has made disastrous way in the Church of England, if we accept Mr. Pember's view. Her course 'has ever been fitful and unsteady'; she has 'deliberately reversed her steps, and set her face determinedly towards the veiled Paganism of priests and sacraments'; she is 'not merely commencing, but has almost accomplished, a retrograde

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movement from Bible light to mediæval darkness.' Among the causes of this sad state Mr. Pember mentions 'the enmity of the carnal mind against God, which prompts men to instinctive disobedience'; the power of Satan; the fact that a national Church, with honours and emoluments to bestow, must inevitably number among her clergy many who, though upright and sincere according to the world's standard, are not actuated solely by the love of Him who died for sinners, and therefore cannot enjoy the guidance of His Spirit; and especially the fact that each succeeding generation of men is found to depend too much, if not altogether, upon ancient custom, vague tradition, the laws of some Church, or its own idea of what is right, and so does not continually refer for motives of belief and action to the written and unchanging Word of God. Mr. Pember gives a list of twenty-nine institutions, doctrines, and practices of 'Catholicism as opposed to primitive or Evangelical Christianity,' and discusses them at great length by way of proving that 'Catholicism is simply Paganism with a Christian nomenclature, and is not Christianity at all.' The word 'Catholic,' Mr. Pember tells us, was adopted in a technical sense, as indicating the orthodox, by those ecclesiastical Christians who, taking their model from the Pagan mysteries, believed in salvation by priests and sacraments. He resigns the word to those to whom it of right belongs as a designation of hierarchical as opposed to evangelical and apostolical Christians. He censures a note in the *Churchman's Pocket Book* for 1897, published by what he calls the 'Society for the *Propagation* of Christian Knowledge,' in which the Lord's Mother is 'boldly called Theotokos,' and, in defiance of all orthodox explanations against Nestorianism, he actually says that this term means 'the Mother of Christ's Divine Nature,' and that this title 'implies that she is herself a goddess.' He is also so anxious to connect Catholic with Pagan rites that he tells us that the word *misd*, or round wafer, used in the worship of Mithras is 'the origin of the Roman Catholic term *missa*, the Mass.' Our readers will have gained an impression from our remarks of Mr. Pember's mode of treatment, and the quotations which we have given sufficiently illustrate his scholarship and theology, without further serious discussion of the chapters in which he writes upon the Church and Sacraments, the gifts of ministry, the courts of heaven, sacerdotal ceremonies, sex in deity, incense, the tonsure, the brethren of the Lord, mystery plays, varieties of patristic and mediæval corruption, the number of the beast, the position of St. Peter, Buddha, St. Basil, and Dr. Mivart. We will only use the opening words of Mr. Pember's last chapter and say, 'Our unpleasing task is now accomplished.'

The Victories of Rome and the Temporal Monarchy of the Church. By the Rev. K. D. Best. Fourth Edition, Revised. (London: Kegan Paul, 1901.)

Since the first appearance of the *Victories of Rome*, thirty-four years ago, its author has continued to strive to uphold the cause of the temporal power of the Pope. During that period some important

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changes have taken place, but the present edition is substantially the same as that which last appeared, in 1893. By adopting 'the Temporal Monarchy of the Church' as a part of his title the author reminds his readers of the learned work of Francesco Bozio, in five books, *De Temporali Ecclesiæ Monarchia et Jurisdictione*, in which the origin of the Roman Pontiff's royalty is traced. The present little work, which its author calls a pamphlet, is made up of sketches and scraps which give glimpses of the historical vicissitudes of the Papacy. Arnold of Brescia's relation to the Emperor Conrad, and the assistance which Ockham rendered to Louis of Bavaria, are regarded as anticipations of the co-operation of the royal house of Savoy with Mazzini and Garibaldi, when, 'against every principle of religion, gratitude, honour, and honesty,' they 'completed their crime by the great sacrilege of September 20, 1870.' The temporal sovereignty is regarded as 'an integral right of the Church as constituted by her divine Founder,' a statement which sounds strangely when read in connexion, we do not say with passages in the Gospels, but with the 'acts' of the first conciliar age, when Rome held, in conjunction with one or two other great sees, an acknowledged place of signal dignity and honour. Without dealing with historical evidence it is no good to say that this sovereignty has prevailed *de facto* for more than 1,200 years, and has been possessed *de jure* by divine natural law from the beginning of Christianity. And when these statements are brought to the bar of history there is abundant evidence at hand in the history of our own country alone to show that papal interference was strenuously resisted in the English Church before the Reformation over and over again; while in the fourth and fifth centuries, if the temporal sovereignty of the Bishop of Rome was not resisted, the reason was that it was not asserted. A list of works is given which have suggested or confirmed much in these pages. The first chapter is devoted to historical sketches and epochs, and the second sets forth the 'necessity' of the temporal power. To read these chapters is sufficient to understand why Roman Catholics persist in what seems to the majority of Englishmen to be running their heads against a brick wall in this matter of the temporal power, and also provides some explanation of the very deep dread of Rome on the part of many English Church people who are commonly regarded as indistinguishable from Roman Catholics in doctrinal matters. The fact is, apart from the complete absence of Vaticanism from the ancient Catholic world, the free insular Englishman utterly rejects the Pope in his political aspect, and neither the fervid eloquence of Father Faber's sermon nor the author's own sermon, admirable in its way, nor the Syllabus of Pope Pius IX. concerning the temporal power—all of which are inserted in appendices—can move the mind of the mass of the English people on this subject, and it is true kindness to say so plainly, and, we may add, true wisdom to recognize it. Even Mr. Hall Caine's latest novel teaches us that the Pope must renounce the temporal power in the Eternal City to reign supreme over a Christianized humanity. The tears of the Popes are more powerful

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than their arms; and it is better that the chief Bishop of Christendom should cherish his supernatural power to say, Arise and walk, than that he should be in a position of worldly pomp, and bestow silver and gold upon his subjects. Mr. Gladstone's Vatican controversies gave expression to the opinion of many of the most Catholic-minded of his fellow-countrymen, and the present little book, if it comforts and encourages a few Roman Catholics, will not alter the conviction of a single member of the Church of England, unless we are very much mistaken. That is to say, we regard it as apologetically worthless.

Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German-Switzerland, 1484–1531. By Professor S. M. Jackson. (New York and London: Putnam's Sons, 1901.)

Professor Jackson of New York is the originator of the series of fully illustrated works on the *Heroes of the Reformation* to which this biography of Zwingli belongs. The reader would be hard to please who refused to praise the excellence of the illustrations, the clearness of the type, the smoothness of the paper, and the generous expenditure of industry which is evident in all parts of the Professor's work. One fault, which is not uncommon in American books, is that the book is far too heavy for its size, so that it is tiresome to hold it.

By this biography Zwingli is apparently placed in a company which, as at present arranged, includes Luther, Melanchthon, Erasmus, Beza, Calvin, Knox, and Cranmer. Professor Jackson has studiously endeavoured to carry out the plan of the series and to make his book not a mere eulogy but a critical biography, in which he does not ignore defects of judgment nor refrain from blame when he considers that it is required; and, on the other hand, he is in full sympathy with the nobler parts of the character of his subject, and does ample justice to his distinctive contribution to the Reformation movement. With a very great respect for Zwingli his present biographer does not claim a place for him in the front rank of the great men of the world, or consider that he was equal to Luther or Calvin. His literary work was frequently marred by haste, and few unbiassed judges would hesitate in deciding the question of republication. In his treatment of the Baptists Professor Jackson describes him as having been prejudiced and cruel; he exhibits a weak jealousy towards Luther, and at all events in his later life a political element was unduly prominent in his conduct. But as the leader of the Reformation movement in German Switzerland he spent his days in the service of the truth, as he understood it. His character is marked by generosity, self-sacrifice, a power of winning affection, and a sturdiness which could not be bribed. He saw clearly the cause of his country's decline, and in spite of her faults patriotically laid down his life for her sake. He wins Professor Jackson's admiration 'as a man, as an indefatigable worker, as a broad-minded scholar, as an approved player of a large part on a small stage.' It is perhaps true that he is nearer to our modern ways of thought

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than Luther, or Melanchthon, or Calvin. Professor Jackson has been fortunate in securing two contributions to his book, which greatly help the reader to form a true estimate of Zwingli's love for his country and of his theology, in Professor Vincent's historical survey of Switzerland before the Reformation and Professor Foster's chapter on Zwingli's theology. The sources of information which Professor Jackson has used have enabled him to produce an accurate and reliable biography. Among them are the letters by and to Zwingli, Bullinger's contemporary history of the Reformation in Switzerland, the Acts of the Councils of Zürich and other cities, the existing biographies of Christoffel, Moerikofer, and Staehelin, and various monographs, as well as *Zwingliana*, the semi-yearly organ of Zwingli studies carried on by Professor Egli. These and other indispensable aids to the study of Zwingli are conveniently arranged in an introductory list of works. The sixteen chapters of the book put the general reader in possession of the principal facts of Zwingli's life from his birth in 1484 to his death in 1531. He was born at Wildenhaus, about forty miles from Zürich, and in 1487 his father moved twelve miles off to Wesen, where his boyhood was spent. He was sent to school at Basel in 1494, and being a brilliant pupil proceeded first to Bern, and then went to take his degree in the University of Vienna. After a pastoral charge at Glarus and a temporary residence at Einsiedeln he accepted the influential but poorly paid place of people's priest at the great minster of Zürich in 1519. Here was the scene of his Reformation work. He at once began a course of Scriptural exposition in the cathedral, and his opening year at Zürich was marked by the failure of an indulgence-seller to prosecute his work successfully there. Professor Jackson places the real beginning of the Reformation in Zürich in the year 1522. As a result of his teaching some members of his congregation declared in Lent of that year that they would not fast if it was not required by Scripture. The question of the recognition of the wives of the clergy also had an important bearing on the growing movement. The next year, 1523, is notable on account of the two great disputations which were held at Zürich, in which Zwingli set forth his view of Reformation principles. The Scriptural authority of many existing practices was denied; but although Zwingli proceeded with more caution and prudence than some other reformers the cessation of such practices, when once regarded as unscriptural, was but a matter of time, and the year 1524 marked the completion of the break with Rome as far as Zürich was concerned. Zwingli's marriage was publicly announced in that year too, and for the next four or five years he was largely occupied with the internal dissensions of the Reformed congregations, which were chiefly marked by bitter disputes with the Baptists. His closing years, when he was an accepted leader of the Swiss Protestants, were filled with political activity, and it was not an unsuitable end to such a life that he died in battle at Cappel on October 11, 1531, when he bore the banner, according to Swiss custom, as chief pastor in the defence of Zürich against the Forest Cantons' troops. The general reader of the

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interesting narrative which we have but slightly summarized will not feel inclined to read much of the matter which is conveniently placed apart either in additional notes at the end of the chapters or in the appendix. But the student of history and of theology will find here much that deserves his careful attention on Zwingli's family, on his correspondence, his Papal pension, his self-made transcript of St. Paul's Epistles, his sermons against the pensioners and pensions, his epistolary references to Luther. Professor Foster's essay on his theology, philosophy, and ethics will naturally be read in close connexion with the sermon on the selection of foods, the Confession of Faith, and the sixty-seven articles issued by Zwingli in German, and giving a succinct account of his teaching, which are included, the first two in full and the third well summarized, in Professor Jackson's book. It is impossible here to enlarge upon the peculiarities of Zwingli's theology. We must content ourselves with a reference to one or two salient points introduced by the caution that the Church of England, being heartily Protestant with regard to the Papacy in its modern Vatican sense, does not at all accept that term as a description of her position with regard to the Bible or the ministry or the Sacraments, in any way which would imply that she is in doctrinal accord on those points with the Protestantism of the Continent or of the various denominations which have dissented from her teaching at home. Remembering the history of the meaning of the words 'such studies as help to the knowledge of the same,' which the Church of England has placed in her ordinal, and also remembering the incessant appeal which she makes to primitive authority and the principle of the Vincentian Canon, we feel compelled to reject as a false antithesis the assertion that the Bible is to be interpreted by itself alone, and not by the Fathers, on which Zwingli laid much stress. It is interesting to observe that in a special sermon, as well as in his 'reckoning of the faith,' he believed in the 'perpetual virginity of Mary the Mother of Jesus Christ our Saviour.' His whole Sacramental position, by which he is, perhaps, best known to general readers, rises out of a curious view about faith, according to which he held, in Professor Foster's account, that, as its object is always Christ or God as revealed in Him, it cannot have any material thing, like the Body of Christ, for its proper object (p. 391). He makes no distinction between the baptism of our Lord and of His forerunner. His belief as to the other great Sacrament of the Gospel seems to us practically to justify the ordinary use of the term Zwinglianism, though some objection has recently been taken to that use. In his own words he believes that 'the true Body of Christ is present by the contemplation of faith,' because 'everything done by Christ becomes present' by such contemplation. But he denies that 'the Body of Christ in essence and reality, that is the natural Body itself,' is 'present in the Supper.' He receives the words, 'This is My Body,' 'not naturally but figuratively,' and says that 'those things are called the Body and Blood of Christ which are the symbols of the true Body.' From a boy Zwingli was a lover of disputation, and as we close the book we are reminded of

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the lesson which Newman saw so clearly written across the pages of Arianism, that controversy is the very life and weapon of heresy. To Churchmen, who know that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, there is, too, a curious significance in the illustration which is inserted in the midst of the essay on Zwingli's theology. It represents the helmet, sword, and so-called battle-axe which he carried to the battle-field on the day of his death.

The Saints and Missionaries of the Anglo-Saxon Era. Second Series. By the Rev. D. C. O. ADAMS, M.A. (Oxford and London: Mowbray, 1901.)

MR. ADAMS'S difficulties in making a second book of lives of Anglo-Saxon missionaries and saints have arisen more from the rich abundance than the scarcity of the materials at hand for this purpose. As in his earlier volume he has arranged his biographies in chronological order, grouping them in periods of time. He calls the first the missionary period, because it was marked by Anglo-Saxon labours on the Continent. Its brightest ornament is the great name of St. Boniface, rightly called the Apostle of Germany, but dear to Englishmen in his homelier title of Winfrid of Crediton. An excellent biography is given of him, with a good portrait; and with this must be mentioned the well-known picture of St. Boniface's departure, inserted as a frontispiece, and familiar to the readers of Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders*. Various appropriate notes are appended to the 'Life.' The period, as the readers of Pertz and other recorders know full well, was one of unsurpassed missionary enthusiasm, and Mr. Adams has but made a selection from a noble list when he has told us of Egbert and his companions, Willibrord, Swidbert and Adelbert, the two Hewalds, Wigbert, Burkhard, Richard, the father of a family of saints, Lioba and Lullus, relatives of St. Boniface, Willehad, Sola, and Lebwin. Mr. Adams also gives lives of St. Guthlac, the hermit of Crowland, his sister St. Pega, and St. Egwin, Bishop of Worcester, with some interesting illustrations, as contemporaries in this period. We should be glad to think that the popular and yet careful style of Mr. Adams's narrative had encouraged some at least of his readers to penetrate further into the history of the conversion of the northern races. Even a slight acquaintance with the story will soon convince a student of it that he is reading one of the most glorious chapters of the history of the kingdom which is not of this world; and it is a chapter, too, in which our own countrymen fill a place of signal splendour.

In this work, however, there followed a time when, as Bede had to deplore in the history of Anglo-Saxon monasticism, the fine gold became dim. Mr. Adams calls it the Dark Period. The ravages of the Danes account for much if not for all that has to be regretted in the cessation of missionary enterprise, the smaller list of saints, the destruction of precious treasures of learning and architecture, and the resulting period of ignorance. Three of the names which Mr. Adams selects in this division of his series are connected in different ways with Oxford, St. Frideswid, St. Kenelm, and St. Ebba.

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St. Swithin, St. Neot, and St. Ives are at least by name familiar to a wider circle of readers. Another biography, accompanied by an illustration, is that of St. Edmund, in whom we may be interested without admitting the authenticity of his alleged relics on too slender evidence.[1] A few obscurer names are added to the list.

As Mr. Adams says, towards the close of the ninth century the revival of religion and letters which took place was inaugurated by Alfred, and no apology is needed for the introduction of a timely memoir of that king among the narratives of the saints. It gives in a handy form the outline and draws attention to the chief lessons of Alfred's life as a Churchman, a scholar, a soldier, and an Englishman. It was right, of course, to include the name of Edward, the martyred son of Edgar, in the list; but the other great name of this period is St. Dunstan, whose memoir Mr. Adams draws principally from Osbern's Life. The prefatory note should, in our judgment, have directed the reader to the masterly piece of work by which the late Dr. Stubbs placed Dunstan in his true place in English history.

The closing period of the Anglo-Saxon era, as marked out by Mr. Adams, is adorned with the names of St. Alphege and Edward the Confessor. It includes also a short biography of St. William, Bishop of Roschild, the old capital of Denmark, who refused to allow the king to enter the cathedral when his hands were red with blood, with a courage which recalls the great scene between St. Ambrose and Theodosius. At the conclusion of the biographies is a brief account of St. Margaret of Scotland. Apart from the biographical interest of the book, and the improving lessons which Mr. Adams draws from historical incidents, mention should be made of the varied material which is included in detached notes and paragraphs, such as those upon pilgrimages, Croyland Abbey, sanctuaries, Evesham Abbey, mediæval discipline, the king's evil, and Glastonbury. The illustrations, which greatly add to the interest of the book, include a representation of St. Frideswid, taken from an old book in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford. The critical historian will perhaps complain that Mr. Adams does not sift his materials to much purpose. To be sure he does not insert the story of the cakes in his life of Alfred, nor does he call him the founder of the University of Oxford, but he speaks of the important share which Croyland had 'in the foundation of the modern University of Cambridge,' and apparently derives this opinion from accepting the story of Joffrid's barn, related by Ingulf, as veracious history.

The Philosophy of Religion in England and America. By ALFRED CALDECOTT, D.D., Professor of Logic and Mental Philosophy in King's College, London, formerly Fellow and Dean of King's College, Cambridge. (London: Methuen, 1901.)

THE work of Professor Caldecott is extremely complete in its information and full of suggestions of thought. Its subject may to

[1] See the *Guardian*, August 7, 1901, p. 1075, where the salient passages of Dr. James's able letter to the *Times* are quoted; and the *Times*, September 5, 1901.

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some students of religion appear inferior in practical importance to the question of the hour, which is doubtless that of the higher criticism of the documents of early Christianity. But it should be remembered that this higher criticism depends for its practical results on men's minds upon that philosophy of religion which dwells already in writers and readers. It cannot have the same effect upon a mind which doubts whether any real access to a supernatural sphere of thought and fact is attainable by man as on one in which this general question has secured an answer. Nor need any Christian shrink from admitting that his faith, and that of the whole Church and of all mankind, has from the first rested on the fact that religion is a part of the inheritance of the race, from which man, though he desire it, cannot be free.

It must be owned that a philosophy of religion was formerly taught in England without any living religious results. That dull era has been duly chronicled by our author. It was the dead time of Deism. It had no right to be called a time of Theism: for it conceived of God only as the Author in the far distance of a machine which needed Him no more: nor a time of Religion, for that is a word expressing everyday action: nor even a time of Philosophy, for that word has an honoured history full of effects upon life, both Christian and general. And if at some periods philosophy in England and elsewhere has been of small repute among Christians for its tendency to run to words, that should not prejudice its genuine meaning. Philosophy truly understood implies that he who thinks most fully of all that is at his command is himself most full of the seeds of good living.

Near the outset Professor Caldecott sets forth (pp. 10, 11*n*.) some definitions of God which have been offered by modern philosophers as well as theologians. There the reader will find certain epithets implying inscrutable mystery, such as infinite, eternal, supreme and absolute, but mingled with them others which can no more be excluded from contact with the limited world than we can exclude the facts of the Gospel: such as 'all-powerful, by whom I was created.' 'Theism represents us as the work of a Being perfectly good, wise, and powerful,' 'the free and intelligent Author of all things,' 'the upholder of the world and the Father of our spirits,' ruling the universe, and holding moral relations with mankind.' When a man has well pondered the conditions of knowledge and the difficulties which belief in such a Being imposes on those who would make it real to themselves, he will perhaps find that objections to the gospel history correspond very closely to objections to religion in any of its forms.

The plan of the book is simple. The first part fills about a fourth of the whole, and consists of an introduction entitled 'The Types Described.' In this the lines of argument or reflection which have been pursued in England and America by various writers upon the great question are carefully described and classified. At this stage it may strike an ordinary Christian that few religious persons of his acquaintance have built their belief in God upon reasons so systematic as these. All indeed must agree that reason

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for the faith that is in us should be rendered upon the being of God as well as for what follows from it. But even a very ordinary education to belief in God seems to find something congenial to it in our minds. Many doubt whether when once it has been engrafted it can ever be wholly eradicated, however its possessor may desire to be rid of it. Books upon the subject take each its own line, as useful books should do; but readers keep their minds open for other lines of argument, and none entirely express the whole reason or the whole unconscious attraction to belief which human nature holds diffused. Various races and minds recognise a consensus of Theism capable of various applications. This consensus yields in itself reasons for acceptance of its belief. Sometimes it renders a kind of undefined sanction to varying forms of the same great argument (pp. 10–18).

Passing from the great general fact that religion seems a part of our human inheritance, we come to the group of thoughts and theories in which religious belief is regarded as a species of knowledge, the possession of particular minds which exert themselves to gain it. The first type of this group the author names Intuitionalism. Intuition means immediate perception, and it is believed by many that God is known by simply opening the mind to look at Him. However, there is large room for differences in filling up the description of God, and in the answers which men make to the question what it is that they see when they see God. The type is restricted by Professor Caldecott to those cases in which it is clearly asserted that the mind of man has a direct power of perceiving that something exists above us. This framework, if one may so call it, may be afterwards filled up in various ways. Thus intuitionalism of this form may underlie polytheism, or the deity whom the mind has recognised may be left with little active relation to the world.

Another type is furnished by those who have argued out the knowledge of God from His works. This is so natural a kind of reason that S. Paul blames the heathen as without excuse for neglecting it. It admits of being expressed in various forms, of which nine are suggested by our author; of these the most persuasive since the nature of causation has been thought out, is probably that in which 'the world as a mass of causes and effects requires a cause which is never effect but only cause' (p. 21).

This type of argument is undoubtedly open to the objection that it involves a great leap—from finite to infinite. The Apostle would perhaps have replied to the objection by claiming for the God-given reason of man a constructive power compelling assent. Perhaps his words imply this claim. And for those who think thus about the faculty of reason, 'the argument,' says Professor Caldecott, 'is cogent, and the result a demonstration' (p. 22). Reason is effectually helped to this great leap by Teleology, which notes in nature the unfailing connexion between individual things or groups of things and ends to which they tend; whereby we are led forward to 'the sublime conclusion of one integrating principle everywhere.'

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These two types have been the stay of many wise men's faith, and believers allow that they still possess their power. But the third is perhaps of more importance still; and we suppose our author to think so. He calls it Transcendental Idealism. Its development originated with Kant, though we may well believe that it has been unconsciously held by the faithful of all times. Kant is well known to have rendered by his critical method the intellectual statements of many previous thinkers, both of Theists and of Sceptics, untenable in certainty and strictness. But he found in the active powers of the human conscience and the implications which accompany them a spiritual compensation for much which he destroyed. He did not indeed represent us as attaining through ordinary intellectual power the faith in a God who transcends our experience. But we find Him in the high meaning which the underlying consciousness of His presence and power confers upon our experience. This presence and power of God is found chiefly in the work of our moral nature to encourage or reprove; and multitudes of men have been forced by experience to acknowledge Him in that quarter. At the same time, their inability to say how or why they felt so, sometimes against their wills and in spite of their mental persuasions, showed that their knowledge transcended all their intellectual powers.

Something, no doubt, is wanting in this proof of God, which Kant recognised and Hegel followed up. Yet what can excel in distinctness or strength the voice which conscience mysteriously utters and embodies in beliefs which we can no more refuse than we can understand them, namely, faith in a God above us and a freedom and responsibility belonging to our nature, and a life beyond this world in which the moral principles may have that free course which is here so clearly commenced but imperfectly developed? 'Our knowledge of God is not full at first, but every grain of experience becomes material for fuller knowledge of Him.' 'This view,' remarks our author, 'has special affinity with Christian Theism, because it is itself in essence a Theory of Knowledge in which the finite sphere is regarded as a Revelation' (p. 36). This remark is just, and suffices to prove the relevancy of the Philosophy of Religion to any effective dealing with the unbelief of our time. But at a later page the author gives a wholesome warning against the danger of substituting a system of thought, however much sanctioned by modern philosophy, and however capable of an use resembling the Christian, for that simple faith in 'the Person and Work of our Incarnate Lord by which the heart of the world has been won' (p. 42).

One more type we shall name: that of Ethical Theism in which the moral argument for Theism is stated independently. Professor Caldecott is careful to state that the ideal must be ever before us if we would use this argument with effect. It rests upon our sense of moral duty and our admiration of moral goodness; either of which conceptions appeals to our active nature and calls our will into play. And he believes that for want of dwelling on the fact that a sense of imperfection attends our answer to ethical appeals, the moral

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argument has often been used without its full effect. It is indeed a noteworthy fact to be observed in this world that, among the things which are made, such ideas as that of law or of righteous obedience should exist: of all the effects which specially require an adequate cause to account for them these are among the most striking. But this is cold argument in comparison to that which can be used to a moral being in the very time that his moral consciousness is in action. The distinction which our author draws between the previous type and the present is this: that the one 'plants itself in the sphere of knowledge, the other in the sphere of conduct.' They both undoubtedly originate in Kant. But to some followers of Kant it has seemed that their master was unwillingly obliged to allow that the work of conscience did show a remainder of knowledge in man's mind after the havoc which the Kantian system had made in all man's other boasted mental forces; while to others the unwillingness of this moral and spiritual concession of the great philosopher has seemed quite imaginary, and the confidence with which he uses the great fact of our moral responsibility and freedom, and the source of them in God, is full compensation for all the humiliation to which our pride of reason has been forced to submit. However distinct the methods of regarding the work of Kant may be, it would seem to us that they admit of combination. The spirituality and the wide extension of Ethical and Theistic influences in nature belong properly to the system of Kant, which without them is deprived of its proper meaning and power.

The limits of this notice do not allow of our further pursuit of the list of types which compose Professor Caldecott's first part. They number thirteen upon the whole. We shall not claim to have noted the more important of them, save upon the ground that they are those to which the author has devoted the larger space. Certain it is that the whole list is well deserving of thoughtful perusal.

The second part is historical, and fills the larger and more interesting portion of the work. It furnishes a careful notice of each individual writer whose views the introductory part has classified.

Among all the treatises which are thus called under review and treated with fair and scientific criticism, there is none which meets with higher appreciation than that on the *Philosophy of Religion*, by the late Dr. Caird, of Glasgow. It falls under type 3, which, as above described, includes the school of Transcendental Theism. 'Man,' says Dr. Caird, 'has relations to other finite beings, but also to that which transcends the finite.' This Infinite has then to be examined, and it is plain that its nature is that of Spirit. This is what religion means by the Infinite. It is this idea of it which 'is simply the idea of God as Absolute Spirit.' 'It is of extreme importance,' comments Professor Caldecott, 'to observe that by Spirit Caird undoubtedly means Mind' (p. 147). 'Here is the bed-rock of Caird's *Philosophy of Religion*. . . . This secured, his Moral Idealism follows. . . . The theological bearing of Moral Idealism arises in the need of an Infinite Spirit to support the ideal of

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finite spirits' (p. 148). Professor Caldecott's method is judicial, and he does not unreservedly adopt any one of the systems which he reviews. But he concludes his notice of Dr. John Caird's book by exhorting the reader to study its two constructive chapters on the Speculative Idea and the Moral Life, and promises him that he will 'feel Idealism to be one of the modes of Theism which the British mind as well as the German can conceive, expound, and invest with attractive and impressive character' (p. 150). And favourable judgments of a similar character upon this type are found in the notices which follow upon the works of Dr. Edward Caird, Professor Green, and Mr. T. B. Strong.

Personal interest in Cardinal Newman obliges one to turn to Dr. Caldecott's criticism of his view of the subject, as contained in the *Grammar of Assent*. It is classed as Personal Theism, and is this: that the whole personality of man acts in judging, and is concerned in assent; that in religion we have to do with living realities, the soul of man and God, and that in this matter abstract reasoning is not the source of assent. Reasoning can but contribute some 'notions' upon which the majority reflect very little, though the theologian sets them in order. It would seem that these notions set down in contrast to the real personal assent of actual life are proofs to which the Roman system requires consent. But that question need not be argued. Dr. Newman's emphasis upon the power of conscience would lead Dr. Caldecott to class him in the Ethical School. But this would not satisfy the Cardinal himself. His belief, strong and practical as it was, was of a character so personal that it hardly yields any rule applicable to all; 'it is really a psychology of how assents are reached, not how they should be' (p. 268). That, doubtless, is a true character of Cardinal Newman's system, which many others, as well as he, carried out in his life. And it reminds us of our duty to keep in health that combination of moral, mental, and physical life by which our assents are reached, whether they should be so reached or not.

We should have wished to describe some more of Professor Caldecott's criticism, especially perhaps that upon Dr. Martineau, whose well-known works are found difficult to classify under any of the types (pp. 343, 347). The solution of the difficulty is found by our author in the view that Dr. Martineau as he proceeds introduces a feature of Theism which he had not at first included in his theory, namely, an intuitive apprehension of the Divine Being. The solution seems to us highly probable; and, coupling it with the question how Professor Knight is to be classed (p. 104 *n.*), and that above noticed regarding Dr. Newman, we should be disposed to believe that there must be some common element in all real religions, and that what the author calls his 'comparative method' (p. 349) may at times miss it. Nevertheless, it is hard to suggest any clear principle of classification except that which Dr. Caldecott has adopted, and the book is one of very great value to students of religion.

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History of Intellectual Development on the Lines of Modern Evolution. By JOHN BEATTIE CROZIER. Vol. III. Political, Educational, Social: including an attempted reconstruction of the politics of England, France, and America, for the twentieth century. (London: Longmans, 1901.)

DR. CROZIER'S title is sufficiently ambitious, including even prophecy. But former acquaintance (see *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1899) led us to expect much ability in his present volume: nor have we been disappointed. Before any criticism, however, we must express our unfeigned regret that this is Vol. III. of a work Vol. II. of which has not yet appeared: the dislocation being due to doubts whether the eyesight of the author is equal to the amount of minute research which a history of European civilization between the Fall of the Roman Empire and the present would have entailed.

However, this misfortune does not seem to afford the author as much trouble as we might have feared. He expresses his belief that those whom the arguments of Vol. III. fail to convince would hardly have yielded to the more extended support which Vol. II. would have adduced for them. And this leads us to wonder whether the line of Modern Evolution can be very strictly drawn. Modern Evolution is a strange phrase. It can hardly imply that Evolution has only begun to operate in modern times: it must mean something essential in human history at all times. Therefore it is surprising that the omission of a period which must include so much of the data of our present condition should not only make no difference to the readers of the author's estimate of the present and the future, but should not cause any hesitation as to its correctness in the mind of the author himself. Historians who wrote in the unenlightened period before Evolution came to rule in all departments never failed to recognize a certain connexion in human affairs. Modern Evolution cannot include much more than the general sense which all serious thinkers have always entertained, that what men sow they reap, if so much of the history of the sowing can be omitted without any difference caused in our expectations of reaping.

Our readers will doubtless think it natural that no part of Dr. Crozier's account of past evolution or expectations of the future should interest us more than those which concern religion. They do not impress us as deeply founded. The author seems to us to have extended over the whole area of Christian history certain observations of his own, striking enough in their own sphere, but not of the character to indicate eras in human evolution. He has seen the Calvinistic Theology in which he was nurtured eaten away to a hollow shell; the Puritan Sabbaths, the belief in Predestination and Hell-fire all gone—to use his expression, which is far too forcible even in reference to these things—as a nightmare and a hideous dream.[1] He has seen the marriage bond and its chastity come within a generation to be as lightly esteemed as if it were a change of garment from which we could as lightly change back again if it did not suit. Dr.

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Crozier himself expresses his sense of the social anomaly of such so-called modern evolutions, 'as if when the Religion that gave life to this sanctity of marriage and kept it pure were withdrawn you had only to reach out your hand and rekindle it again.'[1]

That is a great mistake. But Dr. Crozier commits a similar error in his estimate of the Ideals of past Christian history: what they were and how they came and changed. If the materials of his second volume had been before him it might have abated the confidence with which he characterises successive eras of the faith as the Christian Spiritual Ideal, the Mediæval Ascetic Ideal, and the Reformation Moral Ideal. The Christian Spiritual Ideal 'in its original fulness and integrity' meant, it seems, that the world was coming to an end and the kingdom of heaven close at hand. And the command to give one's cloak as well as one's coat when asked for was, it seems, quite natural and proper for such an Ideal. But it was merely what the world wanted as a leaven to work on its imagination so as to turn the pagan relation of master and slave to the Christian one of human brotherhood.

But who can believe that the expectation that the kingdom of heaven was at hand expressed the Ideal of primitive Christianity? It silently vanished from the Christian consciousness without harm done to any mind. Or that this place was held by the precept to give cloak as well as coat? Even in the earliest times that seems to have been explained as a strong word of the Master, characteristic as well of His parabolic method of teaching as of His charity and submission. No expectation of the future or precept of conduct assumed the position of an Ideal for the primitive Christian, even if he were more certain of the expectation or more confirmed in the literal practice than in either of these cases can be shown to have been the case. Faith in Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Who had come into the world from heaven and was now gone back to heaven, was the distinctive belief of the early convert: spiritual union with the Lord Jesus and obedience to His precepts and promises constituted the Christian Ideal. It is difficult to understand how any reader of the New Testament, gospels or epistles, could name any other Ideal of the primitive life but this; and it did not cease to be the Ideal of Christians even when it ceased to be as well realised as it had been in the first generations of the Church.

When we pass into mediæval times we do not find Celibacy and Asceticism adopted as independent Ideals, or regarded as ends of life even when the evil of the times produced the largest exaggeration of their merits. They were forms of the Imitation of Christ or surrenders of earthly ties for the sake of carrying forward His work in the world or securing His place in the soul. In those very times the sacramental nature of the marriage tie was asserted with the utmost emphasis. The supernatural held its own in the very midst of the natural life.

Nor can it be said that the Ideal of Christianity changed at the

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Reformation. It is a very doubtful matter whether Morality became the Ideal of Christians who adopted the Reformation more than of those who refused it. The Bible acquired no higher reputation of abstract infallibility than the unreformed Church had given and gives it. It was but this, that when the practical guidance of the soul by the Church ceased to satisfy, the Bible was brought forward to supply the vacant place. The formula of faith in Scripture remained the same for Roman Catholics and Protestants; but the same formula had a varying import for those who accepted the Church's guidance and for those who used their own judgment. Dr. Crozier's Ideals do not seem ever to have possessed the importance which he supposes to have been assigned them. Something more important than any of the peculiarities which we see in the various ages of the Church was common to them all, namely, the faith and following of Jesus Christ. And if, as the author proposes, 'we take religion and those codes of morality which have grown out of its creeds,' we find that faith and following to be the Ideal of Christian civilisation still.

But call them how we may, men's ideals have not ruled them alone nor will they rule them in the future. The path of civilisation, according to our author, has run in past times between the rule of the Ideal upon one side and physical force on the other. By physical force is meant not the powers of nature but feudal or such-like human exertion of physical strength. It is the work of civilization, so far as it may have been attained, to reconcile force and the ideal by alternate expostulation. A chart of civilization for the future guidance of the statesmen who are to influence the future is a great desideratum with our author. It would be indeed a difficult chart to draw: feudalism was mixed with the ideal and *vice versâ* as they worked in the past, and it would be hard to use for guidance a chart in which civilization should be represented as 'posting zig-zag backwards and forwards.'

Nor, indeed, is it the office of a chart for the steersman of the future that the record of the past is intended to perform. It is intended to prick and let escape whatever is gaseous and unsound and unreal about the Ideals, and to temper them duly with their opposites in the physical forces. The author is well aware how defective is the guidance or power in the future which statesmen are likely to derive from the evolution of the past. For he thinks it well we should realise 'how large is the realm of human affairs which is beyond either human insight or control, and which must be for ever left in the hands of Providence or Fate. Or say rather of Providence . . . If the Evolution of Civilization is a definite and not an erratic or chaotic movement, and if the evolution of the human spirit is also definite and not erratic or chaotic, the other factor, namely, Fate, which unites with the human mind in the production of this orderly movement of civilisation must be definite also and not erratic or chaotic, that is to say, it must be a Providence and not a blind Fate' (pp. 136–137).

True indeed: therefore the evolution of the twentieth century must not set aside trust in God or prayer to Him.

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Francis and Dominic and the Mendicant Orders. By JOHN HERKLESS, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.)

PROFESSOR HERKLESS has given a very compact and readable account of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and of the Mendicant Orders which they founded. He is not only fair, but in the main appreciative. In fact, the only thing we notice from this point of view is inability to understand the wonderful hold which the constant use of the offices and celebrations of the Church has on the spiritual mind. That, of course, is only natural if the thing is viewed from the outside. The book, however, is a good summary of the ground it covers. We have first of all succinct accounts of the lives of St. Francis and St. Dominic. Then a chapter on the progress of the orders. Then follow two chapters of great interest and importance: one on the relation of the Orders to the Inquisition, and the other on their relation to Scholasticism. And, lastly, there is a chapter on the degradation of the Orders.

The great religious movement, of which the foundation of the two Orders is the manifestation, is one of the most remarkable in the history of the Church. And yet it is difficult to characterize it in a brief statement. There are so many different points of view from which it may be regarded; and then inside the Church and the Orders there are so many changes of aspect that one gets confused, and has to confess that the outcome is wholly different from the beginning. Yet in a general way it may be said that in its inception the movement was the reaction within the Church against the great Hildebrandine movement which preceded it.

If one looks at the inner life of the Hildebrandine movement and the great motives and aims which animated Gregory VII., and those who surrounded him, there is much in them to command our deepest respect. Their aim was the freedom of the Church from external constraint and its purification from worldliness. Unhappily they did not take into consideration the weakness of human nature, and how far it might be practically possible to realize the high ends at which they aimed. Nor did they anticipate that the movement originated by them from the highest motives might be carried on by successors who were animated by motives of a different order. The result was that in the course of a century the Church, instead of being purified and elevated, was in a far worse position in respect of worldliness than it was before.

The two great evils with which they waged war were simony, or the corrupt appointment to benefices, and the marriage of the clergy. Simony was to be completely uprooted even to the destruction of such legitimate influence as the emperors might claim in the appointment of high dignitaries who were not only great ecclesiastical authorities but great lords of state. In a great measure they succeeded in this, though they could hardly anticipate that simony banished from the sphere of the laity would take a much firmer root in the Curia itself and give rise to greater evils. Then as to the

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marriage of the clergy. No doubt marriage in the clergy might be viewed as an inferior spiritual state, or even as a form of worldliness. But then how far was its abolition practicable without introducing greater evils—evils such as those which Peter Damiani so graphically depicts as existing all around? In fact, its abolition so far from leading to a higher spiritual life tended very much to destroy spirituality. There are other forms of worldliness besides a married life. And in the case of the clergy, worldliness banished from the sanctities of family life assumed a form which in the end was far more disastrous to the Church.

The intense faith which pervaded all Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries led to a superabundance of gifts and offerings to the Church. The Pope received the magnificent gift of the patrimony of the Countess Matilda, and similar gifts were received by the great dignitaries, the Bishops and abbots throughout Europe. The Church acquired immense wealth. And this possession of wealth exercised a disastrous effect upon the spiritual life of the clergy. It led to worldly pomp and display, and to a corresponding laxity in the performance of the duties of their office. The court of the Pope rivalled that of the emperor, and similarly the great Bishops and abbots rivalled in pomp and state the princes of the Empire. We know not how far down this worldliness and display descended. But benefices were accumulated in the hands of a few, and the offices of the Church left to hirelings. The consequence of this was the neglect of pastoral duties and a widespread alienation of the laity. A state of things originated which, had not St. Bernard testified to it, we could hardly have believed. The churches, he tells us, were without people, the people without priests, the priests without respect, the sacraments were no longer sacred, and the holy days without their solemnities. The mind of the people revolted against this state of things, and that which came home to them as a living scandal was the wealth and worldliness of the clergy and their carelessness in the performance of their duties. A cry arose throughout Europe for holiness and poverty.

Then began the reaction within the Church. And if we would understand aright the wail of soul and the piteous cry of St. Francis in favour of poverty, we must contemplate him in view of the above state of things. The Church was degraded and the souls of the people were perishing because of riches. He would divest himself of all his possessions and go after the souls that were perishing in absolute poverty. It is clear that this cry for poverty struck a note which resounded deeply in the hearts of the people of that time. This is evident not only from the multitudes which imitated his example and were associated with him, but from the way in which the poetry and art of the period took up the theme. The lines of Dante in which he celebrates the marriage of St. Francis with the bride Poverty are well known, and the marriage was also represented in pictorial art. But it was not poverty simply that St. Francis longed for. It was holy poverty—the poverty of Christ. He would reproduce in himself not only poverty, but all the beauteous features

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which made up the image of the Saviour, and in that guise would plead with the people.

It was the same with St. Dominic, though in his case the poverty was embraced not so much with the enthusiasm and burning love of St. Francis, but with the colder, though not less decided, verdict of the intellect. It is related of St. Dominic that, when returning with the Spanish Bishop of Osma through Languedoc, he encountered the Papal Legates sent forth to deal with the heretics. The legates were travelling in all the pomp and state of high ecclesiastics of the period, and they complained of their want of success. St. Dominic at once perceived where the fault lay, and he and the Bishop advised them to dismiss their retinue and continue their mission without any external show. In order to give an example the Bishop of Osma sent away his followers and retained only St. Dominic. They preached and recovered many from heresy; but the evil had spread too far to be overcome.

St. Francis is a beautiful character, though unhappily the details of the great spiritual process through which he passed are but scanty. The reader will find the most of what remains collected in the author's book. St. Francis's first idea was not to found an Order, but, in company with others like-minded, to go to the people and preach Christ to them. It was found, however, necessary to begin an Order, and Papal sanction had to be got for it. It was in this that all the Franciscan difficulties originated. The problem was how to reconcile the ideal of absolute poverty with the worldly necessities of a great Order. Probably the ideal of St. Francis was too spiritual and elevated to be carried out practically. But he contended earnestly for absolute poverty, and with him the large section of his followers who were termed the Spirituals. The actual constitution arranged by Cardinal Ugolini, afterwards Gregory IX., was a compromise between poverty and worldly necessity. It was a stumbling-block to the Spirituals and gave occasion to long years of contention. It is a sad history.

The same difficulties did not arise in respect of St. Dominic. While St. Francis's great ideal was holy poverty and a burning love for souls, St. Dominic's was devotion to the Church and its faith. St. Dominic had studied theology for many years before he went forth on his great mission. He was pre-eminently a theologian, and this, his character, was deeply impressed upon his followers. It was thus no difficult matter to fashion the Dominican Order into a powerful support of the Papal system. Both Orders were much given to preaching, but it is characteristic that, while St. Francis and his followers sought out the poor and the ignorant, St. Dominic directed his efforts to the higher classes.

The progress of both Orders is most remarkable. In a brief period both had spread over the whole of Europe and had even penetrated the East and Africa. The author devotes a chapter to this progress, and then proceeds to consider the relation in which both stood to the Inquisition. This is a sad subject. The Inquisition is without exception the most heartrending feature in the whole

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history of the Church. Previous to its establishment there was the crusade against the Albigenses. It is sad to think that the great Pope Innocent III. was the cause of this. At the commencement of his career in a series of bulls he stirred up, and almost coerced, the secular powers in the neighbourhood to undertake it. And when it was carried out it was with unheard of cruelty, slaughter, and devastation. It failed, however, in suppressing the heresy; and about the year 1227 the Inquisition was established. Its iniquitous forms of procedure, confounding the innocent with the guilty, the frightful tortures to which it subjected the accused, and the cruel death of burning alive, which was the fate of the condemned, all form a series which it stuns us to contemplate. The present generation cannot regard it otherwise than as being, from beginning to end, a series of crimes against humanity. Unhappily, the Orders were connected with it. For the most part the Dominicans were the Inquisitors; but the Franciscans also were engaged in it, though not to the same extent. We wonder how St. Francis would have felt had he lived to witness it. He who felt a Divine pity for every living thing, and addressed the swallows as sisters, must surely have recoiled from it. We know the judgment St. Ambrose would have passed upon it, and he probably voiced the general feeling of the Church of his day. That being so, we would fain believe that our Roman brethren would with ourselves reprobate the whole proceeding; but there are difficulties in the way. We cannot forget that Pio Nono, in condemning in the Syllabus the proposition *Ecclesia vis inferendæ potestatem non habet*, virtually revived the principle of inquisition and punishment. Nor are the utterances of parties within the Roman Church to be overlooked. Many years ago the *Civiltà Cattolica*, writing of the Inquisition, called it *un sublime spettacolo della perfezione sociale.*

It is a great relief to turn from the Inquisition to the relation in which the Orders stood to Scholasticism. Nothing shows the magnitude of the influence which they exerted so much as the fact of the number of great men they attracted to themselves. In fact, almost all the outstanding names who, in the thirteenth century, found their place in the temple of fame belonged to one or other of the Orders. To the Franciscans belong Alexander of Hales, Buonaventura, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and William of Occam. The Order of St. Dominic was illustrated by the great names of Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas Aquinas. The author has given particulars regarding each of these and the work which they accomplished. They had a hard fight to attain their position in the universities, especially in the University of Paris; but they justified the victory which they obtained by the greatness of their work. Among them all shines resplendent St. Thomas, who, in theology, has maintained down to the present day the great place that he at once attained. St. Thomas, one can see, was deeply studied by our great English Divines, Hooker, Pearson, and others. The only regrettable thing connected with his labours is the great fraud which was practised on him, which had such momentous consequences. An account of this is given in *Janus*,

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English translation, p. 261. How deeply Dr. Döllinger felt this, in view of its results, was evidenced in conversations in which he repeatedly recurred to it.

After the chapter on Scholasticism comes the concluding chapter on the degradation of the Orders. The author's book will be welcome to all those who in a brief space wish for a knowledge of the subject. One thing to be regretted we may mention. He gives no proper table of contents, nor the references to the quotations he makes. This is a great defect. In these days when there is so much to be read in reference to every subject, the absence of a table of contents is a serious blemish. It involves on the part of the student the hunting at large for information to which he might be directed at a glance. We hope these defects may be made good in a second edition.

Books Received.

The Historical New Testament. By James Moffatt, B.D. Second Edition. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 16*s*.) The first edition of this work was reviewed in the *Church Quarterly Review* for April of the present year (Vol. lii. p. 238) and we have not space to discuss it further. We will only suggest that it is somewhat unbecoming in a writer who, however industrious, has no pretensions to be a distinguished scholar, to speak with contempt of others merely because they date works somewhat earlier than he does. Professor Blass's opinion on the date of the Acts may not be correct, but by what right is it called preposterous? Mr. Moffatt is willing to make use of Dr. Lock's scholarship to revise his translation of the Pastoral Epistles. Will he describe his argument about them as 'proofs of the ingenuity of exegetical despair rather than of historical investigation'?

The Works of George Berkeley, D.D.; formerly Bishop of Cloyne. By Alexander Campbell Fraser. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 4 vols. 24*s*.) Professor Fraser's edition of Bishop Berkeley's works is well known. The impression having been exhausted, a new edition has been called for, and Professor Fraser has given us what is in some ways 'a new work.' It would be difficult to have the writings of the most fascinating and suggestive of English thinkers in a more attractive form.

Guild Text Books. Edited by the Very Rev. Professor Charteris, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh, and the Rev. J. A. M'Clynant, D.D. Aberdeen. *Studies in the Acts of the Apostles.* By the Rev. William Robertson, M.A. (London: A. & C. Black. 6*d*.) This guild text book contains a simple and straightforward account of the narrative of the Acts, and will be found useful for its purpose.

Handbook to Judges and Ruth, for the use of teachers and students. By the Rev. G. H. S. Walpole, D.D., Principal of Bede College, Durham. (London: Rivingtons, 2*s*. 6*d*.) This is a useful analysis and handbook for the use of National Schools. The work is well

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done. But surely such books should be published nowadays at a lower price than 2*s.* 6*d.*

Manual of the Four Gospels. By the Rev. T. H. STOKOE, D.D. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901. Part I., 2*s.*; Part II., 2*s.* Pp. xx + 376.) These two volumes form excellent text books for the study of the narrative. Part I. gives a general account of the ministry put together from the four Gospels. Part II. gives an account of Our Lord's teaching, arranged partly in chronological order, partly according to subjects.

A Thousand Things to say in Sermons. By the Rev. F. ST. JOHN CORBETT, M.A. (London: Skeffington & Son. 5*s.*) A collection of stories and extracts, to save the clergy the trouble of reading or thinking, which some may find useful, and which is not badly made.

Religious and Social Work amongst Girls. By FLORA LUCY FREEMAN, with prefatory letter by Rev. R. R. DOLLING. (London: Skeffington & Son. 2*s.* 6*d.*) This is a useful and sensible book which may help inexperienced workers.

The British South Africa Company. Reports of the Administration of Rhodesia, 1898–1900. Printed for the information of shareholders. This collection of reports is full of interest, and suggests that the foundations of what we hope may be important countries are being well laid. We hope we may hereafter return to some of the questions of Ecclesiastical organisation and Education. An attempt has been made to solve the problems of religious education with perfect fairness.

The Story of the (Osmanli) Turkish Version, with a brief account of Related Versions. By the Rev. A. A. COOPER, M.A. (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 6*d.*) Contains an account of the history of the translation of the Bible into Turkish.

From the S.P.C.K. we have received a number of useful and interesting tracts, more particularly a series of tracts and leaflets for those who have to work in lunatic asylums.

REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The *Journal of Theological Studies* is absolutely indispensable to every serious theological student in this country. The number for July has articles on the 'English Coronation Orders,' by the Rev. H. A. Wilson; 'The Relation of Miracles to Christian Doctrine,' by the Rev. Herbert Kelly, S.S.M.; 'Did the Corinthian Church Advocate Universal Marriage?' by John Massie; and 'The Use and Meaning of the Phrase "The Son of Man" in the Synoptic Gospels,' by the Rev. James Drummond, LL.D. The most important of the Notes is one by E. W. Brooks and the Editor on two passages corroborating the tradition that in Alexandria the Bishop was ordained by Presbyters.

The *Critical Review.* (July and September.) The September number contains interesting reviews of Father Pullen's *The Primitive*

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Saints and the See of Rome and Canon Gore's *Body of Christ.* They are worth studying for the sake of noting how far the reviewers agree with and how far they differ from the writers.

The *Edinburgh Review* (July, 1901) contains an interesting and powerfully-written article on the life and work of Leo Nicholayevitch Tolstoy. We feel that the writer has a full appreciation of the remarkable character with which he is dealing. In the same *Review* is an article on the 'Time-Spirit of the Nineteenth Century,' based on Mr. Balfour's address on the Nineteenth Century, showing how this century differs from others in its 'changed point of view,' due to the development of science. The 'individualistic theory of the rights of man' has been replaced by that of 'humanity as a developing organism,' and the writer points out that the change will probably prove advantageous to the cause of Christianity.

The *Empire Review.* (August, 1901.) 'Our National Bible,' by Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I. The article is an able review of J. W. Hoare's *Evolution of the Bible*, a book which we considered at length in our last number. In the same *Review* for September 'The State and Christian Missions,' by the Bishop of Calcutta, shows the advantage which would result from the co-operation of the Government with Christian Missions. The article contains practical suggestions for the organization of missions.

The *English Historical Review* of July (1901) begins with a short but appreciative article on Bishop Stubbs by Professor Maitland.

In the *Economic Review* (July 1901) is an article by the Rev. Hugh Legge, in which the difficulties attending the education of the poorer classes are forcibly stated.

In the *Contemporary Review* for August and September 1901 we notice an article headed 'Anthropology and the Evolution of Religion,' by the Rev. W. W. Peyton. It is rather to be regretted that the writer's animadversions on recent eccentricities of anthropologists are couched in such flowery language as to deprive them of most of their intelligibility and of their value. In the September number of this *Review* is an article on the 'Organization of Mankind,' by E. Wake Cook, which deserves attention. He dwells on the brotherhood of mankind and the providential direction of the universe.

In the *Monthly Review*, Father Gerard's 'A Jesuit Plea for Jesuits' is likely to be much read, though it may be doubted if many will be convinced. It receives a reply in the October number.

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THE

CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—ENGLISH CORONATIONS.

PART I.

1. *The Glory of Regality.* By ARTHUR TAYLOR. (London, 1820.)
2. *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-766.* (Surtees Society, 1853.)
3. *Liber pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge, archiepiscopi Eboracensis.* Edited by W. G. HENDERSON. (Surtees Society, 1875.)
4. *Monumenta ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae.* By WILLIAM MASKELL. (Oxford, 1882.)
5. *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis, nunc primum typis mandatum curante* IOHANNE WICKHAM LEGG. Fasc. ii. and iii. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893 and 1896.)
6. *The Sacring of the English Kings.* A Paper read before the Royal Archæological Institute in Westminster Abbey on July 12, 1893. By J. WICKHAM LEGG. (London, 1894.)
7. *Three Coronation Orders.* Edited by J. WICKHAM LEGG. (Henry Bradshaw Society, 1900.)
8. *English Coronation Records.* Edited by LEOPOLD G. WICKHAM LEGG. (Westminster, 1901.)

THE study which has lately been made of the ceremonies of the English Coronation has confined itself in the main to their ecclesiastical side. The importance of the structure of the service has been pointed out; the similarity of its arrange-

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ment to that of the consecration of a bishop has been noticed as of no little significance when the theory of the kingly office is under consideration. But, apart from the religious aspects of the kingly office, a wider view of these ceremonies shows that they have retained some of the features of the primitive election of the chief of a tribe. The coronation ceremonies thus still embody the principle that the kingship is an elective office, a principle which has been never quite lost sight of in English history, and which has been brought into play not only at the Conquest, but at the depositions of Edward II. and Henry VI., and still more so at the revolutions which dethroned Richard II. and James II. There are elements in these ceremonies which date in some cases from a time prior to the introduction of Christianity among the nations from which the Anglo-Saxon race is descended. Of these the most conspicuous are the election of the king, and the subsequent elevation on the shield. The survivals of both these ceremonies have been carried out at the coronation of a King of England even in the nineteenth century;[1] but by the unfortunate policy of William IV., which discontinued the ceremonies in Westminster Hall and the procession, the elevation of the king by his peers into his throne in Westminster Hall, which is nothing else than the relic of the raising of the newly-elected king on the shield, has fallen into disuse; and it is to be feared that the three precedents of King William IV., Queen Victoria, and King Edward VII. will be sufficient to sweep away all traces of a custom which may be as ancient as our race.

But though the discussion of the history of these secular ceremonies may be interesting, and even instructive, it is not our intention to dwell upon them. We will rather deal with the liturgical aspect of the coronation; and owing, doubtless, to its complexity and length, it is this part of the ceremonies which has received most attention from the historians. Two sections are to be distinguished; the portion which takes place inside the church, and the portion which is performed outside. Of this latter a few words may here be said. The procession from the palace of the king to the church in which he is to be crowned is the link between the secular ceremony of the elevation of the shield and the religious ceremony of consecration and unction. This gives us another reason for regretting the precedent

[1] Sir George Nayler, *The Coronation of His Most Sacred Majesty King George the Fourth*, London, 1839, p. 110.

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set by William IV.'s coronation; for while the king is elected and consecrated king in the church by the first estate of the realm in the presence and with the consent of the third estate, the peculiar privilege of the second estate, which elects and elevates the king in a place apart from the other two estates, disappears, and the completeness of the ceremony is marred.

Since then the procession from the palace takes place after the election and inauguration of the king by his peers, it is natural to find that it is rather religious than secular. From the time when the second order, called that of Ethelred II., was drawn up, two bishops have led the king with the choir going before and singing anthems suitable to the occasion. The early rubrics which mention how the king was led from the palace to the church suggest that the clergy wait in the church to receive the king; but by the twelfth century a change towards greater elaboration has taken place. The account of the procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey on the occasion of the coronation of Richard I. is the earliest account which we have of the coronation ceremonies. There the king is led by the Bishops of Durham and Bath, while before him is a procession of clergy and of nobles, who bear the crown, sceptre, rod, spurs, and the vestments. At the end of the procession follows the troop of barons and earls. The presence of the clergy may be due to the bringing of the *regalia* from the shrine of St. Edward, whose relics they were supposed to be, in order that the prince's kinsmen and others who had a right to these offices might bear them before the newly elected king to Westminster Abbey. The procession becomes more and more elaborate, until at the coronation of George IV. it includes not only the whole of the House of Lords, but also the judges, lawyers, the knights of the Order of the Bath, and the household of the king.

There are seven periods in the history of the coronation service, each of which we will consider in turn. The first four periods are those of the four recensions or orders of the service which are found in Latin, and the last of which was used as late as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth. The fifth period is occupied by the translation of the fourth recension, and the next two periods are those of the order of James II. and the post-revolution order respectively. In this article we propose to deal with the first four periods, dealing with the first three recensions, and also the fourth recension until it

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was translated. In our next article we will examine the three periods since the translation.[1]

The history of the service which is held in Westminster Abbey can be traced with some completeness from the eighth or ninth century. As was to be expected, our only materials at first are the services themselves. The earliest description that we have of the consecration of a king in these islands is a vague account by Adamnan of how St. Columba consecrated Aidan king. We are told that St. Columba in obedience to the commands of Heaven crossed over to Iona, and after meeting Aidan '*in regem sicut erat jussus ordinavit . . . imponensque manum super cuput ipsius ordinans benedixit.*'[2] But although this gives us no clear account of what happened, the terms used are very suggestive. We may note that Adamnan expressly says that St. Columba laid his hand on Aidan's head and ordained him. This shows how ancient is the idea, prevalent in Lyndewode's time, that the king has two characters, religious as well as lay. This idea receives ample support from the structure of the service. The service for the consecration of a king, as Dr. Wickham Legg has shown,[3] presents a curious analogy to that of the consecration of a bishop, and the king is invested in robes which are nearly identical with those of the mediæval bishop. In fact it may almost be said that, with one single exception, the coronation service of the middle ages was, *mutatis mutandis*, that of the consecration of a bishop. The single exception is the absence, in the consecration of the king, of any imposition of hands; but Adamnan is probably alluding to a custom of his time when he declares that St. Columba laid his hand on Aidan at his consecration, and there is other evidence to show that the coronation did include the imposition of hands. But considering the views which were held during the Middle Ages about the nature of orders by such persons as Eugenius IV., we need not wonder so much at the disappearance of the imposition of hands from the consecration of a king, as that this ceremony was retained at all in the conferring of holy orders.

The mediæval coronation services fall into four periods, each of which is marked by a new recension or service. As to the first two, while we have the services themselves in the

[1] The text of the different orders will be found in *English Coronation Records*, Docs. ii. iii. iv. xiii. xxii. xxvi. xxvii. This is by far the best and most accessible collection of services and records of the Coronation.

[2] W. Reeves, *The Life of St. Columba*, 1857, p. 198.

[3] *The Sacring of the English Kings*, p. 8.

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pontificals of the time, we have no contemporary descriptions of the coronation. The earliest detailed account of an English coronation upon which we can rely with any certainty is that of Richard I. Before that time we have but indefinite descriptions in poems such as the *Carmen de Hastingae praelio.*[1]

We have seen that the service of the King's coronation is modelled on the same lines as that of the consecration of a bishop. The kernel of the service is the consecration and anointing, followed by the delivery of the ornaments. To this additions were gradually made, but the general effect has been to increase the prominence given to the consecration and the anointing. Thus instead of the three consecratory prayers which we find in the first recension the number is increased to six in the fourth. The tendency all through the Middle Ages was to add to the service, and each of the ornaments afterwards is blessed before delivery, instead of being delivered between each blessing of the King, as in the first recension.

I. The first service known to us is to be found in the Pontifical of Egbert, the Leofric Missal,[2] and in an English pontifical which once belonged to the church of Alet in Brittany.[3] The similarity to the consecration of a bishop is, in one respect, even more marked in it than in the later recensions, for the service is encased in the Eucharist, and does not precede it, as in the mediæval and Stuart orders. The title is *Missa pro rege in die benedictionis ejus*, and the special service itself is called *Benedictio super regem noviter electum.* This may possibly be taken to express the significance of the service in these early times. The idea of the consecration is not yet fully developed ; but the elements of the consecration are certainly to be found in this recension. The service opens with the *Missa catechumenorum*, that is, the Mass as far as the Gospel. The special service consists of eight benedictional prayers, between which the prince is anointed and invested with the ensigns of royalty. The first prayer (*Te invocamus*) prays for grace and piety, the second (*Deus qui populis*) for wisdom, the third (*In diebus ejus*) for peace and victory.

The prince is then anointed by the bishop on the head, while the other bishops present assist in the anointing. Here we may see the idea arising that a 'college' is necessary for the anointing of the king. After the anointing, which is

[1] *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes*, ed. Francisque Michel, Rouen, 1836.
[2] The *Leofric Missal*, ed. F. E. Warren, Oxford, 1883.
[3] Now MS. A. 27 in the municipal library at Rouen.

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accompanied by the anthem *Unxerunt Salomonem* (*Zadok the priest*), follows the fourth prayer, *Deus electorum fortitudo*, that prayer which was afterwards used as the consecration of the king and of the oil. It prays that the king may be sanctified by the oil, and that he may in the simplicity of a dove 'minister peace unto his people.' The sceptre is now delivered by the bishops in conjunction with the 'princes,' and a long benediction of seventeen clauses follows. The staff or 'baculus' is next placed in the king's hand, with a prayer (*Omnipotens det tibi Deus*), which consists wholly of extracts from the blessings pronounced upon Jacob and Joseph.[1] The prayer (*Benedic Domine fortitudinem*) which follows the imposition of the helmet is also taken wholly from the blessing of Moses at the end of Deuteronomy.[2] The king is then acclaimed by the whole people, who then kiss the king, a rudimentary form of fealty and homage which is interesting at this early time. The service ends with an eighth prayer for grace and the help of Heaven. The Mass is then concluded with special secret, preface, post-common, and *ad populum*.

It will have been noticed that there is no trace at the beginning of the service of any promises being made by which the king may be bound. Such an oath, however, is to be found at the end of the Mass; it consists of three clauses by which the king binds himself to keep the Church in peace, to repress wrongs, and to execute right justice. The Leofric Missal adds *Amen* at the end of each clause, so that it is possible that the oath was read out in the church, after the enthronement, by the king, or perhaps by the archbishop to the king, and confirmed by the people. Another point to notice is that there is no blessing of the ornaments, but that the service consists of eight blessings of the king, between which the ornaments are delivered.

II. The second order begins with the liturgical procession, which has been already mentioned.[3] On entering into the church the king falls prostrate before the altar during the

[1] Genesis xxvii. 28–9, and xlix. 25–6.

[2] Deuteronomy xxxiii. 11, 13–17, 26.

[3] *English Coronation Records*, p. 15. The second recension is printed in Ménard, *Divi Gregorii . . . Liber sacramentorum . . .* Paris, 1642, p. 278, and at the end of Taylor's *Glory of Regality*, and is to be seen in several manuscript pontificals: *e.g.* Brit. Mus. Cotton. Claud. A. 3; the Benedictional of Robert of Jumièges (MS. v. 7), in the municipal library at Rouen; the Pontifical of St. Thomas of Canterbury (MS. 67), in the public library at Douai; and in MS. Latin 943 in the National Library at Paris. The order is probably of tenth-century origin. A text with variant readings is to be seen in *Three Coronation Orders*.

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singing of *Te Deum*, at the end of which he arises and takes the same oath as is found at the end of the first recension. This is followed by the three prayers *Te invocamus*, *Deus qui populis*, and *In diebus*. But a new and important feature of this order is the long prayer with the title *Consecratio regis*.[1] In it the petition is made that the king may be endued with faith, gentleness, strength, humility, and wisdom; and that he may 'nourish and teach, defend and build up the Church of his kingdom.' After the unction, which is accompanied by the singing of *Unxerunt*, three prayers are said dealing with the anointing. The first, *Christe perunge*, is sometimes united with the *Consecratio regis*, and this position seems certainly to be a better arrangement, as it contains no very definite request, but that the king may reign happily, and finally go to Heaven. The second is *Deus electorum*, and the third (*Deus Dei Filius*) is of the same colourless character as *Christe perunge*.

The king now receives the ring, 'the sign of holy faith, the strength of the kingdom, and the increase of his power,' and is then girded with the sword, and then receives the 'crown of glory and righteousness,' the sceptre 'the ensign of kingly power,' and the 'rod of equity and mercy.' Two episcopal blessings follow, the one of six, the other of three clauses. The latter consists of the first three clauses of the long episcopal benediction given after the delivery of the sceptre in the first recension. In the former the saints invoked are the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, and St. Gregory the apostle of the English. The king is, after these blessings, enthroned. In one copy at least of this order, as in the first recension, acclamation is ordered at the act of enthronement. It appears, however, not as a shout but as an anthem.[2] After the shouts have ceased the archbishop addresses to the king the *Designatio status regis*, which is the title by which *Sta et retine* is known in this recension. The king is told to stand and hold fast that place whereof he has been heir by succession of his forefathers; and, as he sees the clergy come nearer to the altar, to 'remember to give them greater honour that Christ may establish him to be the mediator betwixt the clergy and the laity.' The service ends with the two prayers from Genesis and Deuteronomy.

[1] The first words of the *Consecratio regis* are *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator*.

[2] The Benedictional of Robert of Jumièges, MS. Y. 7, fol. 169 b, in the municipal library at Rouen. '*Tunc moduletur antiphona.* Uiuat rex. uiuat rex. uiuat rex in eternum.'

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At this point follows the consecration of the Queen Consort. In this recension, in which this service probably first took its rise, it is very short. It begins immediately with the unction. A prayer follows, which is remarkable for the phrase which it contains, 'quae per manus nostrae impositionem hodie regina instituitur.' This phrase, it is not unlikely, is a trace of imposition of hands in the coronation of a king, for the transposition of prayers from the coronation of a king to that of a queen was not unknown. The queen then receives the ring, 'the sign of faith,' and the crown; and in the later orders she receives after the crown her sceptre and rod, without any prayers or further ceremony. After a final prayer she returns to her throne.

Mass is now begun. There is a special collect, secret, preface, and post-common, with which the service is brought to a conclusion.

The second recension is the basis of the order of the kings of France and Italy, and is remarkable in that it is most probable that it was composed in England. It is very widely spread, as it is found as far away from England as at Milan; but almost every manuscript in which it is found reproduces the traces of its English origin. This had been noticed in the seventeenth century by Selden in his *Titles of Honor*.[1] The phrases to which Selden alludes are to be found in the prayer which is called *Consecratio regis*, where *regnum Saxonum Merciorum Nordanymbrorum* is mentioned. These words occur not only in the French pontificals but even in the Milanese. In addition to these words the saints invoked in the blessing at the end of the service include 'St. Gregory, the apostle of the English,' whose name is also found at the same place in French pontificals.[2]

The second order shows that the idea of the consecration of a king was fully developed in the tenth century. Not only do we find the prayer *Deus electorum fortitudo*, which was to be found in the first recension, but the long prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator* is confessedly the form, as the oil with which he is anointed is the matter, by which the king

[1] *Titles of Honor*, London, 1631, p. 222. 'The next Praier that precedes the Vnction in it [the French Coronation Order] was not only without question taken out of some *Saxon* Ceremoniall, and is almost the same that is before shewd out of the *Saxon Pontificale*, but also it retains still here the very syllables that denote the *English-Saxon* Kings by the names of their owne Territories, as of *Mercia*, of *Northumberland*, of the *Saxons*. The Negligence or Forgetfulnesse that left those names in it, were almost incredible, if we saw it not.'

[2] Paris, National Library, MS. Latin. 953.

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is consecrated, and by which the clerical character is conferred on him.

III. For the third order we have happily more material than for the first two.[1] Hoveden has left us a long account of the coronation of Richard I. in 1189.[2] The third order dates from the twelfth century, so we may be on fairly safe ground when we conjecture that it is according to the third order that Richard I. was crowned. Consequently by combining both these sources we can restore with some vividness the scene. Hoveden describes the ceremonies only, while the pontificals give us only the words of the prayers, with meagre rubrics. After enumerating the bishops who were present, Hoveden describes the procession from the king's chamber to the church. At the head of the procession came the bishops, abbots, and clergy in silken copes, with a cross, torches, censers, and holy water. In the midst of these prelates were four barons who carried four golden candlesticks. These candlesticks are a feature peculiar, so far as we know, to the coronation of Richard I. Behind the clergy came the lords who carried the *regalia*. The first is Godfrey de Lucy, who bears the king's cap. With him is John Marshal with the royal spurs. Behind them comes another couple—the Earl of Strigul carrying the sceptre with the cross, and the Earl of Salisbury bearing the rod with the dove. The next line of the procession is composed of three nobles carrying swords: in the centre is John, Count of Mortain, the Duke of Normandy's brother; on the one hand is the Earl of Huntingdon, David, the King of Scots' brother, on the other hand is the Earl of Leicester. Then follow six earls and barons carrying 'unum scaccarium magnum valde,' on which are placed the royal vestments, while immediately behind is the Earl of Albemarle carrying the crown. 'Richard, Duke of Normandy,' supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath, and under a canopy borne by four barons, follows, while the procession is closed by the crowd of nobles and earls and others who came to see the sight.

On entering into the church Richard took the oath, which was still the same as that of the first recension, and the order itself then prescribes that the election take place, after which

[1] The third order itself is printed in 'Liber Pontificalis Chr. Bainbridge,' *English Coronation Records*, p. 30, and may be found in the manuscript pontifical at Magdalen College, Oxford.

[2] *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Hoveden*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, ii. 1870, iii. 9.

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the archbishop said three consecratory prayers. The first is the *Consecratio regis* of the second recension (*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator*). This was followed by a prayer, *Benedic Domine hunc regem*, which is a shortened form of the long episcopal benediction delivered in the first recension after the delivery of the sceptre. It is longer than its meagre representative in the second recension, and it will be noticed that its form has somewhat changed. It is not divided now into clauses each ending with a response of *Amen*, but it is a continuous prayer. Some of the remaining clauses of the original benediction appear in the third prayer, *Deus ineffabilis auctor*, which, like its predecessor, prays for the general welfare of king and people. They are scarcely consecratory prayers in the sense of *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus creator*; they are rather prayers for the good estate of the king.

The chronicler says that Richard was then stripped of all his clothes except his shirt and breeches, the former of which was torn open at the shoulders, and the royal buskins of cloth of gold were put on.

The archbishop, saying the formula *Ungantur manus istae*, then anointed the king's hands. Another blessing was then invoked (*Prospice omnipotens Deus*), and the head and breast afterwards anointed. The unction in three places, says the chronicler (and this opinion was also held by St. Thomas of Canterbury), signified glory, knowledge, and courage. The anthem which accompanies unction in this recension is not *Unxerunt*, which is found in all the other services from the earliest down to Queen Victoria's, but *Deum time*, after which the prayers *Deus Dei Filius* and *Deus qui es justorum gloria* bring this division of the service to a close.

After he had been anointed, King Richard received a linen coif, which was placed on his head, and also the royal cap which had been carried by Godfrey de Lucy. He was then invested with the tunic, dalmatic, sword (to repress evil doers against the Church), spurs, and *pallium*. The service says that after the sword he was to receive the armil, but the chroniclers do not mention it. Then followed a curious episode. We are told that the archbishop straitly charged him in the name of God not to take this great office upon him unless he intended to keep inviolate his oath. A similar episode also occurred at King John's coronation. What is interesting is that the incident should have taken place at this point. Had it taken place before unction it might have been considered as an effective check, but it seems weak to try and bind the king after the unction. It may be that in

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the long series of different events during the service the narrator has become confused, as indeed very often happened,[1] and has misplaced the incident; but it is instructive to note that he has placed this second oath immediately before the act of crowning, which, in the seventeenth century, was to become the important act of the service. At any rate this second oath does not appear in the order for the service itself, and it is not unlikely that if it really took place it was of the nature of a private agreement between the king and the archbishop.

The king is then said to have taken the crown from the altar with his own hands, and to have given it to the archbishop, who doubtless blessed it with the formula *Deus tuorum corona fidelium*, and placed it on the king's head, saying *Coronet te Deus corona gloriae atque justitiae*; while two earls held it up, on account of its weight. The archbishop now delivered the ring, the sceptre with the cross into the king's right hand, and the rod with the dove into his left, and pronounced the blessing *Benedicat tibi Deus*. After *Te Deum*, which followed, the king, supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath, and preceded by the torchbearers and the swords, was enthroned by the archbishop, who addressed to him *Sta et retine.*

Mass of the Sunday was then said, and at the offertory the king presented a mark of gold, the oblation, says the chronicler, that a king must make at all his coronations. After Mass, the king, with the same pomp as before, and invested with the royal insignia, was led back to his palace, where he was divested of the *regalia* and assumed lighter ornaments; after which he sat down to a banquet, which was marked by incidents which the Jewish community in England had cause to remember for some time, as the conversion and immediate relapse of a Jew was the signal for a general massacre.

When we compare the account of this coronation with those of later times, there are three details, besides the second oath, which come chiefly to our notice. In the first place, the time at which the buskins and sandals are delivered is quite different from that in the later orders. In the later recensions these ornaments are not delivered till after unction: here they are given when the king is divested of his robes preparatory to unction. If we are not dealing with an error in the account, it is an interesting detail, for it was at this point in the service that the buskins were delivered in

[1] See, for example, Pepys' account of the coronation of Charles II. (*Diary*, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, London, 1893, ii. 17 *sqq.*)

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the French order, and it may have been that in the previous recension the buskins were delivered at this place, and that the tradition remained during the period of the third recension. Like the position of *Te Deum*, at the beginning of the service,[1] in the second recension, the delivery of the buskins before unction is open to criticism, as an arrangement is unsatisfactory by which part of the clerical vestments are put on before the completion of the consecration by unction.

In the second place, we may notice that, in addition to the coif, the royal cap was placed on the king's head. We are not told of what material this cap was made. If it was of linen, it would be possibly a relic of the amice, one of the episcopal vestments, which does not appear among the *regalia*. The coif by which the oil was protected remained in the later recensions, and the comparison of it to the amice is very tempting; but it is much more likely that with the linen gloves its ancestor is the bands of linen which are put upon the bishop's head and hands to protect the places anointed.

All the other episcopal vestments, with which the sovereign is adorned, except the gloves, which appear later, are mentioned in this description. The first vestment put on after unction is called 'tunica,' and from the later accounts it appears to have been of linen. In the inventory taken in 1220, we find among the *regalia* of King John a 'tunica' of white diaper. The colour, the name, and the material of the vestment remind us forcibly of the albe of the bishop. The king had already received the buskins and sandals; and above the albe, or, as it was called later, the *colobium sindonis*, the king was clothed in a dalmatic, of which the inventory of 1220 mentions two, one of King John and the other of Henry III., both of red samite. This vestment, which was sometimes doubled, corresponds to the tunicle and dalmatic of a bishop. With this vestment was also given the armil, which is a stole-shaped vestment, which the king wore, and still wears, like a bishop—that is, not crossed over his breast, but pendent from the neck. Then follows the *pallium regale*, or, as it is called by Hoveden, the *mantea*. This vestment was square, and in the fourteenth century was clasped together at the breast in manner of a cope. It was, and is still, all embroidered with golden eagles, the symbol of the empire of England. This robe is the cope, or, what is really the same vestment, the chasuble of the bishop; and the King of

[1] The position of *Te Deum* in the second recension may perhaps be explained as an act of thanksgiving for the election of the king in the royal palace.

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France, who also wore the episcopal robes, received a vestment which was called a *soccus*, and was shaped like a chasuble, save that for convenience it was opened so as to be clasped on the shoulder. Besides the sword and sceptre, which are the ensigns rather of a king than of a bishop, the king, like a bishop, also receives ring, staff or rod, and crown, which corresponds to the mitre of the bishop.

The third point to notice is the absence of any acclamation, except the electing *Volumus et concedimus*, at the very outset of the service. There is no acclamation at the act of coronation, and apparently none at the inthronization. This latter act was evidently carried out with some solemnity, for the chronicler recites the officers attendant on the king, and uses language from which we can infer that a procession formed part of the ceremony. The third recension is the earliest in which there is no trace at all of acclamation; though in the second recension the words *Vivat rex* appear as an anthem, not a shout. The presence of acclamation at this point in the seventeenth century, when it next appears, makes it probable that the acclamation at inthronization was a matter of tradition, which was always carried out.

The case for acclamation at the crowning is different. Students of mediæval coronations will notice that in the different English orders and accounts the act of coronation is passed by with no more notice than the delivery of other ornaments. The reason is that just as the crown corresponds to the mitre, so there is no more reason to acclaim the delivery of this ornament than the delivery, for example, of the rod with the dove. The two most striking parts of the service were the anointing and the inthronization, which was the completion and final act of a ceremony, begun by the peers in the king's palace, and continued, on their part, by the clergy in the church.

In the Red Book of the Exchequer [1] there is a description of the coronation of Queen Eleanor of Provence, the service for which must have been carried out according to the third recension. The service itself does not call for much remark. The title announces that it is *secundum ordinem Romanum*; and four of the prayers used are those for the coronation of an empress at Rome. The most remarkable, seeing that it only occurs in this recension, is the prayer *Spiritus sancti gratia*. This prayer, which was commonly used at Rome, and in Germany, at the consecration of

[1] The *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall, Rolls Series, xcix. 1896, ii. 755.

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princes and princesses, is a petition that inward grace may be conferred by the outward anointing. Besides the Roman prayers (which are the consecration, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fons et origo*, said at the entrance to the church; *Deus qui solus habes immortalitatem*, a prayer for chastity, to be said before the altar; *Spiritus sancti gratia* and *Officio indignitatis nostrae*, which is said after coronation),[1] the old prayers of the second recension are still retained. Further, a prayer blessing the crown said before the coronation of the king has crept into the corresponding place in the coronation of the queen.

The Red Book of the Exchequer gives us an account of the procession, but no details about the service in the church. There are a few changes to be noted from the account of Richard I.'s procession. Instead of four barons holding a canopy over the king, the office is performed by sixteen barons of the Cinque Ports, who ever since have been privileged to perform this service. Another canopy similar to the king's in all respects was carried over the queen. It was of purple silk carried on silver staves, with silver gilt bells at the corners. The king had been already crowned, but in honour of the occasion he wore his crown and the *regalia* were carried before him. Before the king also the chancellor and treasurer carry the stone chalice and the paten of St. Edward, and the middle sword of the three which appeared at Richard I.'s coronation is mentioned by its name *Curtana*.

The third recension marks the infusion of a new element into the coronation service. There are no less than six new prayers and formulæ, while the words said at the delivery of the sword and ring have been considerably changed. The formulæ at the delivery of the armil and pall are a new feature in the service, and though the amount of new work is large, the order for the king's consecration is more meagre than the second recension. The omissions are very remarkable, and include, among others, such prayers as *Te invocamus*, *In diebus ejus*, and the anthem *Confortare et esto vir*. The Biblical benedictions at the end are omitted, no provision is made for a coronation Mass, and it is noticeable, in connexion with this feature, that the Mass sung after Richard I.'s coronation was not a special Mass, but the Mass of the Sunday.

Whence the new element came it is difficult to determine.

[1] See Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Ritibus*, Paris, 1610, col. 152.

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The order itself bears a strong resemblance to that in Hittorp's '*Ordo Romanus*'[1]; and the title of the queen's coronation expressly suggests a Roman origin. But without going so far as to say that the order is Roman, we can fairly conjecture that it is foreign; and when we remember the strength of foreign influences, not only in the crown of England under the Norman kings and the early Plantagenets but also in the archbishopric of Canterbury, when it was held by such men as Lanfranc and St. Anselm, we cannot be surprised at finding traces of a foreign or Italian element in the coronation service at this time.

IV. The third recension lasted from the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth, and Edward I. was probably the last sovereign to be crowned according to it. A new order was used at the coronation of Edward II., an order which was remarkable for its length, its completeness, and the clearness of its arrangement. Under it the coronation of the English kings was attended by a splendour which it has received under no other recension. It lasted for a long period, from Edward II.'s coronation in 1307 to the coronation of Charles II. in 1661. In 1603 it was translated, but the service is the same in every respect save the language. The rubrics of the service were to undergo a revision a few years after its first use, but only to make the directions as complete as possible. It is not our intention in this article to carry the history of this recension down to the coronation of Charles II., but rather to stop at the coronation of James I., the king under whom the service was translated.

The materials that we have for the study of this recension are especially numerous: for besides various descriptions there are several examples of the order. The most famous, perhaps, are the two manuscripts which have the revised rubrics, and which are both in the custody of the Dean of Westminster: namely, the *Liber regalis*, and the copy of this in Abbot Litlington's missal for the use of Westminster, which has been recently edited by Dr. Wickham Legg. Two copies are known of the early edition of the fourth recension: the one is in the British Museum,[2] and the other is in the Rawlinson collection in the Bodleian Library.[3] The rubrics of these manuscripts begin their directions with the elevation of the king by his peers in Westminster Hall. Another copy of the fourth recension, in the University Library at

[1] Melchior Hittorp, *De divinis Catholicae Ecclesiae Ritibus.*
[2] Harl. MS. 2901. [3] Rawl. MS. C. 425.

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Cambridge[1] has a number of rubrics which differ in many important respects from the short rubrics of the other two manuscripts. The rubrics, for example, direct that the elevation in Westminster Hall shall be carried out by the second estate alone, while the first estate is to remain in the church until the election in Westminster Hall is completed. Four nobles then announce to the clergy the result of the election in the king's palace, and ask that the king they have elected may be consecrated. This illustrates very clearly what we pointed out at the beginning of our article, that the business in Westminster Hall is the election by the second estate, while that in Westminster Abbey is the business of the first estate.

But when the rubrics were revised for the coronation of Richard II., a great addition had been made to the ceremonies. These begin, not on the day of the coronation, but the evening before, when the king, attended by his nobles, rode from the Tower of London to Westminster. The processions and other rites are very fully described in a document entitled '*A Little Device for the coronation of the most high and mighty christian prince Henry the seventh*,'[2] which was originally drawn up for Richard III., and which was also drafted for Henry VIII.'s coronation. It describes how on the morning of the day before the coronation the king in the Tower made knights of the Bath, and in the afternoon, preceded by the lords temporal, the mayor and aldermen of London, heralds at arms and 'minstrels,' rode through the town, followed by the queen in a magnificent litter, '*plebi occurrenti se offerens intuendum.*' In theory this was the king's first appearance in public, and in it he showed himself to the people as their future prince.

On arriving at Westminster there was a ceremony in Westminster Hall called the 'void,' in which the king and his nobles partook of spice and wine.

The next morning, the day of the coronation, the king was clothed in his shirt and tunic, which had slits at the places for the anointing: over these he wore a parliament robe, and then, followed by the queen, he took his seat in Westminster Hall, surrounded by his prelates as well as his

[1] Mm. 3. 21. This manuscript is that which Mr. Maskell used for his edition of the Latin coronation service in *Monumenta Ritualia*.

[2] *Rutland Papers*, ed. W. Jerdan, Camden Society, 1842. It describes the coronation of Henry VII.'s queen, though as a matter of history the queen's coronation did not take place till more than two years after the king's. See also *English Coronation Records*, Doc. xx.

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nobles. The queen also had her seat there, but it was a step or two lower than the king's.

The abbot and convent of Westminster then bring the *regalia* from the abbey. The *regalia* are then given to the lords who are to carry them, and the procession, which is in most respects similar to that of Richard I., moves forward on the ray cloth, laid by the lord of the manor of Bedford, who is the almoner for the day. This duty had already been assigned to the lord of that manor at Queen Eleanor's coronation. The cloth was striped or 'ray'; and the origin of this design was doubtless the variegated pattern caused by a number of different cloths when spread along the way, as was done at Richard I.'s coronation.

Henry VII. was not supported by the bishops of Durham and Bath, though nobody seems to have disputed their right to perform the office. At Edward VI.'s coronation the judgment on the claim of the bishops of Durham and Bath to support the king was reserved,[1] and as only one bishop would take part in the ceremony at Queen Elizabeth's coronation, the queen was supported by two earls.[2] The queen, who follows the king, is also supported by two bishops, while before her her crown, sceptre, and ivory rod are carried. Over the king and queen are held canopies of purple damask by barons of the Cinque Ports, sixteen to each canopy.

When the queen arrives at the west door of the church the procession halts, and the archbishop says over her the prayer, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fons.* After this the procession moves forward to the elevated platform, or 'theatre,' which is set up at the crossing of the transepts and choir. The archbishop then shows the king to the people, and asks if they would have him as their king; they answer with shouts of 'Yea, yea, yea, so be it, King Henry, King Henry, King Henry!'

One of the new features of the fourth recension is the first oblation, in which the king and queen offer a pall and a pound of gold. Before this is done the pavement is strewn with carpets and cushions, on which the king may prostrate himself. After the oblation, the prayer *Deus humilium* is said. The ingot or wedge of gold which was offered by Edward II. was the figure of a man stretching forth his finger. This was an allusion to the story that the ring of

[1] Brit. Mus. Stowe MS. 579.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-80, p. 18.

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Edward the Confessor was given by St. John the Evangelist to some English pilgrims in Palestine.

The sermon is now delivered, and is followed by the oath, the form of which has undergone a complete change from that of the oath in the earlier orders. It is now no longer a promissory statement, but an examination by the archbishop, in the same way as a candidate for episcopal consecration is examined by the metropolitan. The archbishop asks the king if he will keep the laws of the country, and especially the laws of St. Edward; if he will defend the Church; if he will be just in his judgments; and if he will uphold the laws which the people shall choose. One of the bishops then asks if the king will defend the privileges of the bishops and abbots; and, after promising to do this, the king confirms his promises by an oath taken on the altar, and also upon the Sacrament.

A slight change was made in the coronation oath at the coronation of Edward VI. in the omission of the references to the monasteries in the petition of the bishops, and in the king's answer. Henry VIII., indeed, seems to have contemplated a complete change of the oath. By this document the oath is rendered valueless by the saving clauses which are introduced, for no check could have been put upon the king by the oath.[1] However, it was never taken, for Edward VI.'s oath, with the exception just mentioned, is the same as that of his predecessors.

This ends the first portion of the service, in which the preliminary conditions necessary for the anointing are settled. The second portion, which contains the consecration and unction, now follow.

The king now lay prostrate before the altar, while there were said *Veni creator*, *Te invocamus*, a litany and the seven penitential psalms, followed by the four prayers, *Omnipotens Deus creator*, *Benedic Domine hunc præsulem*, *Deus ineffabilis*, *Deus qui populis*, and the consecratory preface, *Electorum fortitudo*. It will be seen that the second and third recensions have been combined in the fourth order. The king then arose, and was anointed not in three places only, as in the third recension, but in five: on his hands, after which the collect *Prospice omnipotens Deus* was said; then on his breast, shoulders and back, elbows, and head; and the important addition was made in this recension of adding unction with the holy chrism, the oil wherewith bishops and, anciently in England, presbyters were anointed.

[1] *English Coronation Records*, Doc. xxi.

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The similarity of the royal to the episcopal ordination is thus asserted with great force in this recension. The anthem sung is the old anthem of the first and second recensions, *Unxerunt Salomonem.*

The unction with chrism began probably at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century. Who introduced it is not known at present. It is ordered in the early rubrics of the fourth recension,[1] and in consequence it cannot have been the discovery of the oil of St. Thomas of Canterbury which led to the introduction of the chrism. The legend of the oil of St. Thomas is that when St. Thomas was at Sens during his exile, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him with a phial of oil and an eagle in which to place it. At the same time she prophesied that the fifth king from the time of Henry II. would recover the Holy Land, if he kept this oil in his possession. The oil was to be hidden at Poitiers; and during the reign of Edward II., a Dominican brought the oil to the King, who consulted with the Pope whether he should receive it. The Pope hesitated, and the oil fell into oblivion.[2] During the reign of Richard II., however, it was found at the Tower by the king, and the story arose that it had been discovered at Poitiers by the Black Prince. Richard II. wished to be anointed with it, but the untimely rebellion of the Duke of Lancaster defeated this project. Henry IV., however, had no scruples in reviving the story for his own ends, and was anointed with the oil of St. Thomas at his coronation.[3] This oil continued to be used till the Reformation, and perhaps later. Queen Mary Tudor, however, feared that it might have lost its efficacy, and sent for some fresh oil from her uncle, the Emperor Charles V.[4]

[1] It is possible that Edward I. was anointed with chrism. Thomas Wikes, in Gale and Fulman's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, Oxford, 1687, ii. 101, says in the year 1274 that the king 'sacrosancti Crismatis oleo delibutus, Regni diadema suscepit.' But *crisma* may here only mean unction. At the same time it is worth while to remember that Edward I. had been in the Holy Land, and he may there have heard of the ancient use of the Church of Jerusalem, which anointed the Latin kings of Jerusalem with chrism. (Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiae Ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. x. ordo x. 'Apres la pistelle, 11. des prelas doivent venir au roi, l'un a dexre et l'autre a senestre, et le devent mener treusques au faudesteull pars devant l'autier, et la li doit dire le prelat aucunes beneissons, et puis apres si doit prendre le cresme, et le doit oindre par desus le tour [*sic*]'). It is possible that Edward I., remembering also the custom of the kings of France, introduced the unction with the chrism.

[2] *English Coronation Records*, Doc. x.

[3] William Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, cap. xviii., Oxford, 1878, iii. 11.

[4] *Calendar of State Papers . . . of Venice*, 1534-1554, ed. Rawdon Brown, London, 1873, v. 432.

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Whether this new oil was used at Queen Elizabeth's coronation is doubtful; that an oil of somewhat ancient confection was used is almost certain; for when she was about to be anointed, she made the characteristic remark that 'it was grease, and smelt ill.'[1]

After unction, which the king received in all probability on his knees, the places of anointing were dried and covered up, and the archbishop said the prayers *Deus Dei Filius* and *Deus qui es justorum*, which close the portion of the service in which the consecration takes place.

The remaining division of the service is occupied with the investiture of the king with the external symbols of royalty and with his enthronement. The king receives the *colobium sindonis*, or albe, after which the royal ornaments are blessed with the prayer *Deus Rex regum*, and he receives the tunicle, buskins, spurs, sword, armil, and *pallium regale*. He next receives the crown. This was known as the crown of St. Edward, and was that with which the kings were usually crowned; but at Edward VI.'s coronation a change was introduced. This prince was crowned with three crowns, in this order: first St. Edward's crown, then the Imperial crown of the realm, and lastly 'a crown purposely made for his Grace.' Similarly, Queen Mary was crowned with three crowns, and Queen Elizabeth with two. The third crown in Edward VI.'s case was probably made because St. Edward's crown was too large for him to wear, though we do not hear of any similar incident at Henry VI.'s coronation. Nor does this explain why the Imperial crown was also put on. It is scarcely possible that in placing the three crowns on the king's head the Edwardian bishops, remembering the Pope's triple tiara, intended thus to symbolise the king's title of 'Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England.' But it is at any rate a curious coincidence that during the use of that title by the sovereign of England, the three crowns were placed on the monarch's head, and that after its abandonment, two only seem to have been used for Queen Elizabeth's coronation.

After the crown, the king received the ring, and then ungirded his sword and offered it upon the altar, and the greatest earl present redeemed it for a hundred shillings, and carried it naked before the king during the rest of the solemnity. Then the sceptre and rod are delivered. The blessing *Benedicat tibi Dominus* is then pronounced; the

[1] *The Court of King James the First*, by Dr. Godfrey Goodman, ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1839, p. 420.

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king kisses the bishops, and *Te Deum* is sung, after which the king is enthroned by the archbishop, who addresses to the king *Sta et retine.* No acclamation is ordered either at this point or at the crowning, nor is there any trace, until the coronation of Queen Anne Boleyn, that at the imposition of the crown the dukes and earls put on their coronets.

The delivery of the ring is accompanied by much more solemnity than in the former orders, for the archbishop not only pronounces two blessings over it before giving it to the king, but the delivery is also followed by a collect in addition to the ordinary formula of delivery. One of the blessings is an expanded form of the prayer said by the king when he consecrated cramp-rings. The additions made to it are not in any way to be called improvements, but rather may justly be called superstitious.

After the enthronement of the king, the lords spiritual do their fealty, and the lords temporal their homage, and the latter ease the king by supporting the crown.

The fealty of the spiritual and the homage of the lay peers has not always taken place at this moment. As a dramatic arrangement this is undoubtedly the fittest place. Richard I., however, and also John, received the fealty and homage on the third day following their coronation. Now that the swollen peerage of our day makes the great length of the coronation service a serious problem, it might be useful to keep in mind the precedent of Richard I. and John.

The queen's coronation then follows. The prayer *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fons* has been already said when she arrived at the door of the church. The order is the same as that of the third recension, with the exception that the prayer *Spiritus sancti gratia* has fallen out. The queen was anointed and crowned kneeling at the steps of the altar. She was anointed on the head and breast. When she was crowned alone she received the chrism as well as the oil of the catechumens, but when crowned with the king she was anointed only with simple oil, and a coif was placed on her head to protect the place anointed.

The queen consort receives no special robes as does the king. The directions are that she shall wear a mantle of crimson velvet with a train furred with ermins, and on her head a circlet of gold to restrain her hair, which is to 'lie fair about her shoulders.' This circlet is taken off before unction. The ornaments which the queen receives are the ring, the crown, the sceptre, and the ivory rod. After having

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received these *regalia* she goes to her throne and bows herself to the king's majesty as she passes.

Mass then followed, with special anthems, collects, epistle, gospel, and preface. Special collects are even provided should the king and queen be crowned together. At the offertory the king and queen left their thrones and came crowned to the steps of the altar. There they offered bread and wine in the paten and chalice of St. Edward, and a mark of gold. With the bread they were afterwards to be communicated. Only one host appears to have been offered, for Richard III. and his queen were both 'houselled with one host divided between them.' The archbishop, after the offering, said the prayers, *Omnipotens Deus det tibi* and *Benedic Domine fortitudinem*, the old Biblical blessings which we noticed in the early recensions.

As was fitting on so solemn an occasion the king and queen both received communion that day. They received it together as a symbol of their conjugal union, and in one kind only; there is no trace that the King of England ever received in both kinds, as did the King of France. After communion they stood up, and wine was administered to them in St. Edward's chalice by the Abbot of Westminster as a purification.

When the service was over the king and queen retired to St. Edward's Chapel, where the king in a traverse was divested of his episcopal robes and of his crown and sceptres. All these were laid on the altar in the chapel. The king then put on a purple velvet robe, which was probably a more magnificent vestment than the parliament robe in which he came to the church, and the archbishop put on his head a 'crown of estate,' lighter but richer than the crown of St. Edward, and put the sceptre and rod into his hands again.

The queen likewise exchanged her crown for another, and, when all was ready, the king and queen returned in the same manner as they came to Westminster Hall for the banquet.

Thus ends this long service. The fatigue undergone by the king and queen, who were bound to go through the service fasting, must have been most severe. Indeed Richard II. was so exhausted by the ceremony that he was unable to walk, and had to be carried on the knights' shoulders back to the palace[1]; and even at a time when fasting communion was not insisted upon with the strictness practised in the middle ages,

[1] Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, Rolls Series, 1863, p. 337

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we learn from a gossiping pamphlet that George IV. 'seemed very feeble' at the end of his coronation.

The fourth recension covers the period in which the services and forms due at the king's coronation received their final settlement and dignity. All has been carefully directed by the rubrics of the *Liber regalis*, and the directions of such documents as the *Little Device*. It is also the period in which Westminster Abbey definitely became the crowning place. Henry III., it will be remembered, was crowned at Gloucester in the first instance, though he was afterwards crowned again at Westminster. But the monks of Westminster, who drew up the long rubrics of *Liber regalis*, took care not to let slip the opportunity of fixing Westminster as the place where the king must be crowned. Moreover, it is the period in which symbolic meanings became more than ever attached to the *regalia*. The crown, ring, sceptre, and rod have, ever since the second recension, respectively symbolized the sovereign's glory, faith, royal power, and equity. Now the symbolism attaches itself to the three swords which are carried before the king. Though the name of the middle sword appears as *Curtana* as early as 1236, no meaning is attached to it till the time of Henry IV., and even then its meaning has not become fixed. At first it was doubtless carried before the king, because there were connected with it some historical associations which had led to its receiving a name, and because it was treasured, perhaps, as the relic of some former king, just as in France the sword *Joyeuse* of Charles the Great was carried before the king at his coronation. But at Henry IV.'s coronation we are told that the Prince of Wales carried the sword of justice, and we know from other sources that *Curtana* was carried by the Prince of Wales at that coronation. But at Henry VI.'s coronation, after St. Edward's staff came 'one with the sword of mercy,' that is, *Curtana*, 'a duke with the sword of justice for the laity,' and 'a duke with the sword of justice for the kirkmen.' These symbolic meanings the swords have retained ever since.

Another ornament appears among the *regalia* in the fifteenth century. This is St. Edward's staff, which is carried in the procession before the three swords. It is a long sceptre with a steel spike at the bottom, and its origin is doubtless derived from the staff which the king used while walking in the procession. In the fifteenth century it came to be looked on merely as a relic, and there is no evidence that it has since been ever put to the use that its origin would suggest as proper; but it has suffered the same fate as the crosier

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of the modern Anglican bishop, which is carried as if it were the mace of a mayor, or as if it were, in some manner hard to define, the symbol of jurisdiction, instead of being borne in the hands of the person to whom it belongs.

We have now followed the history of the coronation service from the earliest mention of it in these islands to the period when it reached its zenith. It will be seen that the Reformation did not affect it directly; Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth were all anointed and crowned according to the Latin rite. This rite will continue to be used till late in the seventeenth century, though the language will no longer be Latin but English. The translation of the rite, a necessary step, is the forerunner of all the many changes which the service was to undergo in the next three centuries, until at the present day it has reached almost the lowest level it can reach without being altogether discontinued.

ART. II.—THE LAY FRANCHISE.

1. *House of Laymen for the Province of Canterbury.* Report of the Self-Government Enquiry Committee. May, 1901.
2. *Self-Government in the Non-Established Churches of the Anglican Communion. A Sketch of its Principles and Methods.* (Prepared for a Committee of the Synod of the Diocese of Salisbury.) By the Rev. H. C. POWELL, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral, and the Rev. C. L. DUNDAS, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury Cathedral. Church Reform League Publications, No. 21.
3. *Two Views of the Lay Franchise.* By Mr. W. D. HOLLIS and the Rev. C. L. DUNDAS. Church Reform League Publications, No. 30.

THE resolution of the Canterbury House of Laymen, to which the Report which has been placed at the head of this article owes its origin, shows the very practical stage which the movement for Church Reform has now reached. The House resolved that a committee be appointed, in the first place, 'to inquire as to the methods and working of self-government in the Church of Ireland, the Episcopal and Established Churches of Scotland, and the Colonial and Foreign Churches in communion with the Church of England or otherwise.' That means that the demand of the reform movement is for a system of self-government in the Church;

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and an obvious preliminary is to study the constitutions and the experience of the self-governing churches of our own communion. Further, the committee was to inquire 'specially with reference to the position of laymen in those Churches in respect to their franchise, and to matters of doctrine and of ritual in which doctrine is involved.' That is, we have come to the question which must be settled, but which is the great difficulty—'the lion in the path' of church reform—viz. the question as to what constitutes membership in the Church.

This difficulty at the bottom of the ladder, like that at the top (viz. the relation of the Church to Parliament), arises, as we shall see, from the mutual connection of Church and State in England; but, as a preliminary, we may point out that the popular question 'Who is a member, or a layman, of the Church?' is hardly an accurate form of the problem. That question, taken strictly, is a theological one, and involves inquiry into the spiritual meaning of membership in the Church and the spiritual relation of individuals to the Lord, whereas in discussions as to the constitution of the Church the question is used in reference to external status and privilege. Even in this sense we shall find that the question 'Who is a member of the Church?' is insufficient. The analogy of the State shows that admission to a society does not necessarily carry with it participation in the full privileges of membership. Not everyone born in England has the franchise of an Englishman, viz. the right to exercise a share in the government of the country by voting for the election of a representative. Certain monetary and other qualifications are required; and so it may happen that an Englishman of an average education and intelligence, with an average stake in the welfare of the country, is, through certain technicalities of the law, debarred from the exercise of a vote. This happens, for instance, not unfrequently in the case of clergymen. Our question, then, rightly stated, should be 'What is the franchise of the Church?' But again the analogy of the State shows that there may be different franchises. Thus different qualifications are required in the cases of voting for members of parliament, of a county council, an urban council, a parish council, a school board, and so forth. Hence it is quite conceivable that in the Church there might be similar differences. In a scheme of representative councils it is natural that more should be required of those who sit in, or vote for, the higher legislative assemblies than of those who can exercise a voice (whether directly or through the election of a representative council)

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in the self-government of the primary local unit of church life, viz. the parish. The latter franchise must form the basis in any system of self-government, and we may call it the lay franchise of the Church. The discussion of this franchise must lead the way, and accordingly to its consideration the present article shall be strictly limited.

This limitation will have the advantage of enabling us to avoid for the present the question of the share of the laity in the legislation of the Church, their position at councils, and so forth. This problem has been the subject of much contention, but the right of the local laity to have a voice in the affairs of the local church has never seriously been called in question. In striving to restore parochial self-government (in due subjection, of course, to the constitution and to the higher authorities of the Church), we are striving not only to carry out what is the theory and law of the Church, but also to revive ancient custom and practice. The difficulty to-day lies rather in the question, Who are the local laity or 'the parishioners' from the Church's point of view?

It is extremely important for us, at our advanced stage in the development of 'the parish,' to remember that originally the ecclesiastical parish was distinct from the civil division of the vill or township, which corresponds to the modern 'civil parish.' A recent *History of English Law*,[1] while discussing these divisions, states definitely that 'the parish of course is to start with a purely ecclesiastical district, and during the Middle Ages it is no unit in the geography of our temporal law, though from time to time the secular courts must notice it when disputes arise about tithes and the like.' Consequently the parishioners had a distinct ecclesiastical existence, apart from their position as members of a tything, vill or township. This distinction has been brought out by the investigation of mediæval churchwardens' accounts, in which Bishop Hobhouse has led the way. In publishing the accounts of six Somersetshire parishes,[2] the Bishop has stated his conclusions in a very interesting preface, and we had better give them in his own words:

'I found,' he writes (p. ix), 'that the "parish" was a purely religious organization, distinct in its origin, its *raison d'être*, its principles,

[1] Pollock and Maitland, 1895, vol. i. p. 548.

[2] *Churchwardens' Accounts of Croscombe and five other Parishes from* 1349 to 1560. By the Right Rev. Bishop Hobhouse. (Somerset Record Society, 1890.) The results of this study have been made more accessible to the public by Dr. Jessopp in an essay on mediæval 'Parish Life' in his *Before the Great Pillage* (London: Fisher Unwin, 1901).

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its working, and its aims, from the manor or the tything, though composed of the same personnel man for man.' Again (p. xi): 'The "parish" was the community dwelling in an area defined by the Church, organized for church purposes, subject to church authority. Within this area every resident was a parishioner, and, as such, owed his duty of worship and contribution to one stated church, and his duty of confession and submission to the official guidance of a stated pastor, entitled his rector. The community was completely organized with a constitution which recognized the rights of the whole and of every adult member to a voice in self-government, but kept the self-governing community under a system of inspection, and (if need should be) of restraint from central authority. The necessary officers were (1) the rector or his deputy; (2) the wardens, the chosen representatives of the parishioners.[1] . . . The whole adult population were accounted parishioners, and had an even voice when assembled for consultation under the rector. Seeing that both sexes served the office of warden, there can be no doubt that both had a vote. . . . The place of meeting was the church; . . . the name of "vestry" as applied to the church council nowhere appears.'

The main duty of 'the parish,' and the *raison d'être* of the parish meeting, was to keep the fabric of the church in due repair, and to provide all the ornaments and accessories needed for divine worship, which meant in the Middle Ages no slight demand.[2] The demand was made by the Church, and it was in this connection that the parishioners as such found recognition in Church law. Thus a constitution of Archbishop Reynolds in 1322 enjoins the archdeacons in their visitations to see that there is a due supply of ornaments &c., and also to give consideration to the fabric of the church, in case it should need repair, and if they found any defect they were to appoint a fixed time for its remedy, 'under penalty,' viz. of excommunication. The duty was an ecclesiastical

[1] By custom it has been established that one churchwarden should be nominated by the parson, the other by the people; but originally they were both the representatives of the parish. So Canon 89 enacts that churchwardens are to be 'chosen by the joint consent of the minister and the parishioners.'

[2] Archbishop Winchelsey's constitution of 1305 gives a list of the ornaments, &c. for which the parishioners are responsible: The books, viz. a Legend, Antiphoner, Gradual, Psalter, Troper, Ordinal, Missal, Manual. The vestments, viz. a principal vestment, with chasuble, a dalmatic, cope, &c., frontal for the high altar, three surplices, and a rochet. Ornaments—processional cross, funeral cross, censer, lamp and bell for the communion of the sick, pyx; an 'honest veil,' a Lent veil, banners for Rogation processions; bells with ropes, a bier, holy water vessel, pax-board, paschal candlestick, font with cover, images. Duties—the fencing of the churchyard, repair of the nave, within and without, with images and windows, repair of books and vestments.

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one, and was to be enforced by ecclesiastical censure.[1] To fulfil this obligation the parish required a substantial income, which was derived in various ways, chiefly voluntary, *e.g.* by legacies, gifts, the offerings of guilds, church ales, &c. The administration of the funds and property which accrued to the parish lay with the wardens; and the chief business of the annual parish meeting, besides the election of wardens, was the audit of the outgoing wardens' accounts, the transfer of the parish funds to the new officers, and then to consult on the methods of meeting the expenses for the ensuing year. These methods included the church ales, miracle plays, parish and guild festivals, &c., which made up so much of the active parochial life of the Middle Ages, and were under the parish's own control; the outward manifestation of that vigorous church life thus rested upon a democratic basis.

This parochial constitution, we must carefully remember, was purely ecclesiastical. The mischief began when the State made use of this very convenient organization for secular purposes; and when it laid upon the churchwardens secular duties, and empowered them by statute to levy rates for the same, and made the duty of paying these rates obligatory upon all holders of property, it did in fact 'establish' the ratepayer. *Hinc illae lacrimae.* The action of the State was indeed excusable, because it began with a matter which had hitherto been supposed to lie in the special province of the Church, viz. the support of the poor. For we must date the 'establishment of the ratepayer' in 1601, when, after many preliminary steps in this direction, Parliament finally made the payment of a poor rate obligatory, and appointed the churchwardens with other overseers as the authorities for its levying and administration. This precedent was followed in the purely ecclesiastical matter of the maintenance of the Church and her services, when the church rate was made compulsory in 1813. In the Middle Ages the support of the Church had apparently been met for the most part by the various sources

[1] Pollock and Maitland (*op. cit.* i. p. 602) 'think it quite plain that in the thirteenth century the general custom of the Church of England . . . cast the burden of repairing the nave of the parish church and providing the main part of the ecclesiastical apparatus, not upon the parson, but upon the parishioners, and that the lay power left the spiritual tribunal free to enforce this custom by spiritual censures.' They go on to say, however, that they are by no means satisfied that this custom demanded any permanent organization of the parishioners, any 'vestry' that would meet and grant a rate,—*i.e.* as early as the thirteenth century. The organization, as described above, was certainly established in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Canon 85 devolves the duty upon the churchwardens.

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of income mentioned above, which were purely voluntary. When these did not suffice, a contribution was laid upon the parishioners, but even this was regarded as a voluntary offering: it was compulsory in so far as to make such offerings was a duty of religion, and therefore could be enjoined by the Ordinary or church authority. Accordingly failure to fulfil the duty was a religious or ecclesiastical offence, and could be punished in the ecclesiastical courts. But the statute 53 George III., c. 127, empowered justices of the peace to order payment where the sum was under 10*l.*, and thus gave to church rates civil sanction and statutory compulsion.

This action of the State has given rise to the same anomaly and consequent confusion, at the basis of the Church's constitution, as that which prevails at the top, viz. in its relation to Parliament. When the Acts of Uniformity were passed, the Houses of Parliament were composed of communicant churchmen, and they could claim to represent the laity of the Church. By natural and legitimate changes the House of Commons has become a body which may include Roman Catholics, Scottish Presbyterians, Nonconformists, Jews, Agnostics—indeed no religion is excluded; nevertheless, because there has been no corresponding change in the constitutional relations between Church and State, this body retains the same power over Church affairs which it exercised when it was a body exclusively composed of churchmen. Similarly in the case of the parish, all parishioners once had an even voice in the parish meeting, but that was at a time when Church discipline was a living force, and all parishioners were churchmen and communicant churchmen (on which see below). By conferring upon these parishioners secular duties, and enforcing the payment of rates by all holders of property, Parliament has altered the constitution of the parish; it has practically disfranchised the poor who pay no rates, and has created a new 'civil parish' or 'vestry' of ratepayers. Thus a poor communicant may have no vote, while a Nonconformist or other who is not a churchman at all, if he pays rates, is legally a 'parishioner,' and can exercise the rights of a parishioner, which are still supposed to include the ancient rights of the parishioner in Church affairs which he possessed when he was, by obligation, a churchman.

Thus confusion between the old ecclesiastical parish and the modern civil parish has created an anomaly; but it is an anomaly which is felt to be no longer tolerable, and the aim of

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the Church is now to establish a body of parishioners who are really churchmen, *i.e.*, to re-create the old Church parish. It is true that this is not the desire of all churchmen. The confusion has been of too long continuance. The condition of 'establishment' is popularly supposed to carry with it the corollary that a citizen of England is *ipso facto* a member of the Church of England, and therefore the ratepayers are the legally enfranchised laity of the Church. This position has been endorsed by no less an authority than the House of Laymen for the Province of York. On 8 May 1901 that House passed a resolution that 'the electors' [in the primary electoral divisions, or ecclesiastical parishes] 'shall be persons qualified to meet in vestry in and for these ecclesiastical parishes or districts;' and an amendment to limit the electors to such members of the vestry . . . 'as shall declare themselves to be lay members of the Church of England' was definitely rejected. But if all ratepayers are to have the franchise of the Church of England (whatever their creed), or in other words be reckoned as churchmen, then *cadit quaestio.* The (so-reputed) members of the Church have already an excellent representative system in the House of Commons, the county councils, urban and parish councils. What more do we want? Let them manage the affairs of the Church! Why complicate matters by another system of councils to be elected by the same people? But the majority of churchmen cannot accept this position: in fact they can with difficulty give it serious consideration; and so they are driven to inquire afresh for themselves—What should be the lay franchise? or who is 'the parishioner' in the sense of the Church?

As far as principle is concerned, the question is indeed superfluous. It is already settled by the law of the Church of England. This law is contained in the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, which in virtue of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, possess the force of statute law of the realm. In these rubrics we read that '*every parishioner* shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Easter to be one.' On the one hand this implies confirmation, for 'there shall none be admitted to the holy communion until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed;' and confirmation implies baptism.[1] On the other hand the Canons of the Church (of 1603) show how this

[1] Compare the rubric, 'The curate of every parish shall often admonish the people that they defer not the baptism of their children,' etc.

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rubric is to be enforced. Canon 112 enacts that 'the minister, churchwardens, questmen, and assistants of every parish church and chapel shall yearly, within forty days after Easter, exhibit to the bishop or his chancellor the names and surnames of all the parishioners, as well men as women, which being of the age of sixteen years[1] received not the holy communion at Easter before.'[2] Such legislation was not meant to be a dead letter, as can be seen from extant records of visitations in the Public Record Office, which give the numbers of communicants and of those who abstain. Thus in a return for Lancashire in the reign of Elizabeth, otherwise undated, we are surprised at the large number of communicants; in Amownderness deanery there were 23,000, in Lailand 11,000, Warrington 31,500, Manchester 22,000, Blackburn 15,000—total, 102,500. In the diocese of Canterbury, in a visitation of 1569, there were not so many, the total number (with the exception of one deanery not returned) being 42,797 communicants. The population no doubt was smaller—12,820 is the number of 'families' given; and all cases of abstinence from Communion are noted: '113 persons rarely come to prayer, 112 persons have not communicated this year.'[3]

(*a*) In this legislation the Church of England was introducing no novelty. In the Church the receiving of the Holy Communion had always been the mark and duty, not to say privilege, of a churchman: the test whether a man was in the fellowship of the Church lay simply in this—will he be admitted to Holy Communion? The whole power of discipline which the Church possessed rested simply on her power of excluding from Holy Communion, which was equivalent to excluding from her fellowship. And as soon as the Church began to legislate for her members, the receiving of Holy Communion was made obligatory upon them. The original custom had been for all present to receive at the celebration; and this ideal the Church sought to perpetuate by ordering, in the Council of Antioch, A.D. 341 (Canon 2[4]),

[1] The Canon of 1571 said 'fourteen years.'

[2] Cf. also Canons 21 and 22: 'Whereas every lay person is bound to receive the holy communion thrice every year.' In Canon 26 the minister is not to 'admit to the receiving of the holy communion any churchwardens or sidesmen who fail to present;' but the grounds of the presentments here specified are 'public offences.'

[3] *State Papers, Q. Elisabeth*, xxxi. f. 47, lx. f. 71. For these hitherto unpublished references the writer is indebted to Rev. W. H. Frere.

[4] This was incorporated into the collection of canons made by Martin, bishop of Braga (*c.* 572 A.D.). The ninth of the Apostolic Canons is to the same effect.

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that all who came to church, but abstained from participation in the Eucharist, should be excommunicated. But this high standard could not be maintained. The Council of Toledo of A.D. 398 mentions those who come to church and never communicate: such are to be put to penance. The Council of Agdé in A.D. 506 refuses the title or repute of 'Catholic' to those who fail to communicate at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost; while the Council of Tours in 813 definitely enacted that the laity should communicate at least three times a year.[1] We take one step lower down when the Lateran Council of A.D. 1215 made communion once a year obligatory on all churchmen. This minimum once reached, it has remained the law of the Church ever since, and for the Roman Church was renewed at the Council of Trent.

In England the earliest definite rule upon the subject extant is a canon of a Council at Ensham, A.D. 1009, which prescribes communion at least three times a year, and the same regulation is repeated in Cnut's Laws (c. 19), so that it was the law of the State as well as of the Church. The canon of the Lateran Council of 1215 would of course have been binding in England, but there is besides a definite enactment in the English Canon Law, viz. a constitution of Archbishop Sudbury (A.D. 1378), which shows the English hankering after the 'three times a year.' This ordains that

'confessions are to be heard thrice a year, and the people are to be admonished to communicate thrice, viz. at Easter, Pentecost, and the Nativity of our Lord. . . . But whosoever shall not confess to his proper priest at least once a year, and at least receive the blessed sacrament at Easter (unless he abstain by advice of his confessor) is to be prohibited from entering the church while alive, and when dead is to forfeit Christian burial.'[2]

The First Prayer-book of King Edward (1549) adopted the minimum standard when it ordered parishioners 'to communicate once in the year at the least,' and those who absent themselves willingly upon no just cause are 'upon proffe thereof to be excommunicate.' It was the Second Prayer-book of 1552 which raised the standard to three times a year, as it remains in the present book. It is not to be supposed that this insistence on communion was peculiar to the Catholic Church. Indeed emphasis on communion was

[1] This canon has been incorporated into the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Decr. iii. pars, de Consecrat. dist. ii. c. 16, where it is assigned to Fabian, bishop of Rome.

[2] Cf. the rubric in the Burial Service, 'the office ensuing is not to be used for any that die . . . excommunicate.'

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one of the chief characteristics of the Reforming party, and its revival in practice their aim. Protestants and Puritans were equally rigid in their requirement of communion. The custom of never communicating may have prevailed even in the Middle Ages, but always with the sense that it was irregular; the acquiescence in it as a normal condition of Christian life, not incompatible with church membership, cannot be carried back further than the eighteenth century.

(*b*) Once more, this legislation of the whole Church is in entire conformity with the scriptures and the spiritual and theological account of the Church. Membership in the Church means membership of Christ. Into this membership we are admitted by holy baptism, our new birth; which is completed by the gift of the Spirit of Christ in confirmation—the endowment needed for the full exercise of this membership. But admission and membership are not identical terms. Life in the Church, being membership with Christ, must be a growing life—a growing into a more and more complete union with Him. Our present union, however, is constantly being weakened by sin; and we need continually not only restoration from sin, but also fresh supplies of grace to meet the demands of the growing life. This double want is satisfied in the Holy Communion, which is (as we learn from the words of institution, from St. John vi. and 1 Cor. x. 16) 'the communion of the body and blood of Christ.' The life of the churchman therefore is necessarily the life of a communicant; and in the text which gives us our New Testament definition of churchmanship (Acts ii. 42) we read that 'they continued stedfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship, *in the breaking of bread* and the prayers.'

The principle then seems perfectly clear. The law of the Church of England requires all its members, or, to speak strictly, its 'parishioners,' *i.e.* members possessing the franchise, to be communicants. This law follows the precedent of all previous Church law and custom; and it is based upon Scripture and the command of the Lord (*Do this: Drink ye all of it*). Nevertheless, when to the question 'Who is a member of the Church?' we answer 'A communicant,' a great outcry is raised. The demand to limit the Church franchise to communicants is looked upon as being not merely narrow and illiberal, but in fact impossible.

No doubt there is still a great and wholesome reaction

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against such legislation as the Corporation and the Test Acts,[1] and a real horror at the peril of profanation in making the Holy Communion serve as a test or a qualification. But the great body of objection to the so-called 'communicant test' is, we imagine, really due to the widespread indifference to and ignorance of Church principles, which has been the natural result of two causes. The first of these is the decay of Church life and discipline, of which the disastrous break with the traditions of the past in the time of the Commonwealth may be looked upon as the primary source, and which continued to make steady way throughout the eighteenth century. The other is the confusion between Church and State in the popular mind consequent upon 'establishment' or the special constitutional relations of those two bodies in England. Now, so far as objection is due to such causes, the only course for churchmen is simply to persist in the maintenance of Church principles, with all gentleness and meekness, but with all firmness. But, on the other hand, we have to consider facts. The Church has to deal with men and countries as they are; and at no time have the secular conditions of her environment been ideal; they certainly are not so in England at present. Again, the Church has never yet attained to her own ideal; in some ages she has fallen far short of it, and the difficulties of the present situation are, we must confess, in no small measure due to the failures, the neglect, and shortcomings of the Church of England in the past. Hence we are bound to give serious consideration to arguments which can be urged in favour of a relaxation of the existing law or theory of the Church. These can be summed up as follows:

(1) There is the initial anomaly that a great mass of church people, who attend the Church's services and call themselves 'churchmen,' are not communicants. This fact is the *fons et origo mali*; and to a student of theology or a devout Christian it is an amazing fact. But when we turn to the consideration of human nature and to the study of history, we find that very soon after the beginning of Christianity

[1] These Acts required every one holding any office under the king, whether in army, navy, or elsewhere, and every magistrate, officer, &c., in a corporation, to receive the Blessed Sacrament as a condition of holding office. To these Acts was largely due the growth of the custom of abstaining from communion. But we must remember that they were not the work of a 'persecuting' Church, but of a Restoration and Royalist Parliament, burning with zeal and hatred against the *régime* of the Commonwealth and all its supporters. The legislation of the Church required communion, but only of her own members.

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the difficulty of keeping the average churchman up to the standard of the communicant life was discovered. The mass of Catholics soon acquiesced in making their communion once a year, and many were only kept up to that standard by the exercise of discipline. Our present condition, therefore, while largely due to the Church's neglect of teaching and discipline, would reflect an average condition of religious practice, when the pressure of force is removed; and the exercise of compulsion in this matter all would deprecate.

(2) Further, among these non-communicants are many who abstain from communion not because of any laxity of life, but from worthy motives—from scrupulousness, or fear, or a misunderstanding of the phrase in 1 Cor. xi. 29, '*eateth and drinketh damnation to himself.*' Many non-communicants live very exemplary lives, while, on the other hand, many who do communicate live, shall we say, at least 'no better than their neighbours;' and to draw a sharp line between the two classes would in many cases shock the moral conscience of the people at large.

(3) Owing to this initial fact the communicants are few in number and would form a comparatively limited franchise. It is true that the *Church Year Book* for 1901 returns their numbers as 1,974,629, which is by no means a small body. But among these would be included a number under age (21), and several Dissenters; the great majority would probably be women, and the numbers would be very unevenly distributed. There are many parishes still in which the communicants are very few—in some parishes perhaps confined to the occupants of the parsonage or hall, with one or two officials or devout women; and to restrict the franchise to communicants would be in effect to establish an oligarchy, which would defeat the aims of those who are anxious to restore self-government to the Church.

(4) When we inquire of the experience of the self-governing Churches in communion with us, we find that they have nearly all abandoned the communicant franchise. In the Church of South Africa the 'parishioner' is defined as being a communicant, but an alternative is given: 'by parishioner shall be understood any person, not being under Church censure, who is on the list of communicants or . . . who, being baptized, and not being a member of any other religious body, is an habitual worshipper, etc.' Jamaica and Scotland have similar definitions. In the Episcopal Church of Scotland and in South Africa, only communicants can vote for lay representatives in the 'elective assembly' for the election of

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bishops. But among all the Churches of the Anglican communion the fundamental franchise is limited to communicants in these dioceses only: viz. four dioceses in the province of Rupertsland (Rupertsland, Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, Calgary); three in the province of South Africa (St. John's Kaffraria, Bloemfontein, Natal); two in the United States of America (Arkansas, Oklahoma).[1]

To this we may add the example of the Established Church of Scotland. As all the administration of a parish lay in the hands of the minister and Kirk Session, there had been no occasion to raise the question of a lay franchise in Scotland. But in 1874, when the patronage of the churches was placed in the hands of the congregation, the congregation was defined in the regulating Act of Parliament as consisting of '(*a*) communicants, and (*b*) *such other adherents*' as the Kirk Session might determine to be members of the congregation.[2]

(5) To make the case as strong as possible we must add the argument from expediency. It is asserted, with great confidence, that Parliament, which must give its assent to any measure for self-government for the Church, would absolutely refuse to give any self-governing powers to the Church, if the franchise was limited to so small a proportion of the nation as the body of church communicants.

(6) Lastly, there are those who, while confessing that the communicant franchise is the ideal, plead that the surest means of finally obtaining it is by the way of present concession. The exercise of Church privileges in itself tends to raise the tone of Church life. In South Africa and Jamaica non-communicants seldom claim their right of voting; and at home experience has shown that where the laity take their share in Church administration they have come to be the most vehement asserters of Church principles. So it is confidently expected that the practice of self-government, with a wider franchise, will of itself ultimately lead to the full recovery of the principle of communicant membership.[3]

In the face of these arguments we must still reply that if principle is concerned in this matter, the Church of Christ cannot recede. If our Lord has laid it down that members of the Church are members of His own body, and that union

[1] See Powell and Dundas, *Self-government, &c.* pp. 12–13, and the tables in the *Report of the Self-government Inquiry Committee*, pp. 34–40.

[2] See Lord Balfour of Burleigh in *Church Reform Essays*, p. 89.

[3] The cases for concession and for the rigid maintenance of principle cannot be put more vigorously than they are by Preb. Dundas and Mr. Hollis respectively in *C.R.L. Publications*, No. 30.

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with Him is to be maintained by the rite of sacramental communion, the Church cannot prescribe any other conditions of membership. For secular purposes, the payment of poor rates or the repair of highways, it is not necessary that parishioners should be communicants or even churchmen; but for the administration of the affairs of the Church, which can never be purely secular, we cannot be satisfied with less than a communicant franchise for 'the parishioner.'

The arguments given above are weighty, but an answer could be given to each one. Space forbids the discussion of them in detail, but an argument from expediency, which will balance No. (6), is too important to be omitted. It is this: that if once the standard of churchmanship is relaxed in legislation as well as in practice, we shall never be able to restore it to its old level. The mass of people derive their ideas of right and wrong not from principle or theory, but from the actual requirements and utterances of the law. The law forms their standard, and what is legal or illegal tends to become the right or wrong. Hence, let it once be conceded in Church legislation that a non-communicant may enjoy the Church franchise, and it will become practically impossible to win back the position that only a communicant can be a true member of the Church. The rite of confirmation will afford an illustration. Those who are acquainted with Church history are aware that the laying on of hands was an indispensable adjunct to—we might almost say an integral part of—holy baptism. This view of the rite has been preserved by the Church of England, who in her Prayer-book deliberately requires the baptized to be confirmed in due course, and makes confirmation a condition of communion. Nevertheless these regulations have been much neglected in the Church. In various parts of England, for various causes, many of the unconfirmed have been, and are still, admitted to communion; and after such admission the requirement of confirmation would be regarded by many as a hardship. In spite of this we can point to the law of the Church; whatever relaxation may be made in individual cases, however widespread may be the declension from the Prayer-book standard, we can still say that it is an anomaly and contrary to the law, and we can work for a better observance of the law. But take away those rubrics and we take away our legal standpoint; the present neglect becomes lawful and its remedy will prove impossible; the zeal of the clergy may cause an increase in the number of confirmations, but at the best the rite will remain a voluntary practice, estimable, but not essential,

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something for the elect, not a grace needed for the normal Christian life. The history of confirmation is a great warning of the peril of ever laying it down in Church law that a non-communicant may claim the membership of the Church.

Can then nothing be done to meet the practical difficulty, which, when all has been said, remains enormous? Is there no way of meeting it without the sacrifice of principle? We think that there is; and it is to be found in the definition of a 'communicant.' Hitherto that definition has turned upon the number of acts of communion. But this is really to apply number to matters of a different category. Spiritual relations cannot be measured by weight or counted by arithmetic. For, we may ask, how many acts of communion are necessary to establish membership of the Church? The Church of England says 'three times a year;' but, from the religious and spiritual standpoint, are three communions in the year sufficient for that growing life of union with our Lord which is the life of the true churchman? And if three times are not sufficient, how much less once a year—a measure which would be accepted by all as sufficient for the Church franchise? Here, then, is an obvious confusion between the internal and external aspects of membership, and for a test of membership in its external aspect we must seek another basis or ground of reckoning. This is, very obviously, to be found in *status*, a man's position or condition. We have to ask, not what the man does, but what he can do? what is his present standing in the eye of the law?

When a man has been baptized and confirmed, and has received his first communion, he has become a full member of the Church. To maintain that membership in its true meaning, *i.e.* to continue advancing in the Christian life, he should become a regular communicant. But if he fails to do this, it is his personal spiritual loss; just as the frequency of his communions, whether once a year or once a month or once a week, remains a matter of his private spiritual life, so abstinence from communion does not in itself affect his external status in the Church. To forfeit the status into which he entered at his first communion—in other words, to be made excommunicate—should require some definite action on the part of the Church. Excommunication *ipso facto* is very unsatisfactory, and the old canon law required that sentence of excommunication should become valid only after due monition and notice. So it should be now. It may be desirable to excommunicate the non-communicant, or it may

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not; but until a man has received definite notice that he is under Church censure he ought to be able to claim the privileges of his status. The status of a non-communicant is not the same as that of an excommunicate. 'Non-communicant' and 'excommunicate' are not identical terms. This is abundantly proved by the practice of the clergy. There are many of his non-communicant parishioners whom the parson exhorts and urges to come to communion; and if on some Sunday or festival one such should present himself at the altar rails, the priest would communicate him without hesitation or rather with joy. Such a person is evidently not an excommunicate; and if he is qualified to receive holy communion, the greatest privilege of the Church, surely he can exercise a vote as a parishioner?

This method of reckoning the franchise, viz. by status, has this further advantage that it avoids both the danger of making Holy Communion a test and the procedure which generally made Church discipline so obnoxious to the laity in times past, viz. the method of personal inquiry. Baptism and confirmation are single public acts which can easily be registered, and appeal can be made to the record without personal inquisition; but to count up the number of communions bears the appearance of making an inquiry into the individual's spiritual life and personal relation to God. Besides, the increased facilities for travelling in modern times, with the consequent incessant changing of residence among all classes, would make the reckoning of communions a difficult matter. It was this practical difficulty—so the present writer has been informed—which caused the Church in Jamaica to abandon the communicant franchise, which had been its original constitution.

This method, however, is open to one great objection. Practically it is equivalent to what would be popularly described as a confirmation test, which is open to all the objections against the communicant test without sharing its advantages. So at least Colonel R. Williams, M.P., expressed it in a debate in the Canterbury House of Laymen on July 2, 1901: 'While the communicant test was a good test, the confirmation test might be said to be neither fish, fowl, nor good red herring, having the sanction neither of law nor Holy Scripture.'[1] Here, again, the answer is that we have come

[1] *Guardian*, July 10, 1901. It is utterances like this from a member of a House of Laymen, and resolutions like that of the York House of Laymen quoted above, which form the greatest obstacles to the work of those who advocate giving to the laity a full share in the councils of the Church.

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to a matter of law and principle. For, *pace* Colonel Williams, confirmation has the sanction both of law and Holy Scripture. Quotations from the rubrics already given show that it is most definitely the present law of the Church of England.[1] And of all the Church's sacramental rites that of confirmation has almost the best Scriptural authority. From the doctrine of the Acts and Epistles it is most evident that it is the gift of the Spirit which makes the Christian, and this gift is unmistakably associated with the laying on of hands, which is mentioned as following upon baptism. Acts viii. 14–18 is a crucial passage, for there it is dogmatically stated that 'as yet [the Holy Ghost] was fallen upon none of [the Samaritans]: only they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. Then laid they [the Apostles] their hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.' And Simon perceived that 'through the laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost is given.'

Moreover there is a strong positive argument in favour of the 'confirmation test.' What is required is some definite sign or pledge of churchmanship, and nothing serves for that purpose so well as confirmation. The idea of the ratepaying qualification has not been discussed above, as being quite untenable in theory: that it is also quite impracticable in fact has been proved by the Diocesan Conferences of last autumn, for their resolutions have made it quite clear that churchmen will never accept such a franchise. The question of the lay franchise was brought forward in the majority of the Conferences, and gave rise to keen discussion, together with many amendments which had to be put to the vote. On the negative side the ratepaying franchise was definitely rejected by the Conferences of Oxford, St. Davids, Ripon (with 2 or 3

[1] In this the Church is again only following her ancient law. The rubric which forbids the admission to communion of persons who are not confirmed is derived from a constitution of Archbishop Peckham, A.D. 1281, while at the beginnings of the Church in England we read in Archbishop Theodore's Penitential, 'We believe that no one is made perfect in baptism without the confirmation of the bishop.' For the sake of Colonel Williams and others it may be as well to quote in full Canon 60. 'Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the Church of God, continued from the Apostles' times, that all bishops should lay their hands upon children baptized and instructed in the Catechism of Christ's religion, praying over them and blessing them, which we commonly call *Confirmation*; and that this holy action hath been accustomed in the Church in former ages to be performed in the bishop's visitation every third year: we will and appoint that every bishop or his suffragan, in his accustomed visitation, do in his own person carefully observe the said custom.'

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dissentients), York (1 dissentient), and Newcastle (1 dissentient). On the positive side the confirmation franchise was accepted by St. Albans (by 38 to 12) and Hereford. Amendments in its favour were carried at Exeter (by 47 to 39) and Liverpool, but were afterwards nullified by the passing of the previous question or substitution of a colourless resolution. Llandaff (by 59 to 40), Winchester ('almost unanimously'), and Rochester (by 109 to 22) carried the communicant franchise; at Southwell and Lincoln resolutions in favour of this franchise, which were strongly supported, were evaded by the previous question. The lowest qualification was that adopted at Manchester, viz. the ratepayer *plus* baptism and a declaration of Church membership; but amendments to the same effect were negatived at Peterborough, and at Truro (by 41 to 25), where no final decision was arrived at. It has not, however, been made sufficiently clear that a ratepaying qualification, however safeguarded and confined to members of the Church, is really a *disfranchising* measure; for it disfranchises all Church members who are poor, or other than householders. But in the Church all the communicants at least are equal; for in Christ 'there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female,' and, as we must add, 'rich nor poor.'

The voice of the Church then, as far as it can express itself in these Conferences, has clearly demanded some definite profession of churchmanship. For such, besides the act of communion, there are but three alternatives left: (1) *A Declaration of Membership* is obviously insufficient. Owing to the present confusion between Church and State in the popular mind, many persons who avowedly belong to other religious bodies claim to be members of the Church of England because it is 'the established Church.' This contention may be answered by an *argumentum ad hominem*. Some years ago many nonconformists refused to pay church rates, on the ground that they did not belong to the Church; it is surely inconsistent to plead now that because they pay secular rates they are members of the Church. If this inconsistency is not patent enough, it ought to be clear to all that a claim to membership carries with it a recognition of the duties of membership and of the obligation to loyalty. In fact, however, a distinction between citizens or parishioners who are members of the Church of England and those who are not has been clearly drawn both in recent legal decisions and in Acts of Parliament. Thus the New Parishes Act of 1843 provides that the churchwardens of the parishes constituted

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in accordance with it shall be 'members of the United Church of England and Ireland.' The Universities Test Act of 1871 relieved persons taking degrees or receiving offices &c. in the Universities from the necessity of making any religious subscription or declaration of faith, as a condition of holding such offices &c., but it provided that the Act was not 'to open any office to any person who is not a member of the Church of England where such office is at the passing of this Act confined to members of the said Church.' The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874 required the 'aggrieved parishioner' to sign a declaration of membership 'of the Church of England as by law established.' Similarly in the law courts: in the Ilminster School case of 1860 the House of Lords unanimously rejected the proposition, which had been advanced at the bar, 'that courts of justice cannot recognize any distinction between the members of the Church of England and Dissenters, and that all inhabitants of the parish are to be deemed members of the Church of England.' Since then the distinction has again been definitely recognized: *e.g.* in the Perry Almshouses case, 1895, both by Mr. Justice Stirling in his judgment and by the Lords Justices Lindley, Chitty, and Vaughan Williams on appeal.[1] Lastly, it has been pointed out in the *Guardian* of December 4, 1901, that the Act of 1868, which abolished compulsory rates, enacts that 'no person who makes default in paying the amount of a church rate for which he is rated shall be entitled to inquire into, or object to, or vote in respect of the expenditure of the moneys arising from such church rates.' This provision gives an emphatic endorsement to the principle that only churchmen should take part in the administration of church affairs.

(2) Many churchmen consider that *Holy Baptism* is a sufficient profession of churchmanship, inasmuch as it gives admission into the Church. Baptism is certainly a new birth; but whether it conveys the full endowment of membership apart from confirmation requires separate consideration. Into this question, however, we need not now enter; for our present custom of indiscriminate administration of holy baptism makes imperative the need of some further qualification on the part of the individual. Baptism alone might conceivably form a qualification for the franchise, but baptism administered to adults after solemn pledges on their part, or, in the case of infants, after solemn pledges made by sponsors who are held to their observance. But at the present time, in many

[1] See also Lord Selborne in his *Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment*, p. 195.

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parishes, holy baptism is administered indiscriminately to all who are brought; the presence of proper sponsors is not insisted upon, and sponsorship is treated as a mere form. If there happens to be no Church school in the parish, the child may—and often does—grow up in practical heathenism, or at least in ignorance of the faith of the Church. Thus administered, baptism is no more effective as a qualification for or evidence of Church membership than natural birth or simple citizenship of the country. What is required, from the Church point of view, is some personal act on the part of the individual himself when he has come to years of discretion, to serve as a sign of his acceptance of or claim to her membership. Such a sign is admirably supplied by (3) the rite of *Confirmation*, which is in fact the first demand made by the Church upon the individual after his baptism, and therefore is the first test of his loyalty to her.

It will be evident that we have passed over many matters in relation to the franchise which will have to be settled, *e.g.* the questions of age, sex, and residence; also questions about Church censure, outward loyalty to the Church, &c. Some of these questions are of great importance, especially that of sex, but, after all, they are matters of detail. In this article we have strictly limited ourselves to what is the most important question, viz. the question of principle, because this is fundamental. And we have come to the conclusion that we must maintain the principle that the member of the Church, or, speaking strictly, 'the parishioner' who enjoys the Church franchise, is a communicant. But in settling the franchise the appeal should be not to the number of communions made, but to the status of the individual; and his status is conferred by definite acts, viz. of baptism and confirmation. A man who has been baptized and confirmed, and has received the Holy Communion, unless he has been definitely placed under Church censure, or convicted himself of disloyalty by openly joining another religious body, ought to be able to claim the franchise. To acquiesce in a lower standard than this is impossible for a churchman.

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ART. III.—THE MEDIÆVAL FRANKISH MONARCHY.

1. *Histoire de la France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution.* Par ERNEST LAVISSE. Publiée avec la collaboration de MM. BAYET, BLOCH, CARRÉ, COVILLE, KLEINCLAUSZ, LANGLOIS, LEMONNIER, LUCHAIRE, MARIÉJOL, PETIT-DUTAILLIS, REBELLIAU, SAGNAC, VIDAL DE LA BLACHE. Tomes I, II, III. (Paris, 1900, 1901.)
2. *Histoire des Institutions Monarchiques de la France sous les Premiers Capétiens.* Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE. (Paris, 1883.)
3. *Les Communes Françaises sous les Capétiens Directs.* Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE. (Paris, 1890.)
4. *The Growth of the French Nation.* By GEORGE BURTON ADAMS. (London, 1896.)
5. *Philip Augustus.* By WILLIAM HOLDEN HUTTON. (London, 1896.)
6. *Saint Louis.* By FREDERIC PERRY. (London, 1901.)

THE publication of the earlier parts of the complete History of France which has been undertaken by M. Ernest Lavisse, with the assistance of some of the most able historical scholars of his country, suggests an investigation, on the lines of recent French work, into the causes of the growth of the monarchy which came to play so interesting a part in the history of mediæval Europe. Although the long story of a great mediæval institution can only be briefly summarized, yet the summary is worth making.

The Frankish monarchy is indeed a remarkable phenomenon in the history of mediæval Europe. It is the great institution which, looking back to a far distant past, with its roots in the dim days before Christ lived on earth, attracted to itself all that had life and strength in the peoples, of varying histories, traditions, origins, blood, that covered the lands between the Mediterranean, the Rhine, the Meuse, the Channel, and the Bay of Biscay. It made union out of lands and among tribes that only in it learnt their kinship. Starting from the half-geographical, half-moral, centre of indescribable power, the age-long city of Paris, acquiring, little by little, new developments on different sides, new strips of territory, new races and interests, and welding them together with a masterly precision of touch, shedding here and there

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superfluous additions, without the slightest loss of vitality to the central point of power, the French monarchy emerged after many generations of warfare and of growth as the strongest in Europe, as the central fact, indeed, in European life and thought.

First a word as to origins. The French monarchy—more strictly speaking the kingship of the Franks—was one of the many survivals of the great Roman empire. In the second century before Christ the Greek colony of Massilia, which is now Marseilles, asked the help of Rome against some of the Gaulish tribes that attacked her. The help was given. It led, like all help of the kind, to conquest and colonization. About 120 B.C. the Romans mapped out and organized a province—Provincia, which later came to be called Provence—northwards to Geneva and to Lyons, west from about the southward end of the Cevennes towards Toulouse, and thence south to the Pyrenees. It is the land which one may now pass through if one goes by train from Marseilles to Bayonne, a beautiful and varied country, with forests and stretches of sea-coast, with vast plains and rugged mountains, bright and sunny, sprinkled over with ruins of early days, mediæval castles now destroyed, churches altered, often lone Roman remains. It was this province which Cæsar ruled in 58 B.C., and whence he beat back the Germans to the Rhine. It was from this province that he carried his arms northwards till he had put all Gaul under the power of Rome. Two rebellions were crushed, and then Gaul settled down, and the most perfect conquest that the world has ever known began. For four centuries Gaul was under Roman rule, and it was completely Romanized. Roman roads, Roman law, Roman art, Roman civilization everywhere won the day. The race remained Celtic, but it was thoroughly Latin in its life. That then is the first characteristic on which we have to build—a thorough Romanization, in law, culture, sympathy.

The second comes from the force and power of Christianity. Among early Christian martyrs few are more renowned than those who died in Southern Gaul. Paganism lived on, concealed, in many country districts, but the life and power and thought of the peoples became by the time of Constantine, by the fourth century, entirely Christian. As the state organized so did the Church. Gaul had seventeen provincial governments: it came to have seventeen archbishops, and under them bishops for each great city. On the Roman empire and the Christian Church the foundations were laid; and they were laid firm.

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At the beginning of the fifth century a terrible storm swept over the land. It was the storm of Teutonic invasion. Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, Suevi poured over the country; the Huns followed them, only to be beaten back by a union of the other tribes. Then, after the battle of Châlons, A.D. 451, there gradually rose out of the Teutonic conquerors the conquering power of one tribe, that of the Franks.

By the first ten years of the sixth century Gaul was united again, under the rule of Chlodowech (Clovis), King of the Franks. Till well on in the Middle Ages it was that title which the rulers of Gaul always bore, 'Rex Francorum,' King of the Franks. France to-day still dates her existence as a nation from the baptism of Clovis. It was that, his admission into the Catholic Christianity of the Gauls over whom he ruled, which enlisted on the side of the Frankish rule all the culture and civilization which had never died out since the Roman days. Under the fostering care of the Church it had survived. Brotherhood, charity, compassion, unity, all the great ideas which the Church cherished, were to work in long ages the transformation of the Frankish kingship. And when Chlodowech became king under the blessing of the Church, which had survived all through these centuries since it was planted under the Romans, the fusion of races soon followed. The French nation as we now know it is not merely Celtic, or Gaulish, but Roman too, and lastly Frankish —that is, Teutonic.

From 481 to 751 one dynasty ruled the land—the dynasty of the Merwings, descendants of Chlodowech. We read in the pages of that great historian and great bishop Gregory of Tours the terrible tale of their crimes, their brutal luxury, their lust for blood, the unbridled licence of their passions. That was the record of the days of their decay. But for a century and a half they had among them strong rulers, great conquerors, men of iron as well as of blood. There was, however, at the best a great change from the times of Roman rule. For civilization, literary culture, law we find substituted in the pages of Gregory of Tours savagery, scenes of brutality, drunkenness, robbery. Law and civilization seem to sleep. It was in this state of the country, when every man's hand was against his neighbour, when law was unheard amid the strife, that feudalism arose, a natural development of the desire for self-preservation, which led to associations to supply the mutual protection which there was no strength behind the law to enforce. Here, then, we have a third element, a third factor in the process by which the mediæval

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Frankish monarchy was evolved. Feudalism, the idea of society in which every man is linked to every man by a tie of land and by a tie of personal service or personal lordship, stepped in to remedy the defects of a weakened government, neglected laws, personal isolation.

Feudalism, Roman administration and law, Christian faith and discipline, these three factors were at work throughout the dark ages from the fifth to the ninth century. And first and most obviously, the monarchy of the Merwings was a patent imitation of the Roman empire. The clergy had maintained the imperial tradition. It was they who taught the sovereigns to replace the emperors and to produce around them the illusion of a Roman rule.[1] They employed officers with the same titles, centred their administration in their household, claimed and exercised unlimited power. No power above them did they recognize, save only, when they would listen to their teachers, the power of the love—more often the fear—of God. The barbarian invasions that had swept over the land had destroyed the local as well as the central administration. At Arles survived the relics of the old Roman functionaries of the prefecture; but in the land of the Franks the whole system had to be reconstructed from the tradition of which the Church was the faithful guardian.

Thus the real aim of Chlodowech and his successors was, not to conquer the Roman empire, not to substitute a Teutonic power for a Roman one, but to take the place of the empire in Gaul, to succeed to its heritage, to re-establish its authority, under Frankish kings. Thus when the empire of the West had ceased to be, the Frankish kings sought titles and alliances from the emperors who still ruled at Constantinople. It is a significant characteristic, indeed, of the Merwing monarchy that it kept up close relations with the distant Roman empire in the East, and that the Frankish kings professed to be the loyal allies, as they were often the formally adopted sons, of the Roman emperors, and the consuls of the republic.

Early in the seventh century, from 628 to 638, there ruled in Gaul Dagobert, the greatest of the Merwing kings. His rule extended from the Pyrenees to the North Sea, from the ocean to the forests of Thuringia and Bohemia. He was 'ruler of all Gaul and the greater part of Germany, very influential in the affairs of Spain, victorious over Slaves and Bulgarians, and at home a great king, encouraging commerce and putting into better shape the law codes of his subjects.'

[1] Gasquet, *L'Empire Byzantin et la Monarchie Franque*, p. 97.

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That was the culmination of the Merwing power. The seventh century saw its decay, and a new step towards the mediæval monarchy of the Franks. Two causes effected the fall of the Merwings—their own vices and the growth of feudalism with the creation of great local lords. These threatened to break up the kingdom of Chlodowech into small States, to disintegrate and thus destroy the united nation of the Franks.

This was averted by the rise of a new and greater family, that of the Carlings. It was formed by the union of the two great houses whose possessions were in the Rhine valley. When its leaders had succeeded in making themselves practically hereditary prime ministers—mayors of the palace—to the Merwings they began to reunite the domains which had begun to split off from the centre. The great dominion of the Franks tended to divide into two—(1) the East Franks, in the land where Roman influence had almost entirely disappeared, and (2) the West Franks, where the Roman civilization and tradition lingered. The first was called Austrasia, the second Neustria. It was the task of the Carlings to reunite them. Pippin of Heristal did this, and he bore the title of leader of all the Franks—'Dux Francorum,' Duke of the Franks. Under Pippin and Charles Martel (the latter 714–741) the Carlings were the real rulers of all Gaul and the saviours of Europe and of Christianity from the Mohammedan Arabs.

Pippin the Short, 741–768, took two further steps. He reformed, with the aid of our own missionary, Winfrid (St. Boniface) and of the Popes, the Church system of his land; and he obtained full and final recognition as the King of the Franks in 751, deposing the Merwings, and becoming undisputed sovereign by his crowning 'both with German and with Christian rites, raised on the shield of the warrior after the old fashion, and consecrated with holy oil, as no Frankish king had been before him.' Within half a century the son of Pippin revived the dignity of Roman Emperor, and was crowned at Rome on Christmas Day 800. We need not dwell on the story of Charles the Great. It has been told and retold recently with abundance of detail.[1] The next date of importance in our subject is 843, the treaty of Verdun, when the great empire of Charles was split up and the modern kingdom of France was founded—geographically at

[1] See the last volumes of Dr. Hodgkins's *Italy and her Invaders*, *Charlemagne*, by the same writer, and *The Age of Charlemagne*, by Professor Wells of Minnesota.

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least. The history of the Carlings must be briefly summarized. The successors of the great kings had none of their ability; the invasions of the Northmen seriously crippled their power; the weakness of the central monarchy caused feudalism to expand and develop. Normandy split off; so did Aquitaine, Toulouse, Brittany, Flanders, Burgundy, Anjou, Auvergne, and many smaller States; and besides the local dynasties which ruled in these districts there arose the House which was to reunite the scattered districts—the House of Robert the Strong, Count of Paris and Duke of the Franks. Then

'by slow degrees the whole kingdom divided itself into larger or smaller feudal States. It did so because protection and security could be got in no other way; but the result was fatal to the Carling dynasty. They were trying to carry on the government on the old lines, not upon feudal principles, and they had no resources of their own with which they could meet and hope to overcome the powerful dukes and counts whom they had themselves created. First almost the whole south of Gaul, below the Loire, began to pay no attention whatever to the King of the Franks, though its lords still called him their sovereign. And then the last two or three Carlings fell almost as completely under the control of the Dukes of the Franks as the shadow Merwing kings had been under the control of their own ancestors. This was the rise of a new dynasty—the dynasty which still survives, and still claims the right to rule in France, the House of Hugh Capet, son of Robert the Strong.'[1]

The year 987 is thus a critical date, the beginning of the French monarchy as the Middle Ages knew it. But none the less at the moment it was not a new era that was inaugurated. The royal authority, decayed and enfeebled under the later Carlings, could not recover at once. The Church and the feudal barons were the real power in Gaul. Hugh Capet, chosen and crowned by an Archbishop of Rheims, was only a baron, invested with the title of king and with the royal prerogative, but incapable of exercising it effectively outside his own domain.[2]

Hugh Capet and his immediate successors ruled only the country round Paris and Orleans, the Ile de France, Brie, Beauce, Beauvaisis, Valois. The bishops of Beauvais, Noyon, Châlons, Laon, Langres, and the great Archbishop of Rheims were the King's supporters. His own baronial vassals he could hardly restrain. France was split into north and south, two languages, two races, two civilizations.

[1] Adams, *Growth of the French Nation*, adapted, pp. 52–3.
[2] M. Luchaire, in M. Lavisse's *Histoire de France*, ii. 5.

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Outside the immediate control of the Kings of the Franks were the great States, nominally vassal but practically independent, of Flanders, Normandy, Blois and Champagne, Anjou, Brittany, Burgundy; southwards Aquitaine, Gascony, Toulouse, Barcelona, all with separate dynasties, all ready to split off altogether from the Frankish centre, all in turn bitter foes of the kings. It is from the conflicts between these families and the strong House, growing stronger every year, of Hugh the king, that the dramatic interest of French history for three hundred years comes.

But, gaining here, losing there, it was only gradually that the Frankish royal House rose superior to these local dynasties. There is nothing in its position with regard to them that explains its final triumph; for that we must seek elsewhere.

First, the character of the monarchy itself, its principle, the central thought of it. This was not, as we have been often told, a feudal idea. Though the Capets possessed great fiefs their monarchy was not feudal. The election of a new dynasty was no feudal design of weakening the central power and establishing local independence. The Capets themselves were holders of great fiefs; they were able, as their predecessors had not been, to found a compact royal domain of their own. They succeeded precisely because they possessed what their predecessors had lacked. Thus in a sense the power of the new dynasty was due to feudalism; but it was not feudalism which made a change of dynasty necessary. The great nobles were far from being the friends of the new House. They were enmeshed in the system, but they rose above it.

'En effet, par la force des choses, la royauté capétienne se trouvait dès le début engagée dans le système féodal, mais cette situation, contradictoire en bien des points avec ses origines et ses tendances naturelles, était beaucoup mieux déterminée et plus réelle dans l'esprit des feudataires que dans les conceptions propres des rois . . . S'il [the King] cherchait à bénéficier, autant que possible, de sa situation féodale, il s'est toujours considéré, d'autre part, comme investi d'un pouvoir bien supérieur à celui de la suzeraineté, si haute et si générale qu'on la suppose.' [1]

The character of the monarchy was not feudal. It was imperial, absolute, like that of the Carlings. The monarchical idea had in fact been transmitted without break; and the accession of Hugh Capet marked only a dynastic, not a political or a social revolution. Nothing was founded anew. What

[1] Luchaire, *Institutions Monarchiques*, i. 51.

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the Carlings had claimed as kings, that exactly, in principle, the Capets received. Consecrated by the Church, the Capets considered themselves the legitimate successors of the two previous dynasties. The Frankish monarchy, then, remained in idea that enfeebled reproduction of the imperial power which had lingered on, or filtered down, through so many centuries of alternate decay and revival. It was absolute in principle. It claimed to be the source of all rights and dignities. What it knew of Roman law and the rights of the Imperial throne it endeavoured to carry out in the exercise of its sovereignty. One of the first French writers who considers the theory of monarchy, Abbo, abbat of Fleury, the chronicler of Hugh Capet, is careful to define the power as sovereign. 'The duty,' he says, 'of the king is to *govern* the whole kingdom.' Thus 'it needs a complete knowledge of the affairs of the whole realm, for the repression of all iniquity.'

Elective the monarchy still was, and it was a duty of the king to consult the magnates; but absolute, when crowned, the king became; and he could rule absolutely, if only he could get his barons to submit. The inherent meaning of monarchy, the traditional conception of the royal power, remained the chief strength of the Frankish kings.

Secondly, a constant accession of strength came from the growth of the hereditary principle. And this was combined with the custom, which Hugh Capet introduced, of crowning the heir during the lifetime of the reigning sovereign. The period between the deposition of Charles the Great and the accession of Hugh Capet had been, M. Luchaire has truly said, the period, *par excellence*, of election. The new dynasty came in with the determination to change this, to create a fixed rule of succession. Hugh had his son crowned in his lifetime as the 'consort of his realm.' The example was followed by his successors Robert II., Henry I., Philip I., Louis VI. Louis VII. went through many matrimonial distresses in the hope of procuring a son whom he could crown; and not long before his death he obtained his wish. It is curious that at first there was no custom of primogeniture: Robert II. doubted whether to crown, when his eldest son died, his son Henry or his son Robert. Partition, indeed, was the old Teutonic custom, and it still obtained in some of the greater fiefs of the crown. But while the doctrine of heredity was coming more and more prominently forward the form of election was still, for two centuries, gone through, in the presence of a number, often an attenuated number, of barons. 'The policy of the Capets ended by

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destroying the system of election, in favour of hereditary succession, by the very means of election itself. . . . A constantly repeated election, for the benefit of the same family, became merely a formal recognition of the right of the heir.' By the time of Philip Augustus the hereditary succession was firmly established. He was the first king who departed from the custom of crowning his heir.

A third reason has already been alluded to. It was the great possessions of the Capetian House and the fiefs of which they were the immediate lords. What exactly were the limits of the possessions of the House of Robert the Strong it seems impossible to discover. Here and there a charter shows them as lords in a land where we did not know that they had any direct associations. Not only round Paris, where there was no exact and compact land of the Duke of the Franks, but rather a number of manors more or less closely related to each other and to the overlord, but also all over the country between the Seine and the Loire, in the south, in Poitou, and in the northern provinces too, lay towns and lordships which enriched the king as their direct proprietor. The Frankish kings from the end of the tenth century were more than the equals, in their private possessions, of the greatest of their feudal vassals.

And their possessions led to the creation, and the use, of a valuable instrument for the enlargement of the royal power. As feudalism developed into an organization of society, as all offices became fiefs, the direct power of the crown gradually became restricted to the royal domain; and when the evolution of feudalism was complete the king, as the French writers epigrammatically put it, 'had no longer either functionaries or administration.' But this never actually happened. It was the logical result of feudalism; but then how rarely we reach logical results! The kings continued to have what was more than nominally a hierarchy of officials; besides this they made use of the bishops and the abbats. But gradually the Capets created a new local administration. The *prévôts*, appointed in every place where the king had a town, and held accountable for every branch of the royal revenue collected locally, spread over the country. At every town the local lord was met by the royal official; and in the inevitable conflict, step by step, the royal official won. First he won for his master. In justice, in finance, in local government of every kind the *prévôts* stood forward to explain, and decide, and suggest, and satisfy the difficulties out of which way could be made for the king to enter into a

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larger field of authority. Hundreds and hundreds of charters addressed to the *prévôts* remain of the period of the early Capets. M. Léopold Delisle has made a thick volume of a mere brief analysis of those of Philip Augustus. In every branch of political administration they interfered; and in every case the king gained. The royal power no longer spoke through great vassals. It came intimately close to the small barons, the traders, the merchants, even the tillers of the field.

Then came the inevitable conflict between the royal functionaries and the lords of the soil: and the result of it was satisfactory to the crown. But this was followed by a conflict between the sovereign authority and its own representatives—a conflict which lasted for 200 years, and from which the Crown only emerged victorious in the period of despotism which immediately preceeded the great Revolution. It is an interesting study, but one on which we may not now linger.

Four causes have been mentioned which helped to win for the Frankish monarchy its dominance over Gaul. A fifth has been dwelt upon by recent historians, and notably by M. Achille Luchaire, as more important than any of the others. It is the help and influence of the Church.

The election of Hugh Capet himself, the change of dynasty which substituted the House of Robert the Strong for the House of Charles the Great, was due to the Church, the guardian of national unity.

'Depuis quelques années Hugues avait noué des intelligences avec le prélat de Reims et avec son secrétaire, Gerbert. Ces deux intrigants lui promettaient l'appui du premier évêché de France et, au besoin, le concours de la puissance impériale. Ils voyaient clairement que la force et la faveur populaire s'éloignaient du Carolingien pour se tourner vers le duc à qui appartenait la réalité du pouvoir. L'Eglise les suivit volontiers.'[1]

Adalbero gave the support of the great see of Rheims, important politically, constitutionally, and geographically. But more important was the help of the great ecclesiastical statesman who as Sylvester II. was to become one of the greatest of mediæval popes.[2]

Coming into power by an ecclesiastical influence, opposed at every step by a feudalism of growing influence and

[1] Lavisse, *Histoire de France*, ii. 145.

[2] For the influence of Gerbert in this connection see Havet, Introduction to his edition of the *Letters of Gerbert* (1889), and Lot, *Les Derniers Carolingiens.*

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extension, the Frankish monarchy was thrown from the first on the support of the Church. The Church supplied the great ministers of the Crown. The king's clerks were ecclesiastics: the government for 200 years was almost entirely in their hands. Through the mists of the Middle Ages there shines forth the grand figure of Suger, abbat of St. Denys, the great regent, the organizer of victory, the saviour of the monarchy during dangerous days. The position of this truly great man, priest, statesman, diplomatist, historian, is only an illustration —though it is the most striking one—of the power of the heads of the great ecclesiastical foundations in Frankish politics. The rise of feudalism had knit the churches more closely to the king, and taught them to seek in him the one stable authority which should be strengthened to stand against the baronage. The baronage was to the Church as a class of robbers and oppressors. Law and protection could only emanate from the Crown. The Crown must be strengthened to make the law and the protection effective. On this view throughout all the early Middle Ages the French Church consistently acted. The local churches, monasteries and the like constantly declared that they owned no other lord save the king; and by the lavish support they gave him they acted up to their profession. The royal power of *régale*, vague, undefined, but extremely important during the vacancy of a see, tended continually to increase the king's authority in the provinces of Rheims, Tours, Sens, Bourges, and Lyons. France, too, was free from the disturbance which in other countries made havoc of friendliness between Church and king. The contest concerning investitures never spread to Gaul. The oath of fealty was always received by the kings from the bishops after consecration; and no controversy was created by Papal or ecclesiastical sensitiveness. The kings managed to keep a hold upon the election to bishoprics and great abbeys. Here the Papacy did its best to oppose, but with very little success. Protests against simony were too generally unheeded. The Crown, too, generally tried to keep the Church unreformed; to keep the bishops subservient through care for their temporal interests. It must be remembered also that during the early Middle Ages the feudal principles had gradually encroached upon the ecclesiastical even in its own home: abbeys had been laicized, feudalized; the king himself from patron, protector, advocate of certain abbeys, became actually their lay abbat. He was abbat of St. Martin at Tours, of St. Germain des Prés, of St. Germain d'Auxerre,

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of Morienval, and of other abbeys. The monastic reform, it is true, compelled the retirement of laymen from the actual government of the abbeys; but the kings none the less retained a strong influence within their walls. But if the power of the kings over monasteries was not slight, much more powerful was it over the churches at large. And the support of the Church was loyal and whole-hearted. M. Luchaire has shown that the Church aided the Crown in three ways—(1) politically: bishops and abbats were often the king's ministers, and they always formed the majority of his counsellors; (2) financially: the Church bore by far the largest part of the taxation; (3) in military service: the contingents furnished by the ecclesiastical estate were always the largest part of the royal forces. Chronicler after chronicler records how the abbeys sent their tenants to the wars, to repay the protection which the kings had bestowed on them.

A sixth cause may be found in the growth of the communes, and in the relation of the Crown to them. New towns sprang up all over Gaul in the tenth and eleventh and twelfth centuries; they were founded with special privileges, first by the abbeys, secondly by the kings. Serfs rose to be *bourgeois*, and *bourgeois* soon sought political privilege and civil liberty. As in England so in France every variety of urban constitution, every variety of position as to administration, jurisdiction, taxation, military service, is found among the urban constitutions. Paris, like London, was unique in its privileges. It was also unique in the power possessed by the great corporations of the Marchands de l'Eau, Bouchers, Changeurs, Regrattiers, Cordonniers. Of these the first has a history almost unparalleled in Europe.

In Paris the ancient company of the Nautæ Parisienses, changing its name to Mercatores Aquæ (Marchands de l'Eau), was the recipient of the numerous charters and privileges of the Capetian kings which were the foundation of the municipality. The first document which recognizes the privileges of the Marchands de l'Eau is a grant of Louis le Gros in 1121. They obtained under this king and under Louis VII. the entire control of the Seine, and formed a corporation which exacted large sums from merchants of other places for sending goods by water. Hugh Capet had been Count of Paris. When his heirs became kings they were represented by *prevôts*, appointed, it would seem, down to the thirteenth century, for no consideration but that of their fitness for the office. The city remained under royal control, like a town in demesne, without corporate privileges; but the Marchands de l'Eau were

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recognized as a corporate body with whom the king could enter into personal relations. No permanent municipality appears till the reign of St. Louis, who, at the time of the appointment of Etienne Boileau, seems to have recognized a corporation of the city. This corporation, however, was at once the guild of the merchants and the municipality, and the head was both *prévôt du roi* and *prévôt des marchands*.[1]

It was long before the kings allowed encroachments on the special privileges they had conferred, or perceived that they might themselves gain by a greater freedom of trade. Only gradually was there division between the king and his chief city; only gradually did Paris become the hereditary enemy of the Crown. At present, at the time of which we speak, the principle of association worked, on the whole, in favour of the royal authority.

For the royal support of the communes three reasons have been assigned—military, pecuniary, and political; the aid of the burgher forces, the dues from the burgher purses, and the alliance of the burgher corporations against the great prelates and the great barons. In each of these ways (though their military importance has been exaggerated) the communes were of real and active assistance to the Crown.

A further reason for the triumph of the monarchy may be found in the influence of literature. This, we are aware, may easily be exaggerated. But the trend of thought is evidenced by the Realistic Philosophy, by the study of Roman Law, and by the popular romance writers. The Realistic Philosophy demanded a concrete embodiment of the idea of Monarchy, of absolute power. The students of Roman Law attributed to the kings all the powers of the Roman emperors. Almost as important was the growth of semi-historical romance.

'It was the delight of the literary men who formed part of the court of Philip the Conqueror to compare him with Charles the Great. No analogies were too fanciful, no legends too precarious, to be used in the process which surrounded the thirteenth-century Augustus with the romantic environment of the reviver of the Empire.'[2]

The lost *Karolid* was an elaborate comparison of Charles to Philip; the *Philippid* too, the other work of William the Breton, is full of allusions to the romantic connexion of the Monarchy with the past history of Gaul and Rome.

[1] This represents practically the conclusion of M. Robiquet, *Histoire Municipale de Paris*, chap. i. See also Perry's *Saint Louis*.
[2] Hutton's *Philip Augustus*, p. 138.

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One final cause may be briefly touched upon. It is the personal influence of the monarchs. Louis VI. and Louis VII. in different ways advanced the monarchy. Philip the Conqueror, by intrigue, by conquest, by the crowning glory of Bouvines, by his astute use of the Albigensian crusade, changed the whole face of Gaul, and left the King of the Franks indisputable sovereign of by far the greater part of the land.

There could hardly be a greater contrast to Philip Augustus than his saintly grandson. With him came the moral force which the earlier sovereign so conspicuously lacked. Living in a period of moral awakening, he was himself the most conspicuous example of life lived simply in accord with the Christian ideal. With St. Francis there came again into the world the simplicity of Christian love and Christian sacrifice. 'Preach peace to all,' he said, and he lived to do it. St. Dominic, whom we more readily forget, was a true brother worker. The Church awoke to the beauty of her work, the holiness of her life, the tremendous necessity of the call laid upon her. And she found in the court of the Frankish monarchy a perfect example of answer to the call.

St. Louis comes to us first as a crusader, as one who gave his life to win back 'the land of Christ' from the infidel. Perfectly fearless, chivalrous, and unselfish, he offered himself without second thought to the work. From August 1248 to September 1254 he was in Egypt and in Palestine, fighting, defeated, captured, released, hardly winning a single ostensible advantage, but at least keeping back for many years the tide of Moslem success, and conspicuously showing the virtues of a Christian hero and a noble knight. Again, twenty-two years later, he gave himself to the cause. Diverted to Tunis, his expedition began that conquest of Northern Africa which in our own day has given Algeria to France. And he gave his life for the cause of Christ. Misled, deluded he may have been; but of his absolute sincerity there can be no shadow of doubt. This sincerity appears, too, in his dealings with England. At every point, in the issue of many years of war, he was victorious. He preferred to make a friend of his vanquished foe. Joinville tells the tale, in his inimitable way, of how the saintly king tried to heal the age-long breach with England. This action, and his life-long devotion to the Crusade, are illustrations of his work.

But they are equally illustrations of his character. The work of St. Louis for the French monarchy was the influence

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of his pure and devoted life. No one who has studied it can fail to speak of it with enthusiasm. Even Gibbon silences his moral scepticism, and uses, after a passing sneer, the noblest words that he applies to any man.

'Twenty-eight years after his death he was canonized at Rome, and sixty-five miracles were readily found and attested to justify the claims of the royal saint. The voice of history renders a more honourable testimony—that he united the virtues of a king, a hero, and a man; that his martial spirit was tempered by the love of private and public justice; and that Louis was the father of his people, the friend of his neighbours, and the terror of the infidels.'

Character, in the Middle Ages, was an enormous force; and it was, in the long run, character which made the Frankish monarchy what it became. The journalist who invented the last words of the Abbé Edgeworth to Louis XVI. on the scaffold had an instinct of genius. It was the character of St. Louis, more than anything else, which rooted the monarchy in the affections of the French people for five hundred years.

'ART. IV.—JOHN WESLEY'S JOURNAL.

The Works of the Rev. John Wesley. Vols. I.–VI. Comprising 'An Extract from the Rev. John Wesley's Journal.' (London, 1809–10.)

FOR ten readers of Pepys and three readers of Evelyn there is probably but one reader of Wesley. Most intelligent men, not professed Methodists, do not so much as know that he published a Journal. Not long ago a paper was read on some points of Wesley's opinions to a society mainly composed of English clergymen, who with one voice demanded how the reader had obtained his matter. Even professed Methodists have often very scanty knowledge of their founder's works. The easiest way of accounting for the neglect of the general public is the supposition that a hazy notion got about that Wesley's Journal could only be of interest to those who, in the old Methodist phraseology, 'are of the household of faith, or are groaning so to be.' It was classed, first of all, as a 'good' book, and then as a 'good' book of a sectarian tendency, and thus the general reader passed it by. The writer would probably not have been acquainted with it had he not inherited a set of Wesley's works from a 'good old

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Methodist ancestry,' that is to say, from a great-grandfather. Many hours of childhood, especially in the long and sleepy Sunday afternoons, when *Robinson Crusoe* was forbidden and the *Pilgrim's Progress* had grown stale, have the battered old volumes beguiled, holding the little reader captive by the mingled charm of adventure and religious mystery, heightened by a vivid sense of the supernatural, and not untouched by the apprehension of eternal woe.

To the reader of mature age the book is one of interest and even fascination. It is the record of the unwearied activity and beneficence of the busiest man that modern times have seen. It not only displays his peculiar presentation of Christian truth with great force and attractiveness, but it states the judgment of a vigorous mind on many of the great questions of his day; it betrays a sufficient measure of those little foibles without which the best of men is admired rather than loved; and it delineates, here and there in curious detail, the manner of life of a period which the well-loved figure of Samuel Johnson has endeared to us. It is almost as necessary as Boswell to the right understanding of the graver side of eighteenth century social life—indeed, it supplies many aspects lacking to that work. Without it the student will entirely fail to comprehend the features of early Methodism, and will run the risk of mistaking the caricature of *Humphrey Clinker* for a resemblance of the truth; while if he wishes to supplement the witness of Boswell to the serious concerns of the time, he may be misled by the pompous and inflated periods of the professional moralists, whose inflation is not of style only, but of thought as well. In an age which fully needed the injunction to clear the mind of cant, no man less needed it than did John Wesley. For the great merit of all Wesley's writing is its naturalness—the naturalness of a perfectly sincere mind, of one, who, 'so far as he knew himself, strove only to please God,' and to appear to everyone exactly as he was.

Yet the naturalness of Wesley differs from the naturalness of Pepys, entirely apart from the difference in the two men. In reading Pepys we are in the delightful position of looking over the diarist's shoulder as he jots down his private memoranda of the transactions of the day, but Wesley transcribed his Journal for publication. It was published by him in instalments of varying length, but containing on an average a space of about two and a half years: of these parts twenty were put out by Wesley himself, the first without date, but probably in 1739, and the twentieth in 1789. The twenty-

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first and last part of his Journal was published after his death. The reasons which led him to make his Journal public are set forth in the preface to the first part. (There are prefaces to the first four parts and to the twelfth only.) It was about the year 1724, he there says, that he began to keep an exact account of how he spent his time, and when he left England for Georgia, the variety of the scenes he then passed through induced him to transcribe the more material parts of his diary, with the addition of suitable reflections. Of the Journal thus made he now publishes a short extract. There are thus evidently three stages in the composition of his published Journal, at least in the earlier years. 1. The rough diary, posted up in shorthand from day to day. 2. A private journal, written from the former, apparently at various intervals, with comments and reflections. 3. An extract of such passages in the private journal as Wesley thought it advisable to publish. From the fact that he speaks of a 'short extract,' it is to be inferred that the manuscript journal is much more copious than the printed one. As the original documents still exist, and are now in the hands of the Methodist authorities, we trust they will consider the seemliness of enlarging the portions printed in the reissue which is in preparation. It would be an outrage to reveal the nakedness of a gentleman's privacy; we want no scandal, no stories of his wife dragging him across the room by the hair; but anything which throws additional light on Wesley's character and opinions, on his intercourse with contemporaries, or on the manners of the time, would be highly acceptable.

It is plain that Wesley's purpose in publishing extracts from his Journal was mainly didactic. It was one way of preaching the Gospel, and of satisfying objectors to his view of Gospel truth. This is frankly avowed in the lengthy preface to the third instalment of the Journal published in 1742. The two quotations following are sufficient. 'What I design in the following Extract is, openly to declare to all mankind what it is that the Methodists (so called) have done, and are doing now. Or rather, what it is that God hath done, and is still doing in our land.' Again, after mentioning objections and misrepresentations based on extraordinary manifestations accompanying his preaching, 'A bare recital of those facts which were not done in a corner is the best answer to this sort of objections. To those which have been judged to be of more weight, I have occasionally given a more particular answer.'

The earlier numbers in their original intention are thus

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largely of the nature of an Apologia; they are Wesley's justification of his teaching and practice. As Methodism established itself and as the violence of opposition died down, the later numbers gradually lose this apologetic character, until in the final years almost the only polemical features are those directed against the unruly among his own people. But it is this very fact which gives to the Journal its supreme interest, for it enables us to trace the progress of Wesley's thought in great fulness and detail, insomuch that the reader who sits down to study Wesley's Journal has before him a complete conspectus of early Methodism. Early Methodism is neither more nor less than the mind of Wesley projected into other people. Not that he claimed originality for either his doctrine or his discipline; he disclaimed any such thing with vehemence. He considered himself to be reviving the plain, original principles of Christianity, as first laid down in the Apostolic age, and as restated at the time of the Reformation, but thereafter buried under many years of neglect. For his doctrinal positions he constantly appealed to the Prayer Book, Articles, and Homilies of the Church of England; and for those points of discipline in which he varied from the modern Anglican practice, he sought his authority in the customs of the Primitive Church.

The printed Journal opens with Mr. Wesley's embarkation for the colony of Georgia, whither he was going as an agent of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and under the wing of General Oglethorpe, to minister to the Indian natives. His way of life while there is very fully pictured, together with the reasons which led him to return to England in little more than two years. Then follow his close connection with the Moravian settlement in London, the spiritual crisis usually known as his conversion, his first open-air preaching, his disagreement with and separation from the Moravians, and the establishment of the first strictly Methodist societies. From that time (1740) onward the Journal is a continued record of Mr. Wesley's unintermitted labours and of the fortunes of his new societies. The last entry published (whether the last made or not is unknown to us) is dated October 20, 1790, little more than four months before his death. The only gap of any length in the continuous story is from October 28, 1754, where the ninth number ends, to April 1, 1755. Between these dates there is only one entry, and before this, during the latter part of 1753 and through 1754, the entries are scanty. During this period Wesley was suffering from serious illness, being thought to

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be in a consumption. For ten months he never preached abroad, and but seldom in church or room. The entry of October 28, 1754, is the copy of a letter to an unnamed baronet, in which Wesley speaks of himself equally with the man he is addressing, as on the borders of the grave. It was during this long illness that he composed the well-known epitaph describing himself as a 'brand plucked from the burning,' and declaring that after his debts were paid he did not leave 10*l.* behind him, which was true almost to the letter when he actually died nearly forty years later.

Some notion of the distances covered and the amount of work done during the fifty years of missionary travels which the Journal records may be gathered from two extracts. On May 14, 1765, he remarks in a letter to a friend, 'I preach about eight hundred sermons in a year'; and on June 28, 1774, his seventy-second birthday, he attributes his health and strength to these causes:

'The grand cause is the good pleasure of God, Who doth whatsoever pleaseth Him. The chief means are: (1) My constantly rising at four, for about fifty years; (2) My generally preaching at five in the morning, one of the most healthy exercises in the world; (3) My never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles in a year.'

When we realize that this enormous mileage was traversed in his younger days on horseback, in his old age in a chaise, and that through all weathers, and over the vilest roads, we perceive something of the spirit which animated the man. In his old age he complains of the dreadful state of the north-east Lancashire roads, particularly about the neighbourhood of Haslingden, as being sufficient to lame any horse and shake any carriage in pieces, and he adds the *nota bene*, 'I will never attempt to travel these roads again till they are effectually mended.' Many of them never have been mended, but remain to-day the same as, or worse than, they were when Wesley wrote; new and excellent highways having been made with easier gradients and keeping more to the valleys, and the old roads, which climb a hill wherever they find one, having been long disused. These neglected ways, which abound in north-east Lancashire and the adjacent parts of the West Riding, are a fair sample of many of the roads of England before the coaching era. A very interesting account of a winter journey, on good roads, as roads then were, is found on February 16, 1747, and two following days. On that day Wesley set out from London for the north; the

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passages which bear upon the weather and the travelling are here given:

'I was wondering the day before at the mildness of the weather, such as seldom attends me in my journies. But my wonder now ceased: the wind was turned full north, and blew so exceedingly hard and keen, that when we came to Hatfield, neither my companions nor I had much use of our hands or feet. After resting an hour, we bore up again, through the wind and snow, which drove full in our faces. But this was only a squall. In Baldock Field the storm began in earnest. The large hail drove so vehemently in our faces that we could not see, nor hardly breathe. However, before two o'clock we reached Baldock, where one met and conducted us safe to Potten.

'Tuesday, 17, we set out as soon as it was well light. But it was really hard work to get forward. For the frost would not well bear or break. And the untracked snow covering all the roads, we had much ado to keep our horses on their feet. Meantime the wind rose higher and higher, till it was ready to overturn both man and beast. However, after a short bait at Bugden we pushed on, and were met in the middle of an open field with so violent a storm of rain and hail as we had not had before. It drove through our coats, great and small, boots, and everything, and yet froze as it fell, even upon our eyebrows, so that we had scarce strength or motion left, when we came into our inn at Stilton.

'We now gave up our hopes of reaching Grantham, the snow falling faster and faster. However, we took the advantage of a fair blast to set out, and made the best of our way to Stamford Heath. But here a new difficulty arose, from the snow lying in large drifts. Sometimes horse and man were well nigh swallowed up. Yet in less than an hour we were brought safe to Stamford. Being willing to get as far as we could, we made but a short stop here; and about sunset came, cold and weary, yet well, to a little town called Brig-casterton.

'Wednesday, 18, our servant came up and said, "Sir, there is no travelling to-day. Such a quantity of snow has fallen in the night that the roads are quite filled up." I told him, "At least we can walk twenty miles a day, with our horses in our hands." So in the name of God we set out. The north-east wind was piercing as a sword, and had driven the snow into such uneven heaps, that the main road was not passable. However, we kept on, a-foot or on horseback, till we came to the White Lion at Grantham. Some from Grimsby had appointed to meet us here, but not hearing anything of them (for they were at another house by mistake), after an hour's rest we set out straight for Epworth. On the road we overtook a clergyman and his servant; but the toothache quite shut my mouth. We reached Newark about five.

'Thursday, 19, the frost was not so sharp; so that we had little difficulty till we came to Haxey-Car. But here the ice which covered the dykes, and great part of the common, would not bear, nor readily

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break. Nor did we know, there being no track of man or beast, what part of the dykes were fordable. However, we committed ourselves to God, and went on. We hit all our fords exactly, and, without any fall or considerable hindrance, came to Epworth in two hours, full as well as when we left London.'

The spiritual aspect of Wesley's work is not touched on in this article, though, as has been said, it is this which gives to the Journal its supreme interest : but the book is such that its main feature may be neglected, and yet many others deeply attractive may remain.

For one thing, the Journal is a perfect mine of stories of the supernatural, none of them, perhaps, of the highest rank of authenticity, but making up by their number and variety for what they lack in that respect. Miraculous answers to prayer, providential escapes from imminent peril, faith-healing, death-warnings, instances as of demoniac possession, witchcraft, visions of the world unseen, interviews with damned spirits, jostle one another in these pages. By far the fullest case narrated is that of Elizabeth Hobson of Sunderland, which occupies many printed pages, and is much too long to quote as a whole. This woman professed to have had from childhood visions of those who died, either as they were departing, or a little before. Some of her experiences she related to Mr. Wesley, whose full belief is indicated by the artless notes he has appended to her story. Elizabeth in her childhood lived with an uncle who was evidently a man signally conversant with the spiritual world. One of his maxims she repeated to Wesley, by whom it was received with grave respect, 'Evil spirits seldom appear but between eleven at night and two in the morning. But after they have appeared to a person a year, they frequently come in the daytime. Whenever spirits, good or bad, come in the day, they come at sunrise, at noon, or at sunset.' Wesley's note on this is, 'How strange is this! But how little do we know concerning the laws of the invisible world.' This same uncle, after his death, which happened when she was about sixteen, took to visiting her in answer to her prayers, appearing about eleven o'clock in an evening, and staying until cockcrow. He never spoke to her, nor she to him, but, she being ill at the time, whenever she wanted to drink, he anticipated her wishes. His daily departure was attended with delightful music by invisible choirs. These visitations lasted all the while she was ill (the doubting will add—and delirious), and ceased at her recovery. The last time he came, however, he was not in his usual dress, but clothed in white from

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head to foot; and about 1 A.M. was joined by another person clothed in white, taller than he, and exceedingly beautiful. Additional music was performed on this occasion.

Later in life (she was about twenty-four when Wesley had his conversation with her) she saw the apparition of her sweetheart the evening before he died, and a few days afterwards that of a neighbour, also a seafaring man. The latter began to visit her by day (at the three set times) as well as by night, and continued his visits for ten weeks. At last she spoke to him, and learnt that his purpose was to remind her of her promise, which apparently she was neglecting, to look after his fatherless children.

Later still she had a death-warning of one brother, and then of another; the former of whom was lost at sea, and the latter died in Jamaica. By these deaths she became entitled to a house, left to the family by a grandfather, who promptly took to haunting her himself. He had been an exceedingly wicked man, and the narrative presumes that he was allowed up by special permission from Tartarus to help her to get the property from her aunts, who were holding possession of it. The story is circumstantial, and interspersed with moving expressions of piety, but one wonders that it never struck Wesley that a petty family squabble about a little bit of property was hardly an occasion worthy of supernatural interference on so large a scale. Wesley's notes are very curious. On her relating the appearance of the brother who died in Jamaica, he gravely remarks, 'So, a spirit finds no difficulty in travelling three or four thousand miles in a moment.' The grandfather had an uncomfortable habit of pulling the bedclothes off her when he appeared; on his beginning to do this one night, 'I tried to take his hand, but could not,' said Elizabeth; 'on which he shrunk back again and smiled.' Wesley's note is almost comical: 'Poor ghost! did this divert thee for a moment from attending to the worm that never dieth?'

It would be impossible to multiply examples in the space of a short article, and indeed these ghost stories are the parts of the Journal most probably read by those who only casually dip into it; but one more case may be extracted, together with Wesley's comment on it. This is a specimen of clairvoyance, under date July 24, 1761:

'Jonas Rushford, about fourteen years old, gave me the following relation: "About this time last year I was desired by two of our neighbours to go with them to Mr. Crowther's, at Skipton, who would not speak to *them*, about a man that had been missing twenty

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weeks, but bid them bring a boy twelve or thirteen years old. When we came in, he stood reading a book. He put me into a bed, with a looking-glass in my hand, and covered me all over. Then he asked me, whom I had a mind to see; and I said "my mother." I presently saw her with a lock of wool in her hand, standing just in the place, and the clothes she was in, as she told me afterwards. Then he bid me look again, for the man that was missing, who was one of our neighbours, and I looked and saw him riding towards Idle; but he was very drunk, and he stopped at the alehouse, and drank two pints more; and he pulled out a guinea to change. Two men stood by, a big man and a little man; and they went on before him, and got two hedge-stakes. And when he came up on Windhill Common, at the top of the hill, they pulled him off his horse and killed him, and threw him into a coal-pit. And I saw it all as plainly as if I were close to them; and if I saw the men, I should know them again. We went back to Bradford that night, and the next day I went with our neighbours, and showed them the spot where he was killed, and the pit into which he was thrown. And a man went down, and brought him up; and it was as I had told them: his handkerchief was tied about his mouth, and fastened behind his neck."

'Is it improbable only, or flatly impossible, when all the circumstances are considered, that this should all be pure fiction? They can believe this, may believe a man's getting into a bottle.'

The last sentence might be ambiguous in another than Wesley; in Wesley it means, 'those who can believe this account to be a pure fiction are capable of believing anything.'

It is often said that Wesley was exceedingly credulous, and the Journal gives great colour to the assertion. Elizabeth Hobson took the old man in as easily as a little child. Yet it must not be forgotten that it was a credulous age in respect of the supernatural, and that the huge intellect of Johnson was no less prone to easy acceptance of such stories than was that of Wesley. And the strange fact is that in matters outside of religious and cognate beliefs, Wesley was one of the most sceptical and incredulous of mankind. Three instances will amply illustrate the native bent of his mind. The first relates to his slowness to receive the conclusions of modern science. On January 1, 1765, he writes:

'This week I wrote an answer to a warm letter, published in the *London Magazine*, the author whereof is much displeased that I presume to doubt of the modern astronomy. I cannot help it. Nay, the more I consider, the more my doubts increase. So that, at present, I doubt whether any man on earth knows either the distance or magnitude, I will not say of a fixed star, but of Saturn, or Jupiter: yea, of the sun or moon.'

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Take, again, this passage on the early history of Ireland, in which he couples the purely mythical with the historical in one general disbelief:

'I read Dr. Leland's *History of Ireland*; a fine writer, but unreasonably partial. I can easily believe that the Irish were originally Tartars or Scythians, though calling at Spain in their way: but not that they were a jot less barbarous than their descendants in Scotland, or that ever they were a civilized nation till they were civilized by the English; much less that Ireland was in the seventh or eighth century the grand seat of learning; that it had many famous colleges; in one of which only, Armagh, there were seven thousand students. All this, with St. Patrick's converting thirty thousand at one sermon, I rank with the History of Bel and the Dragon' (July 5, 1773).

A third extract (a few words omitted) will show how carefully he examined into the narratives of travellers in unexplored countries:

'Meeting with a celebrated book, a volume of *Captain Cook's Voyages*, I sat down to read it with great expectation; but how was I disappointed. I observed, 1, Things absolutely incredible: "A nation without any curiosity: and, what is stranger still, without any sense of shame . . . men whose skin, cheeks, and lips are white as milk." Hume or Voltaire might believe this; but I cannot. I observed, 2, Things absolutely impossible. To instance one, for a specimen. A native of Otaheite is said to understand the language of an island eleven hundred miles distant from it in latitude, besides I know not how many hundreds in longitude; so that I cannot but rank this narrative with that of Robinson Crusoe, and account Tupia to be, in several respects, akin to his man Friday' (December 17, 1773).

The fact is, that Wesley's credulity is perfectly natural and explicable. The Gospel which he preached was entirely a Gospel of the supernatural, not of supernatural origin and sanction merely, but supernatural in its present power: supernatural in exactly the same sense of the word in which an apparition of a deceased person is supernatural. Those who received the Gospel were supernaturally born again, and had miraculously granted to them a sensible assurance of their acceptance with God; they were supernaturally renewed in love, so that they who received this blessing knew themselves, by a Divinely given perception akin to a new sense, to be free from indwelling sin. The Methodist convert *felt* the virtue of Christ pour into his soul as the paralytic or leper of the Gospels felt that virtue renew his body. When Wesley was satisfied that any man had truly experienced these powers of the world to come, he was ready to believe whatever that

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man told him, however wild and extravagant, provided that it in any way concerned spiritual life and experience, and did not contradict the general tenor of Scripture. Other men's pretensions he scrutinized with cool reason. Again, as *homo unius libri* he accepted that book with entirely uncritical mind, as did his believing contemporaries; but he differed from them in being ready to credit modern instances of marvels which both acknowledged as happening in Bible times. We are not astonished, therefore, to find him disposed to allow some credibility to modern ecclesiastical miracles, despite his dread of Popery. But any wonder not agreeable to Scriptural type found him a suspicious critic. Undoubtedly, also, the extraordinary circumstances which attended his preaching in the early days, and which he attributed partly to natural causes, partly to the work of God, and partly to Satanic agency, contributed largely to shape his peculiar attitude to the marvellous.

Most of Wesley's reading was done on his journeys; he rode his horse book in hand, and the amount of close reading he got through in this way is astounding. The man never had an idle moment from five in the morning till ten at night. A perusal of his criticisms on the books he read bears out what has been said as to the natural bent of his mind. He was somewhat a severe critic, with a keen eye for fallacies and a contempt for fripperies of style, but he shared broadly the general taste of his time. He was astonished to find Home's *Douglas* one of the finest tragedies he ever read; he praises Thomson's *Edward and Eleanora* in characteristic eighteenth century terminology—'the sentiments are just and noble, the diction strong, smooth, and elegant;' and he always had a weakness for Prior. (Johnson: 'Prior, sir Prior is a lady's book;' one wonders whether Wesley justified this sentiment.) As an excellent example of his severer manner, take his remarks on the *Sentimental Journey*, in purely literary form one of the most charming books ever written:

'Sentimental! What is that? It is not English: he might as well say continental.[1] It is not sense; it conveys no determinate idea; yet one fool makes many. And this nonsensical word (who would believe it?) is become a fashionable one! However, the book agrees full well with the title; for one is as queer as the other. For oddity, uncouthness, and unlikeness to all the world beside, I suppose the writer is without a rival.'

[1] We say both now. Curiously, in Walker's *Dictionary* of 1822, thirty years after Wesley's death, 'continental' is included, but not 'sentimental.'

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Nothing is said here of any questionable moral tendency in the *Journey*, probably because Wesley seems to have read one volume only as a sample, possibly because the point did not strike him. In Brooke's *Fool of Quality*, which Wesley abridged and republished, there are situations in the revised form quite as risky as the incident of the *fille de chambre*, though it is true that Brooke narrates them with a frown, and Sterne with a leer. The *History of Henry, Earl of Moreland*, which is Wesley's new name for Brooke's novel, is moral, but far from squeamish; and there could probably be no better evidence for the great change of public taste between the middle of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. Since that time we have changed again.

When Wesley, however, was satisfied that the moral tone of a book was bad, no literary excellence would induce him to moderate his castigation.

'I borrowed here [Oxford in 1775] a volume of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, which I had heard very highly commended. And what did I learn? That he was a man of much wit, middling sense, and some learning; but as absolutely devoid of virtue as any Jew, Turk, or heathen that ever lived. I say, not only void of all religion (for I doubt whether he believed there is a God; though he tags most of his letters with the name, for better sound sake), but even of virtue, of justice, and mercy, which he never once recommended to his son. And truth he sets at open defiance; he continually guards him against it; half his letters inculcate deep dissimulation as the most necessary of all accomplishments. Add to this, his studiously instilling into the young man all the principles of debauchery, when himself was between seventy and eighty years old.'

In this little homily Wesley seems to be enlarging on the famous text, 'the morals of a harlot and the manners of a dancing-master.'

A whole article, and one of great interest, might be written on the relations between the two men, Johnson and Wesley: one or two points of resemblance between them have already been hinted, but another may be mentioned, which, so far as the writer is aware, has not hitherto been noticed. Wesley shared Johnson's contempt for the country and country life. 'The full tide of human existence flows at Charing Cross,' is an epigram that might have come from Wesley with equal propriety. Let the following curious note bear witness. While travelling in Kent in 1766, he writes in his Journal:

'In the little journeys which I have lately taken, I have thought much on the great encomiums which have been for many ages

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bestowed on a country life. How have all the learned world cried out,

> "O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint,
> Agricolae!"

But, after all, what a flat contradiction is this to universal experience! See that little house under the wood by the river side. There is rural life in perfection. How happy, then, is the farmer that lives there! Let us take a detail of his happiness. He rises with or before the sun, calls his servants, looks to his swine and cows, then to his stable and barns. He sees to the ploughing and sowing his ground, in winter or in spring. In summer and autumn he hurries and sweats among his mowers and reapers. And where is his happiness in the mean time? Which of these employments do we envy? Or do we envy the delicate repast that succeeds, which the poet so languishes for?

> "O quando faba, Pythagorae cognata, simulque
> Uncta satis pingui ponentur oluscula lardo!"

O the happiness of eating *beans well greased with fat bacon*! Nay, and *cabbage* too! Was Horace in his senses when he talked thus? Or the servile herd of his imitators? Our eyes and ears may convince us there is not a less happy body of men in all England than the country farmers. In general, their life is supremely dull, and it is usually unhappy too. For of all people in the kingdom they are the most discontented; seldom satisfied either with God or man.'

This is a strange and interesting outburst. Wesley both preached and practised great plainness of living; as a guest at the tables of his poorer adherents he ate such things as were set before him with relish and thankfulness. More surprising still is the thoroughly secular tone of the whole passage. When Wesley comes to be edited on the principles of the higher criticism this passage will infallibly be branded as a late insertion: (1) as contradictory to passages admittedly genuine; (2) as unmistakeably un-Wesleyan in spirit.

Wesley did Johnson the honour to reproduce in his *Calm Address to the American Colonies* the pith of Johnson's *Taxation no Tyranny*, and that without the slightest public acknowledgement until charged with the conveyance. As there was considerable acquaintance, not to say friendship, between the two, there may have been a private understanding, as we believe Dr. Rigg has pointed out. But the incident illustrates another feature of Wesley's character, that he was as indifferent to literary fame as to pecuniary rewards. It was nothing to him who got the credit of a work; the great and only thing was its moral value. Further,

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he expected that other people, as reasonable beings, would share his views. He had no scruple whatever in pressing other men's labours into his service if only he thought them suitable: he was the precursor of the literary pirate, though, unpiratelike, he did not line his pockets with the spoils. Conformably, he had no objection to others annexing what he himself had written: *tulit alter honores* did not move him in the least. Early in 1769 he abridged Dr. Watts's 'pretty treatise on the Passions,' cutting it down from 127 pages to 24. 'Why do persons, who treat the same subjects with me, write so much larger books? Of many reasons is not this the chief? We do not write with the same view: their *principal end* is, To get money. My *only one, To do good.*'

Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* was published in 1775. Wesley read it in 1776, apparently forgot it, and read it again in 1781. His remarks upon it will make a suitable introduction to some of his own observations on Scottish life and customs. He had heard that Johnson was severe upon the whole nation, but could find nothing of it. 'He simply mentions (but without any bitterness) what he approved or disapproved: and many of the reflections are extremely judicious, some of them very affecting.' The suspicion can scarcely be resisted that in thus justifying Johnson, Wesley was also half-unconsciously putting in a word for himself. He likewise mentions with great and characteristic plainness what he approves or disapproves, and for the most part the latter predominates. Naturally as an English Churchman he was displeased with Presbyterian usages in public worship; he could not reconcile himself to men sitting to pray and singing psalms with their hats on. His remarks on Scottish funerals are very scathing; they remind him, he says, of nothing so much as of the words of Jeremiah concerning the burial of Jehoiakim, 'He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem.' The fast day before the Sacrament is ridiculously so called, for they do not fast at all. After a long description of the administration of the Sacrament, he pronounces that the service of the Church of England is much more simple as well as more solemn. On the other hand, he speaks of the great willingness to hear the Word of God, and of the difference between South and North Britain in this respect. But this praise, more than once repeated, he greatly qualifies when he says that English congregations judge themselves rather than the preacher, and their aim is, not only to know but to love and obey.

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A valuable passage on the Universities of Scotland may be quoted as it stands. At St. Andrews in May 1776 he writes:

'Two colleges remain. One of them has a tolerable square, but all the windows are broken, like those of a brothel. We were informed the students do this before they leave the college. Where are their blessed[1] governors in the mean time? Are they all fast asleep? The other college is a mean building, but has a handsome library newly erected. In the two colleges, we learned, were about seventy students, nearly the same number as at Old Aberdeen: those at New Aberdeen are not more numerous, neither are those at Glasgow. In Edinburgh, I suppose, there are a hundred: so four universities contain three hundred and ten students: these all come to their several colleges in November, and return home in May; so they *may* study five months in the year, and lounge all the rest. Oh! where was the common sense of those who instituted such colleges? In the English colleges, every one *may* reside all the year, as all my pupils did: and I should have thought myself little better than a highwayman if I had not lectured them every day in the year but Sundays.'

It seems pretty plain that Wesley was ignorant of the fact that many Scottish students, far from lounging the rest of the year, laboured to provide the means for their education; but, of course, what he says is true enough in the case of the well-to-do, and his testimony to a common practice at Oxford in his day is important. We had suspected before that the poorer members of the English Universities seldom came down from entrance to the time of their degree, but this seems explicit evidence of it.

A remarkable piece of information on the style of living in Scotland is given during his Scotch journey of 1788. When he first visited Scotland, even at a nobleman's table, there was only flesh meat of one kind, and no vegetables at all. In 1788 vegetables were as plentiful as in England; he says nothing of greater variety of meats.

It is said in the biographies that Wesley was a man by nature irritable; there are few traces of it in the Journal, but abundant examples of a biting sarcasm. He was never weary, for example, of gibing at the wealthier classes, not always without provocation. Again and again he notes of a congregation that all behaved well except a few 'so-called' gentlefolk. Occasionally his animadversions are exceedingly severe. A specimen or two of the more genial kind may be read with pleasure. At St. Ives once 'two or three pretty

[1] The reader's attention is called to this word. It is an amusing and probably unique, instance of an expletive in Wesley.

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butterflies came, and looked, and smiled, and went away; but all the rest of the numerous congregation behaved with the utmost seriousness.' At Durham, Wesley took the opportunity to go over the Castle, with which he was upon the whole disappointed, in spite of its fine and commanding situation. In particular the furniture and appointments fell below his expectation. Speaking of the tapestry as ludicrously out of character, he says, 'In Jacob's vision you see, on the one side, a little paltry ladder, and an angel climbing it, in the attitude of a chimney-sweeper; on the other side, Jacob staring at him, from under a large silver-laced hat.' Again, at Fulneck he was shown the recently established Moravian settlement, the chapel, hall, apartments of the widows, single men, single women, the married couples' quarters, and all the other buildings, including the various workshops for different trades. These last made a great impression on him. He learnt that they supplied the adjoining neighbourhood with bread, groceries drapery, hardware, and other such things; that they bought their materials with ready money, and had a quick sale for the products, and made no bad debts; that they had practically no wages bill, more than two hundred and fifty inmates being continually employed for little more than a bare maintenance. And what, pray, is his comment? 'I see not what but the mighty power of God can hinder them from acquiring millions.'

A last specimen is taken from the early days of his itinerancy:

'Between twelve and one I preached in a convenient ground at Wickam, two or three miles from Newcastle. I spoke strong, rough words, but I did not perceive that any regarded what was spoken. The people indeed were exceeding quiet, and the cold kept them from falling asleep; until (before two) I left them, very well satisfied with the preacher and with themselves.'

With great reluctance this inadequate notice must be brought to a close. Many tempting topics have been deliberately disregarded, and those that have been touched upon have been only meagrely presented, though sufficiently, it is hoped, to whet the reader's curiosity. The Journal is indeed a work which surprises by the variety of its allusions. Who would expect an anecdote of Garrick in the grave pages of the founder of Methodism; or a criticism of the Westminster Play; or even a seemingly authentic tradition of the deathbed of Charles II.? Perhaps some may be disappointed that the Journal does not describe more fully the social and

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domestic life of the time. Yet to a man who can read between the lines and catch the meaning of a passing reference, the book is abundantly rich in this respect also. You cannot read beyond a page or two before you come across a sentence which lights up the mind with a flash-light picture of old-world life: we go with Wesley into a fashionable church, and watch the company salute one another in the very manner which Steele reproves; we ride under the archway into the inn-yard, and are not in the least astonished to see Mr. Abraham Adams smoking his pipe in the gallery.

There are indications of a renewal of interest in Wesley, his life, his work, and his teaching. He has in truth been strangely neglected except by a chosen few. There are signs also that the Journal is about to be 'boomed.' We may at least express the hope that John Wesley, that man of plain speech and plain dealing, may be spared the pain of extravagant and hysterical adulation. It has been recently said that 'there is no book in all the world like John Wesley's Journal. It is pre-eminently the book of the resurrection life lived in this world. It has very few companions. Indeed, it stands out solitary in all Christian literature, clear, detached, columnar.' There is certainly a note of 'enthusiasm' in this, and yet a careful reader of the Journal will admit that in the main it is just. Very true, there is no book like Wesley's Journal because there is no man exactly like Wesley; and the greatness of the book is that it lets us see so transparently what he was as a man. The human and secular interest on which we have enlarged is as important for showing this as the more spiritual, ecclesiastical, or controversial side. Others may be led hereafter to touch on that; for the present we have confined ourselves to what is lighter.

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ART. V.—THE MYCENÆAN AGE.

1. *The Early Age of Greece.* By WILLIAM RIDGEWAY, M.A., Disney Professor of Archæology in the University of Cambridge. Vol. I. (Cambridge, 1901.)
2. *The Oldest Civilization of Greece: Studies in Mycenæan History.* By H. R. H. HALL, M.A., Assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum. (London, 1901.)
3. *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations.* By ARTHUR J. EVANS, Litt.D., Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. (London, 1901.)
4. *The Annual of the British School at Athens.* Nos. II.–VI. (London, 1897–1901.)

ARCHÆOLOGY has amply vindicated its claim, asserted only within the past century, and especially within the present generation, to be the sister Muse to History. It is no longer a question of pitting potsherds against Thucydides, or of merely supplementing the literary record here and there by the evidence of an inscription. We have learned, and are daily learning still, that there are whole periods of history of which literature has but the vaguest tale to tell, but which archæology spreads out before us with an ample display of concrete facts. The comparative claims of archæology and literary history have been ably set forth in a recent volume,[1] and we do not propose to deal with them here. Our present object is to consider one special sphere in which archæological discovery has been active, and in respect to which archæological speculation has recently taken shape in several noteworthy publications; and it is a sphere which, next to that of religion, concerns us perhaps more deeply than any other, since it is the sphere of the civilization and history of Greece.

It is just thirty years since the era of great archæological discoveries on Greek soil began; but elsewhere they are of earlier date. The triumphs of the spade in rescuing lost civilizations from oblivion begin with Botta's excavations at Kouyunjik and Khorsabad in 1842, and Layard's at Nimroud three years later; and to the explorations thus initiated we owe practically all our authentic knowledge (outside the Old Testament and the scanty notices in Greek literature) of Assyrian and Babylonian history, ranging back

[1] *Authority and Archæology*, edited by D. G. Hogarth (London, 1899); see *Church Quarterly Review*, xlix. 167–90.

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into the neighbourhood of 4500 B.C. Egyptian history, with its pyramids still standing conspicuous above the sands, and with the assistance of Manetho, has always stretched far back into the mists of antiquity; but within the last few years its range has been unexpectedly extended by the discoveries of Petrie and others, until Menes, the supposed 'legendary' founder of the first dynasty of Egyptian rulers, is now found to be a historical personage with a past behind him. In Greece, and in Europe generally, we cannot ascend (apart from geological evidence) to any such hoary age; but archæology, besides revealing to us the monuments of the Mausoleum and Pergamum, Olympia and Delphi, has added some thousand years of authentic, though still very fragmentary, history to our knowledge of the race to which, beyond all others, our intellectual and artistic civilization is due.

One need not own to very advanced years in order to have learnt Greek history at a time when that history began—as Grote makes it begin—with the first Olympiad, in 776 B.C., all behind that epoch being myth, which the youthful mind might or might not accept as solid fact. Yet at that very time the age of archæology was beginning, and the spade of the explorer was laying the foundations of an edifice which we have since seen rising before our eyes, until it now begins to take definite form and shape. A whole civilization has been revealed, which came into being, culminated in great richness and magnificence, and fell into decay before that date which formerly was regarded as marking the beginning of authentic Greek history. For the last thirty years the evidences of this civilization have been accumulating; and, although there is every reason to think that the years to come will add greatly to these evidences, it is already possible to formulate provisional theories which serve to classify and solidify our existing knowledge, and so to pave the way to further advances.

It is curious that the first great discoveries in the sphere of prehistoric Greek archæology were made by one who was no trained scholar or professed archæologist, but an enthusiast on the subject of Greek literature, with a burning faith in his own ideas, and with money to enable him to put those ideas to the test. When faith in the historical basis of the *Iliad* was dim, and when the site of the historic Ilium was commonly supposed to lie elsewhere, Heinrich Schliemann, a Mecklenburger whose energy had made him a successful banker at St. Petersburg and Moscow, first set spade to the hill of Hissarlik, and so embarked on that career of discovery

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which has secured him a permanent and honourable place as the founder of all our knowledge of what, since his time, has been generally designated 'the Mycenæan age.'

It is not possible, within our present limits, to describe in detail all the discoveries of 'Mycenæan' antiquities which have been made during the last thirty years; but a brief summary of the more notable among them will serve to show what the material is with which we have to deal.[1] Schliemann's first excavation on the site of Troy was begun in October 1871, but it was not until 1873 that his first great 'find' was made, consisting of the huge brick wall of the 'second city,' as it is now called, and the magnificent gold treasure discovered close to it. The total result of Schliemann's work at Troy, continued at intervals over many years, and supplemented by that of Dörpfeld, was to show, first, that Hissarlik was undoubtedly the true site of Troy; secondly, that that site had been successively occupied by no less than nine cities, of which the second (also known as the 'burnt' city, from the signs which showed that it had been destroyed by fire), and the sixth (which Dörpfeld regards as the Troy of Homer) were the most important; and, thirdly, that these cities contained relics of a culture then unexemplified elsewhere, and of an artistic excellence which no one suspected of existing at an age so far remote.

At Mycenæ, to which Schliemann turned his attention in 1874, and again in 1876, his results were even more sensational. In the upper city, girt with massive Cyclopean walls, through which the principal entrance is by the celebrated Lion Gate, he found a group of graves, surrounded by a ring of stone slabs set edgeways in the ground. The graves were shafts cut vertically down into the rock to a depth of from ten to sixteen feet. The bodies in them, which varied from one to five in number, had been buried, not burnt, and they were surrounded by a mass of ornaments, including gold face-masks, diadems, pendants, armlets, belts, buttons, pins, rings, cups, and quantities of other objects, with silver vases of various kinds, weapons and utensils of bronze, and quantities of pottery, terra cotta, and ivory. In the lower town also tombs were found, but these were of a quite different kind. They are buildings of the type known as 'beehive' tombs, consisting of large vaulted chambers (about

[1] By far the best account of Schliemann's discoveries is contained in *Schliemann's Excavations*, by C. Schuchhardt (English translation by E. Sellers, London, 1891), which is profusely illustrated with plans and drawings of the objects found.

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fifty feet in height and diameter), built in the hillside and approached by a long passage. Eight of these structures were found, and at first were believed to be treasuries, that having been the name assigned to them in antiquity; but the discovery of similar buildings elsewhere, which had not been plundered, conclusively established their sepulchral character. A large number of less pretentious rock-hewn tombs were also found in the lower town, which yielded great quantities of pottery, bronze articles, gems, and two rings of iron, the only example of this metal in ancient Mycenæ. In addition the ground plan of the palace in the citadel was more or less perfectly made out.

Yet a third town of prehistoric Greece was attacked by the indefatigable Schliemann, with admirable results. This was Tiryns, situated on a low rock rising out of the Argolic plain, about eight miles from Mycenæ. Here he excavated in 1884, laying bare the whole of the ancient palace, while Dr. Dörpfeld in the following year traced out the great circuit wall of the citadel. Tiryns, as one of the lately recovered odes of Bacchylides has reminded us, was said to have been built by the Cyclopes, and its eminence was purely of prehistoric date, being superseded by Mycenæ, as both were subsequently superseded, and ultimately destroyed, by Argos. Its remains bear out this tradition. The walls are built of colossal blocks of rough-hewn stone (some ten feet long), and have a depth of about twenty-five feet, ranging up in one part to nearly sixty feet. In the thickest parts of the wall chambers were pierced, opening out of a transverse gallery. A somewhat similar arrangement has since been found at Knossos in Crete. The ground plan of the palace buildings was laid bare, and has provided invaluable material for the discussion of the arrangement of the Homeric house. Portions of decorative friezes, in alabaster and blue glass paste (the *κύανος* of Homer's palace of Alcinous) were found, together with fragments of wall paintings. The small objects found at Tiryns are not to compare with those of Mycenæ or Troy, and consist mainly of pottery and terra cotta.

These were the three great achievements of Schliemann, and his work elsewhere (as at Orchomenus, where he excavated another large beehive tomb with a beautiful ceiling, and at Ithaca, where his results were not conclusive) must be passed over in silence. What he had done was to reveal a whole new period of civilization, which was of additional interest because it could apparently be brought into direct connexion with the Homeric poems. About this identifica-

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tion Schliemann himself had no doubts. It was the *Iliad* which had led him to excavate at Troy and Mycenæ, and his discoveries were at once labelled with Homeric names. At Troy he had no hesitation in calling the great gate of the burnt city by the name of the Scæan Gate, and the gold treasure was the treasure of Priam. At Mycenæ the shaft graves in the citadel were identified with the graves of Agamemnon and those who were slain with him, which Pausanias states to have been shown there in his time. The bodies found in them were therefore to be regarded as the very bones of Agamemnon, Cassandra, and the rest. Such identifications, resting upon enthusiasm rather than evidence, were looked at askance by archæologists, and perhaps caused some of them to minimise the importance of the discoveries altogether. But they appealed to the popular fancy, and did much to call general attention to the work which had been done, and to stimulate interest in it for the future.

The game was now afoot, and discoveries, of minor interest individually, but collectively adding much material to the general stock, followed one another quickly. Beehive tombs were found at Menidi in Attica, at the Heræum near Argos, at Vaphio in Laconia, at Volo in Thessaly, and elsewhere. The Vaphio tomb (excavated in 1889) yielded, in addition to pottery, bronze weapons, beads, and engraved gems, the two magnificent gold cups which are the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Mycenæan art. At Goulas or Gla, in the Copaic plain of Bœotia, formerly an island in the Copaic lake, the remains of a great Cyclopean fortress were excavated in 1893. Mycenæan remains have also been found at the Heræum of Argos, at Nauplia, at Thoricus, Eleusis, and many other places in Attica, while a beautiful treasure of the late Mycenæan period from Ægina is now in the British Museum. Smaller finds have also been made in several other parts of Continental Greece. The Ægean islands add further evidence of an important character. The excavations of Biliotti at Ialysus in Rhodes (in 1868–1871) even anticipated Schliemann in the discovery of Mycenæan objects, though naturally they did not at the time create the same sensation. The proceeds consisted of gold ornaments, bronze weapons, engraved gems, and pottery; and by the generosity of Mr. Ruskin they are now in the British Museum. Many of the other islands—Amorgos, Naxos, Antiparos, Thera, and others—contain graves of the primitive type, in which the bodies must have been laid in contracted postures, with rude pottery, stone vessels, bronze weapons, and occasionally

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silver vessels, all of an early character, but clearly connected with the Mycenæan civilization. At Thera some of these objects were discovered beneath the lava of a volcanic eruption; and attempts to date this eruption on geological grounds have played a part in the controversy about the date of the Mycenæan age as a whole.

At Melos still more important results have been obtained. At Phylákopi, on the north-east coast of the island, a site was attacked by Mr. Cecil Smith, director of the British School at Athens, in 1896 and 1897, and by his successor, Mr. D. G. Hogarth, in 1898 and 1899. The two last years' work showed that the site was unexpectedly important.[1] Phylákopi was the ancient capital of Melos, owing its importance to the great quarries of obsidian, which in the stone age was the material in most request for all cutting implements. No other island in the Ægean or Levant possesses these volcanic deposits; hence there must have been in prehistoric times an active export trade from Phylákopi. When, however, obsidian was superseded by bronze Phylákopi lost its importance, and no doubt decayed rapidly. These considerations account for the phenomena displayed by the site. Four distinct settlements are revealed by the spade, of which the latest alone is contemporary with the true Mycenæan period. The earliest settlement was represented solely by earthenware vessels, no traces of habitations being discoverable. Above these deposits come extensive wall remains, but with no signs of fortification. The pottery of this settlement shows an advance from the simple incised ware of its predecessor to geometric patterns, sometimes in fine incised work and sometimes painted. Many of the potsherds were marked with signs such as Mr. A. J. Evans had already noticed upon seals from the Ægean, and of which he has since found great quantities in Crete. The third settlement was surrounded by a strong fortification wall, and the houses show a great advance alike in structure and ornamentation. The walls were covered with stucco, upon which were painted designs, sometimes decorative patterns, sometimes representations of plants, animals, and men. One such fresco showed groups of brilliant flying fish, another a bather or fisherman. The pottery (except in very rough specimens) is painted, not incised, and the patterns become more complex, finally breaking out into naturalistic designs of plants and animals, similar to those found in the frescoes. This was plainly the great era of the prosperity of Phylákopi. The fourth and

[1] See the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, Nos. ii.–iv.

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last settlement, which follows it, is of definitely Mycenæan character, but the houses and fortifications are less strongly built, and comparatively few remains of mural decoration have been found. On the other hand, a quantity of fragments of Mycenæan pottery came to light, which from the evidence of their material and fabric can be shown to have been imported, not manufactured in Melos itself. The native wares of the third city still continue, however, and in one instance a remarkable vase was discovered, on which is depicted a procession of men, each carrying in either hand a fish. This was the most notable trophy of pre-Mycenæan ware produced by the excavations, and it belongs to its latest stage, just before the native work was superseded by the importations of Mycenæan pottery. To the Mycenæan period also belongs the palace, the remains of which were uncovered in 1899, with other houses, which add to our knowledge of the ground plans of Mycenæan dwellings. The Mycenæan age, however, was the age of bronze; and with the victory of bronze the glory departed from Phylákopi.

The importance of the Melian explorations lay in the evidence which they afforded of the continuous development of civilization on a single site, previous to and culminating in that stage which had already been displayed in its magnificence on the sites excavated by Schliemann. It seemed likely that Phylákopi would occupy the attention of students of the prehistoric period for some time to come; yet the work of the British School there had hardly been completed when its brilliance was outshone by a series of sensational discoveries in another portion of the Ægean basin. It was no new thing for the eyes of archæologists to be fixed upon the great island of Crete, the legendary home of Zeus and Minos, where a hundred cities flourished in Homeric days, where the ancient race of Eteocretans continued and retained their own language into historic times. Even cursory inspection had shown the existence of more than one promising site, but external and political conditions had combined to frustrate all schemes of digging. Dr. Schliemann himself had been anxious to excavate at Knossos, but the demands of the local landowners were so extravagant that he had to abandon his designs.

It is to the energy and insight of Mr. Arthur Evans that the victory over these untoward conditions is due. So long ago as 1894 he had set his eye upon the site of Knossos, and had resolved to obtain the power of excavating there by the heroic process of buying up the land himself. To the

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'almost inexhaustible powers of obstruction' of the Mahometan proprietors Mr. Evans pays the highest tribute; but his own perseverance was yet more inexhaustible, and by the beginning of 1900, aided by the results of the insurrection and the intervention of that cumbrous *deus ex machina* the European Concert, the whole site was in his hands, and, aided by the wholly inadequate support of the British public, he was able to begin digging.

The results of his first season's work were dramatically successful. He did not, indeed, make any such find of golden treasures as Schliemann at Troy and Mycenæ; nevertheless he established the right of Knossos to rank with the most important sites of the Mycenæan age yet known to us. About half of the great palace of Knossos (reputed the palace of Minos) was uncovered. Its ground plan was revealed, showing an extraordinary complex of rooms and galleries; a reception room, with a carved stone throne, was discovered, and a row of narrow store chambers, opening out of a long corridor, recalled the similar arrangement in the great walls of Tiryns. Some of the chambers still contained huge earthenware jars, many of them in perfect preservation. In addition, at various places deposits of inscribed clay tablets were discovered, bearing writing of the same type as that which Mr. Evans had already discovered on Cretan seals. To be accurate, two types of writing were found. On more than 900 tablets[1] the writing is of a linear description, with characters which presumably stand for syllables, though their language and meaning are still unknown. Mr. Evans, however, shows good reasons for believing that in many cases they embody accounts relating to the palace stores. One deposit stands out by itself as containing writing of a hieroglyphic type. This might be expected to be of earlier date than the linear script; but Mr. Evans states that these tablets were found in one of the latest parts of the palace. Mr. Evans regards this hieroglyphic writing as descended from the primitive 'pictographic' script found by him on certain seals, and perhaps as peculiar to the Eteocretan branch of the population. An authoritative explanation is, however, as yet impossible.

But more interesting, perhaps, even than these evidences of primitive writing are the artistic results of the excavations at Knossos. The walls of the palace were normally covered

[1] These figures relate only to the first season's work. Further deposits of tablets were found last spring, including one tablet with twenty-four lines of inscription.

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with plaster, and on the plaster were executed elaborate frescoes, of which considerable portions have survived. Many of these frescoes contain figure subjects, accompanied by decorative patterns and designs; and these not only provide us with the means of estimating the state of artistic culture in Mycenæan Crete, but also give us pictures of the life and customs of the people. One corridor was decorated with the representation of a procession; elsewhere was a well preserved figure of a youth, which, as Mr. Evans says, affords 'the first real portraiture of a Mycenæan man.'[1] The features are 'regular, almost classical,' and 'the dark eyes and black curly hair and high brachycephalic skull present close points of resemblance to certain types still to be found, especially in the highlands of central and western Crete.' The second season's work produced several fragments of painted stucco reliefs of human beings, elaborately and naturistically modelled. Another part of the palace contained a quantity of miniature designs of a wholly new type, showing groups and crowds of persons in fine outline drawing. They are represented as gathered in courts or gardens, with buildings in the background, and 'are incomparably more modern' in style than those found on Athenian vases of the classical period, 'and display a vivacity and a fashionable pose quite foreign to classical art.' One fresco represents a crowd of ladies in low-necked dresses, engaged in animated conversation. The men are black-haired, clean shaven, and naked except for a loin cloth and buskins; in some places scenes of war are depicted. Animals are also represented, notably in a fine painted plaster relief of a bull, an animal to which Mycenæan artists were very partial, as is shown notably by the Vaphio cups and the fresco at Tiryns, to say nothing of many gems. Bull-hunting is the subject of several paintings, in which women as well as men are represented as taking part in the sport. In all this fresco work there is much that reminds one of the Egyptian wall paintings which have long been familiar, and which no doubt exercised considerable influence on Mycenæan art; nevertheless there are sufficient differences to establish a genuine claim to originality and independence on the part of the Ægean artists.

Of the architecture of the palace of Knossos it must suffice to say that the materials used are gypsum and limestone. The columns must have been of wood, only the bases being of stone; and the walls were mainly of clay, supported by wooden beams and covered with plaster. It is this free use

[1] *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vi. 15.

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of wood which especially differentiates Mycenæan architecture from that of the classical and post-classical periods in the examples known to us. The second season's work (in 1901) revealed a large staircase, flanked by columns, descending with two turns to a group of halls on a lower level, with which we have nothing elsewhere in Greek architecture to compare.[1] Full details of this, however, have not yet been published.

One feature of the Knossian discoveries has been made the subject of a special study by Mr. Evans—namely, the evidence which they afford as to the religious practices of the Mycenæan age.[2] He has here collected a number of representations on gems, or vases, or frescoes, of tree worship or pillar worship, two closely allied phases of religious ceremonial. Notably, in two chambers of the palace of Knossos are square pillars, standing in the middle of the room, on which are carved, on four sides in one case and three in the other, representations of a double axe.[3] This form of axe recurs repeatedly in what appear to be religious connexions. Quantities of miniature axes were found by Mr. Hogarth among the votive offerings in the Dictæan cave. Now the Carian name for this double axe was *labrys*, a name which recurs in that of the town Labranda, the chief seat of the worship of the Carian Zeus, and also in the word Labyrinth, which is so closely associated with the legends of Knossos. Consequently Mr. Evans interprets the name Labyrinth as 'the House of the Double Axe'; and in the palace of Knossos, with its tortuous complex of chambers and corridors, and its walls marked with scores of representations of the double axe, he sees the origin of the legend of the famous Labyrinth of Crete. The worship of sacred pillars, as well as of sacred trees, is, of course, well known in Semitic lands, in the 'pillars' and 'groves' of the Old Testament, while stones, especially meteorites, have been the objects of worship in many lands; and Mr. Evans collects a mass of instances and illustrations in support of his theory, which at any rate holds

[1] *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. 334, art. by R. C. Bosanquet on 'Archæology in Greece, 1900–1901.'

[2] *Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations;* reprinted as an independent volume from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. 99 *sqq.*

[3] Similar pillars were also found at Phylákopi, as well as in houses at Knossos, outside the palace; see Hogarth, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, vi. 76, 77, whose remarks go far to invalidate the suggestion of Mr. Rouse (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi. 272) that the pillars were merely structural supports for the roof.

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the field until fuller evidence comes to light. Here we have, unfortunately, no space to examine at greater length his elaborate and ingenious paper.

Knossos is not the only site in Crete to which the energy of explorers has been directed. While Mr. Evans was at work at the palace of Minos Mr. Hogarth made a thorough exploration of the celebrated Dictæan cave, the legendary birthplace of Zeus, finding therein hundreds of votive offerings in bronze, stone, pottery, and occasionally iron and gold, many of them embedded in the stalactite pillars and crevices of the cave. Mr. Hogarth has since excavated at Zakro (where he found considerable Mycenæan remains), and Mr. Bosanquet at Præsos, while the Italians are uncovering at Phæstos a palace second only in importance to that of Knossos. But it is time to pass from the details of explorations to the consideration of the questions which these explorations suggest. We have here, revealed by the researches of the last thirty years, a pre-classical civilization, rich in precious and artistic objects, extending over the islands of the Ægean and the neighbouring lands of Greece and Asia Minor, and eastwards as far as Cyprus, where recent excavations on behalf of the British Museum have yielded a quantity of examples of Mycenæan art in its latest stages. Who were the people who produced this civilization? What was their name? What was their race? When did they flourish? And, as a subsidiary but very interesting question, what is their relation to the civilization represented in the Homeric poems?

It is in answer to these questions that the two books which are named at the head of this article have been written—written, it is true, while fresh discoveries are still pressing in on us, but not inopportunely for the student who wishes to be able to appraise the value of these discoveries as they appear. Though dealing with the same subject-matter there are considerable differences in their scope and style. Mr. Hall's is a clear and intelligent summary of the extant remains of the Mycenæan age, and an examination of the principal theories which have been advanced in explanation of them. His position in the Egyptian and Assyrian Department in the British Museum has accustomed him to deal with first-hand evidence, and gives especial value to his statements with regard to the relations between the Mycenæan civilization and the East. He is not afraid to state his own opinion, and it may perhaps be put down to the credit of the Oxford Historical School that he is able to do so in a clear and readable, if not very elegant, style. He has no special

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theories of his own to advocate with regard to the greater questions at issue, but he provides the reader with the means of estimating the theories which others have propounded.

Professor Ridgeway's book, on the other hand, owes nothing of its interest to the graces of exposition. His arguments are produced cumbrously and at great length, and with a disastrous want of discrimination between good arguments and bad. Any indication is treated as a good proof if it points in the way desired; and thus arguments which really have weight are cumbered with a mass of irrelevant, or slightly relevant, details, which end by weakening one's belief in the case as a whole. In literary workmanship, moreover, Professor Ridgeway is sadly to seek. He has no notion of constructing a paragraph. The divisions between them appear to come quite at haphazard, and he has a lamentable fondness for that most irritating of all literary devices, the printing of a number of single sentences as separate paragraphs. We hear, or used to hear, much about the 'unlettered physicist.' It is to be hoped that Professor Ridgeway's book is not to be taken as a fair example of the intellectual culture produced by the study of archæology.

The importance of his work lies in the fact that it embodies a new theory of the Mycenæan age, on which we shall have more to say shortly. But first another matter of some interest may be disposed of. The questions concerning the Mycenæan civilization resolve themselves ultimately into two: What is its date, and who were its founders? On the first of these questions controversy for some time was hot, but a general agreement is now observable on the part of the best authorities, and it may consequently be disposed of briefly. The relative order of the classes of pottery found on Mycenæan sites can be determined, partly by the order in which the successive deposits lie on sites such as Troy and Phylákopi, on which several settlements followed one another, and partly by considerations as to the stages of progress shown in them—the use of bronze or iron, of more or less advanced ornamentation on vases, and the like. Such evidence shows clearly enough that the Mycenæan age lies behind the classical age (it was once suggested that it belonged to the Byzantine period!), but it does not enable us to determine the length of time which separates them. Such positive chronology can only be obtained by establishing connexions with data already known—in this case with the history of Egypt. Objects of Egyptian manufacture have been found on Mycenæan sites, and Mycenæan pottery on Egyptian

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sites; and this evidence, though still scanty, has of late become sufficient to allow of fairly certain conclusions. Scarabs and fragments of porcelain, inscribed with the names of Amenhotep III. and his queen, have been found in the palace of Mycenæ and in the cemetery at Ialysus, in Rhodes; and the date of this king is given by Brugsch as about 1500–1466 B.C., by Petrie as 1414–1383 B.C. At Knossos Mr. Evans found, first, an Egyptian statuette assignable to the Twelfth Dynasty (about 2700–2500 B.C.), lying in a pre-Mycenæan stratum of the palace, and, secondly, a lid of a box inscribed with the name of Khyan, one of the Hyksos kings (about 1800 B.C.) Of course these finds only show that the Mycenæan remains among which they lay were not earlier than the dates named; they do not show how much later they may be, though it is not likely, indeed barely conceivable, that objects bearing the name of a Hyksos king were exported from Egypt after the expulsion of this intrusive dynasty. On the other hand vases clearly of Mycenæan type are depicted in wall paintings at Thebes of the fifteenth century B.C., and actual Mycenæan vases have been found at Gurob, a city which only existed from about 1500 to 1250 B.C., and at Tell-el-Amarna, the capital of Amenhotep IV. (about 1383–1365), which was deserted after that heretical sovereign's death. At Kahun Mycenæan pottery was found in a tomb doubtfully assigned to about 1100 B.C. Any of these pieces of evidence (except perhaps that from Tell-el-Amarna) might by itself be regarded as precarious, but their cumulative force, unweakened as it is by any contrary indications, goes far to establish the conclusion that the Mycenæan age proper lay somewhere about 1600–1000 B.C., while the pre-Mycenæan stages found in the islands may range back to 2000 B.C., or earlier. It is only in Cyprus that evidence has come to light which at all supports the contention of those who would bring down the Mycenæan age to about 1000–800 B.C., since here Mycenæan ware is found in connexion with ivories which have clearly been influenced by Assyrian art of about the ninth century, and with Egyptian objects of even later date. But Cyprus lay out of the main current of Greek civilization, and it is evident that Mycenæan influences continued in force here long after they had been superseded in Greece itself and the Ægean basin.

There remains the great question, What people produced the civilization which we call Mycenæan? On this point few archæologists have cared to speak positively. The Greeks themselves of the classical period knew nothing definite of

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their own ancient history. They had traditions of various ancient races—Pelasgians, Leleges, Minyans, and others—preceding the Achæans, whom they knew from Homer, and the Dorians, who came in subsequently with 'the return of the Heracleids.' Also they had traditional pedigrees, in which eponymous heroes were invented as progenitors of the existing tribes or races, with a scheme of affinities which seemed suitable to their historical positions. Such evidence, however, is obviously precarious in the extreme, and scholars as a rule have been slow to dogmatize. Here it is that Professor Ridgeway comes upon the stage with a theory which has at least the merit of being clear-cut and precise. It can be stated in a few words. It is to the Pelasgians, a dark-haired, dark-complexioned race, inhabiting the mainland of Greece, the Ægean islands, and the coast of Asia Minor, and spreading even into Italy, that the Mycenæan civilization is due. It is a civilization of the Bronze Age, and is to be sharply distinguished from the civilization of the Homeric poems, which belongs to the Iron Age. The Iron Age was brought into Greece by the Achæans, a fair-haired race whose civilization was substantially identical with that which has been found in the cemeteries of Hallstatt, in the Austrian Alps, and who are themselves to be identified with that Central and North European Celtic race which has more than once, in historical times, descended in invading hordes upon the peninsulas of Southern Europe. For these dominant Achæans the minstrels of the subjugated, but not exterminated, Pelasgian race composed the poems which we now know as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Such is Professor Ridgeway's theory,[1] which at least has the merit of presenting the issues clearly, and thus of focussing discussion on definite points. To consider it in detail is, of course, impracticable here; but it may be possible to estimate the value of its principal propositions. First with regard to the Pelasgi. Professor Ridgeway is at pains to prove that all the places in which Mycenæan remains have been found are associated, in ancient legend or by plausible deductions from such tradition, with the Pelasgi; and also that Mycenæan remains have come to light in all those places which history or legend especially connects with the Pelasgi. The proof is

[1] The part of it which relates to the Pelasgi was published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1896, and has therefore been known to scholars for some years. It is consequently mentioned and discussed in Mr. Hall's book. That which relates to the Achæans, though embodied in a paper read before the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1898, has not previously been published at length.

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a long one (it occupies more than two hundred pages), since the places to be dealt with are many, and the evidence connecting them with the Pelasgi is often elusive and has to be sought with pains and difficulty. The proofs, indeed, are of very unequal value. Professor Ridgeway makes much use of the traditional pedigrees of the Greek families and national heroes, many of which are obviously late concoctions, intended to account for the origin of various tribes. It is impossible to build, for instance, on the statement that Æolus, Xuthus, and Dorus were the sons of Hellen, and that Ion and Achæus were the sons of Xuthus. These are, obviously, merely eponymous heroes, invented as ancestors of the existing tribes. Moreover Professor Ridgeway only uses these genealogies when they suit his purpose. Another, preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, gives Achæus and Pelasgus as brothers, which clearly is irreconcilable with Professor Ridgeway's main theory, and consequently is ignored. Professor Ridgeway also devotes several paragraphs to proving, by modern analogies, that discrepancies in the narratives of an event do not prove that the event itself is unhistorical, and that the evidence of a pedigree is not vitiated by the fact that it includes legendary elements (such as the parentage of gods); but he omits to notice that it matters greatly whether the discrepancies relate to the main point at issue or to its minor details, and that other evidence besides arbitrary assertion must be introduced in order to decide at what point the boundary line between myth and history is crossed in a pedigree. The fact that we believe in the existence of King Alfred does not commit us to a belief in the historical character of Brute the Trojan.

So, too, with the proposition that all places where the population was traditionally Pelasgian possessed Mycenæan remains. The two districts about which this tradition is clearest are Attica and Arcadia. Of these Attica presents no difficulty, since Mycenæan remains have been found there in abundance. But Arcadia is a serious obstacle, since it has hitherto produced barely a single object of Mycenæan work. It is true that it has not yet been systematically explored; and Professor Ridgeway would have done well frankly to admit this and to trust his theory to the proof of time. Instead of this he spends several pages in arguing that the tomb of Æpytus, mentioned in the *Iliad* (ii. 603 *sq.*) as a famous landmark in Arcadia, was a monument of the same type as the circular burying-place in the acropolis of Mycenæ; that Æpytus was the ancestor of the Iamid family of soothsayers;

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that they were a family of great importance; that consequently the traditions connected with the tomb of Æpytus would be carefully preserved; that Æpytus was fourth in descent from Lycaon, son of Pelasgus; that the ancient genealogies can be trusted; and that consequently Arcadia was a great centre of Pelasgian stock—which we knew already explicitly from Pausanias, but which does not advance by one inch the proof that the Pelasgi were the makers of the Mycenæan art. The fact is that Professor Ridgeway's logic is elementary, and his methods those of the advocate, not the scholar. He accumulates indications, or what seem to be such, which tell in his favour, and does not consider the indications which tell against him. This part of his book is a long exposition of argument by the method of agreement, notoriously an untrustworthy implement of logic, but much in vogue among mythologists and folk-lorists, who seem to find no difficulty in adducing long strings of facts in support of any and every theory. From a classical scholar we should have hoped for a stricter method and a more judicial weighing of evidence.

In point of fact it is impossible to prove that the Pelasgi occupied all the Greek world in pre-Achæan times, without identifying with them all the other early races of whom we have mention. Nor is it in the least necessary. The Pelasgi may have originated the Mycenæan civilization, and it may have spread from them to other peoples. That such a race existed is unquestionable, but of the extent of their influence we really know very little. Professor Ridgeway is not the first historian to lay great stress on their importance; but criticism has generally reverted to an attitude of scepticism about them.[1]

Next, with regard to the connexion between the Mycenæan

[1] Cf. Holm, *History of Greece*, i. 59 [Engl. Tr.]: 'It cannot, therefore, be proved that a people, called Pelasgians, were ever of importance in the earliest ages of Greece. . . . In later antiquity more and more has been piled on the name Pelasgian, until we have come to regard them as nothing less than the earliest Greek people. But this is a mistake. If it were only a question of having a name for a scientifically proved nationality, Pelasgian would do as well as any other. . . . But the dubious point of the procedure is that the name Pelasgian is not a pure invention, but was much used in antiquity; consequently, if we apply it in an extended sense, the misconception easily arises that it originally had that wider meaning, and that most of the earlier Greeks were really called Pelasgians, which is neither demonstrable nor even probable. It has not even been proved that all the races which are now described as Pelasgians really stood in such relationship to one another as to deserve a common name.'

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and Homeric civilizations. In the first blush of Schliemann's discoveries on the sites of Troy and Mycenæ it was natural to connect them, as Schliemann himself did whole-heartedly, with the Homeric lords of those great capitals. But it was not long before critical scholars began to point out discrepancies. Thus the Mycenæans buried their dead, while the Homeric heroes were cremated; iron is practically unknown in the best Mycenæan period, while it is mentioned not unfrequently in Homer; the armour of the Mycenæan deposits does not correspond with that worn by the Homeric warriors; and whereas in Homer brooches are commonly used by both sexes to hold their garments in place, these articles (which belong to the Iron Age) are not found among the Mycenæan remains. These are the most noticeable points in which the Mycenæan and the Homeric civilizations differ; and Professor Ridgeway naturally dwells upon them at length, in order to establish his thesis that the Mycenæan civilization belongs to the Pelasgi of the Bronze Age, and the Homeric to the Achæans of the Iron Age.

Unfortunately, as before, the facts are not sufficient to establish so clean-cut a distinction. In saying that in Homer 'iron is in general use for all kinds of cutting instruments and for agricultural purposes,'[1] Professor Ridgeway goes far beyond the evidence. As a matter of fact[2] iron is mentioned 48 times in Homer—23 times in the *Iliad* and 25 times in the *Odyssey*—while bronze is mentioned 359 times. The articles mentioned in the *Iliad* as being of iron are a club, knives, an arrow-head, axes, an axle, and the gates of Tartarus, besides a lump out of which it is said a ploughshare might be made (such a lump, perhaps, as was actually found on the site of Troy); in the *Odyssey* axes and the bonds which Athena says would not hold Odysseus. Iron swords and spears are never mentioned; and this at once differentiates the Homeric age from that represented in the cemeteries of Hallstatt and Glasinatz, with which Professor Ridgeway would identify it, and in which iron greatly predominates over bronze for those weapons. Professor Ridgeway, indeed, asserts that χαλκός is used in speaking of weapons solely because it was the old word for cutting weapons, and that the poet consequently meant iron when he said bronze, and he even proceeds calmly to say, 'The Homeric warrior has regularly, *as we have seen*, spear and sword of iron;'[3] but

[1] *The Early Age of Greece*, i. 294.

[2] See Dr. Jevons's article, 'Iron in Homer,' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiii. 25 *sqq.* (1892.)

[3] *The Early Age of Greece*, i. 294, 301.

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this is a simple assumption in the teeth of the evidence. Σίδηρος is a word as well suited to hexameter verse as χαλκός, and if the poet knew of iron swords it is extremely remarkable that he should invariably have called them bronze, especially as he does use the word in connexion with other weapons (small ones, be it observed, such as knives, arrow-heads, and axe-blades). The true conclusion evidently is that the Homeric poems represent the state of things at the very beginning of the Iron Age, when bronze was still the metal mainly in use. They do not suit Professor Ridgeway's theory of a fully developed iron civilization imported by a conquering people fully acquainted with the uses of that metal, and probably owing their victory to the superiority of the weapons thus wielded by them.

In other respects, such as the practice of cremation and the use of the brooch, the distinction between the Mycenæan and Homeric societies is more evident; indeed, this distinction, implying a somewhat later date for the Homeric poems than for the perfection of Mycenæan art, has for some time been generally accepted by scholars. But these differences do not necessarily imply differences of race. At Hallstatt inhumation and cremation were practised contemporaneously, and Professor Ridgeway's statement that 'the difference of burial customs indicates a difference of race'[1] is mere assumption. A similar combination of burial practices existed at Rome, in Germany, and in England. In all cases it is probable that inhumation was the earlier custom, and that when cremation was introduced it was used chiefly by the wealthier classes; but there is no valid reason for associating the difference in practice with difference of race.

The hard, clear lines of Professor Ridgeway's theory thus show a tendency to dissolve upon examination into shadowy indefiniteness. It is the same with the last article of it upon which we can touch, the identification of the Achæans with the Celts. Professor Ridgeway's use of the term 'Celts' is, indeed, quite misleading. What he means is simply the fair-haired population of northern Europe, which in these prehistoric days had not been differentiated (or which we, in the present state of our knowledge, are not able to differentiate) into Celts and Scandinavians and Germans. Therefore when Professor Ridgeway says that the Achæans were Celts he might just as well say that they were Norsemen or Goths or Teutons; but presumably the temptation of proving Agamemnon to be an Irishman is too much for him. Apart

[1] *The Early Age of Greece*, i. 413.

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from the question of terminology, however, he may very likely be right in connecting the Achæans with the fair-haired northerners. In historical times there was an intermixture of fair and dark complexions in Greece, and some at least of the Homeric heroes are expressly called fair-haired by Homer. The epithet *ξανθός* is applied to Achilles and Menelaus (but also to Rhadamanthus, who can hardly be claimed as a Celt); while as to the complexion of Odysseus there is a discrepancy of statement. But more than one wave of immigration from the north swept into Greece, and it must remain doubtful whether all Achæans were fair-haired, and whether all fair-haired inhabitants of Greece were Achæans.

Again, if the Achæans were fair-haired, iron-using Celts, while the subject population consisted of dark-haired, bronze-using Pelasgi, one would expect to find in Homer evidence of a marked distinction between the chieftains and their followers.[1] Yet all alike are called *Ἀχαιοί*: it is the general term for the Greek host; and if an alternative is required it is *Ἀργεῖοι*, which is applied similarly to leaders and led alike. The name *Πελασγοί* is never applied to the invading hosts, even when the rank and file are particularly mentioned. Yet if the two races were thus distinct, and the Homeric poems were actually (as Professor Ridgeway holds) the work of Pelasgian hands, why did they never give their countrymen their right name? Can we imagine a Saxon poet, after the Norman Conquest, speaking of his own people as Normans?

Finally, if the Achæan conquerors of Greece were an iron-using people, in the same state of culture as the warriors buried in the cemetery at Hallstatt, how is it that we find no evidence of the domination of such a people at Mycenæ? The *Iliad* is proof enough that Mycenæ was great and flourishing under its Achæan lords; yet we have no 'Hallstatt period' in the remains excavated at Mycenæ. Is it not clear from this that the great age of Mycenæ belonged to the period when iron was almost unknown, and that when the use of iron became general in Greece (which may or may not have been in connexion with a foreign invasion) the sceptre had departed from the capital in which Agamemnon had reigned?

On all these grounds, which we have been able to indicate but briefly, we are unable to accept the theory put forward

[1] This point is dwelt on by Dr. D. B. Monro in one of the valuable appendices to his recent edition of the *Odyssey*, books xiii.–xxiv. He there briefly examines Professor Ridgeway's theory, which he is not inclined to accept.

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by Professor Ridgeway. There is an element of truth, no doubt, in all his contentions, the exact extent of which we cannot accurately gauge for want of evidence; but the characteristic features of his theory—the sharply marked distinctions between race and race, between age and age—are far from being satisfactorily established. We are therefore forced to fall back on the older, less cut-and-dried view which regards the Mycenæan civilization as originating, no doubt, in pre-Achæan times, but as continuing after the arrival of the Achæans, and as fully adopted by them. The Pelasgi were, no doubt, one of the races among which the Mycenæan culture was diffused; but we have no proof that it originated with them, or was confined to them, or that they monopolised the whole Ægean world in the manner supposed by Professor Ridgeway. That iron was introduced into Greece from the north there can be little doubt; but that the Achæans brought it is more than questionable. We cannot fix the date of its introduction with any precision, and its advent may well have been gradual; but it is to the period when it was still comparatively new in Greece that the Homeric poems must be referred. The civilization reflected in them is Mycenæan, but it is late Mycenæan, probably of about the eleventh century B.C. Its splendour was still great, but it was nearing the season of its eclipse.

What its splendour was in the days of its glory we are only beginning to learn. Mr. Evans, at Knossos, is supplementing the work of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ and Tiryns and Troy, and Professor Halbherr at Phæstos and Mr. Hogarth at the Dictæan Cave and at Zakro have added large contributions to the stock of our knowledge. We see a rich civilization, extending, about the middle of the second millennium before Christ, over the islands and coasts of the Ægean—a civilization rich in gold and skilled in the arts of decoration, of a type which we may call primitive, and which no doubt left much to be achieved by the artists of classical Hellas, but which was vastly superior in vigour and freedom to those 'archaic' Greek sculptures and vase-paintings which mark the revival of art after the catastrophe of the Dorian invasion. It is a civilization in touch with that of Egypt and influenced by it (but very little affected by that of Babylonia, as Mr. Hall shows), yet with independent characteristics of its own which forbid us to look to Asia for its origin. It is a European civilization, though at what spot precisely it took its rise is a point which archæology has still to determine. Of the history of the peoples which produced it we know

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little or nothing. Archæology can restore to us concrete remains: it cannot give us detailed history. For that we need literary records; and these, unless and until Mr. Evans can find in the tablets of his Cretan script chronicles akin to the cuneiform library of Ashur-bani-pal, are almost wholly wanting. We see figures, but they are shrouded in gloom; and if we would see the gloom to any degree lifted we shall do well to strengthen, as much as in us lies, the hands of those who are labouring in the lands of the Nearer East.

We hardly think it creditable to the wealth of this country that such brilliant work should not have received fuller support than it has done. In order to do what has been already accomplished Mr. Evans has spent 2,000*l.* out of his own pocket. Funds are urgently needed to continue the work. Are there no wealthy people who would provide what is necessary to finish what has been so well begun?

ART. VI.—FOUCHÉ.

1. *Fouché, 1759–1820.* Par LOUIS MADELIN, Agrégé d'Histoire et de Géographie, Ancien Membre de l'École Française de Rome. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française. Deux Tomes. 8vo. (Paris, 1901.)
2. *Etude sur Fouché et sur le Communisme dans la Pratique en 1790.* Par M. le Cte. DE MARTEL, Ancien Préfet, Ancien Chef du Cabinet du Ministre de l'Intérieur. (Paris, 1873.)
3. *Etude sur Fouché.* Deuxième Partie. Fouché et Robespierre, le 9 Thermidor. Par M. le Cte. DE MARTEL. (Paris, 1879.)

M. MADELIN'S biography of Fouché affords another example of the intense and revived interest kindled throughout France in all that pertains to the era of the French Revolution. The mass of literature recently published which deals with that terrible and fascinating period is simply gigantic, and the bibliography of the man who under various guises played so conspicuous a part in it as the notorious Police Minister is so vast as to appal any but the most laborious and determined student. The bare enumeration of the authorities, contemporary and subsequent, published and manuscript, which M. Madelin has consulted fills more than twenty large octavo

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pages; and that all have been conscientiously laid under contribution is shown by the ample references which M. Madelin gives to his authorities, as well as by the fulness of skilfully compressed detail which imparts life and movement to his narrative. The two other and smaller works before us are drawn up on a different plan. M. de Martel reproduces for us a series of original documents, strung together by a running commentary which exhausts the copious vocabulary of French vituperation. The *ipsissima verba* of the revolutionary edicts and proclamations issued by Fouché at Nantes and Nevers, at Moulins and Lyons, fully establish the Proconsul's guilt, and justify the reiterated and monotonous denunciation in which M. de Martel indulges. The two writers illustrate the opposite poles of historic and artistic literary treatment, and may be read simultaneously with great advantage by those who can appreciate broad sketches as well as highly finished portraiture.

The early years of Joseph Fouché need not detain us long. Born May 21, in the year 1759, the son of a Breton sea captain and shipowner, he was prevented by feeble health from following his father's calling, and, after being educated at the college of the Oratorians at Nantes, he was appointed Professor of Physics in their college at Arras. Not many traits of Fouché's college days are recorded; but we learn that his favourite authors were Pascal, the Port-Royalist, and Massillon, whose *Petit Carême* often lay under his pillow. A good priest, the Abbé Merault de Bisy, encouraged the young Oratorian in his studies, gave him free access to his library, and fostered in him the germs of a promising if precocious piety; but, although tonsured, Fouché did not receive priest's orders. A life of blameless morality, a marked capacity for friendship, an obscure and quiet existence as a provincial professor, such was the career which destiny had apparently marked out for Joseph Fouché.

It was just at the moment when both the provincial and central authorities had rejected Fouché's petition for improved scientific apparatus that a lawsuit brought by the owner of a lightning conductor obliged his advocate to consult the scientists of the Oratory. The case excited much interest, and gave wide notoriety to the pleader engaged in it, one Maximilien Robespierre, a member of the provincial *états* of Artois. A warm friendship sprang up between the advocate and the professor, which subsequently was strengthened by Fouché's engagement to Robespierre's sister, Charlotte, and by his pecuniary assistance to her brother

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when, in April 1789, he left Arras to take his seat among the representatives of the Tiers Etat at Versailles. The new ideas were spreading in every direction, and the younger members of the Oratory embraced them with enthusiasm. An exchange of professorships with the professor of physics at Nantes introduced Fouché to a yet more turbulent arena. The Congregation of the Oratory was in full revolt, and had taken the civic oath. After the fashion of the day a club of 'the Young Friends of the Constitution' had been formed among the pupils, and soon a deputation complained to the Directory that their headmaster had set them impositions, in violation of the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity. It was evident that all the bonds of discipline were strained to the utmost. The Oratory was shattered. It might be necessary, without breaking away from his post as head of the college, that Fouché should seek his future in another sphere.

His first essay was not a happy one. As President of the 'Friends of the Constitution' Fouché wrote to congratulate Brissot upon his motion in favour of slave emancipation. Forthwith all Nantes was up in arms. True, the city had only just despatched missionaries to London to preach 'universal benevolence;' but abstract philanthropy was one thing, concrete fact another, and the merchants and mariners of Nantes were largely dependent—Fouché himself among them —on the slave plantations of St. Domingo. Before the loud outcry his letter occasioned Fouché made a rapid change of front. He wrote to Brissot that the Society had only desired to compliment him on his energetic resistance to the enemies of the Constitution, and had no intention of endorsing opinions which were highly dangerous. The incident is significant of Fouché's subsequent career. Nantes was essentially conservative, and the Fouché of 1790 was therefore conservative too. For the next two years he remained principal of the college. In September 1792 he married Bonne-Jeanne Coiquaud, elder daughter of the president of the administration of the district of Nantes. A few days later he was chosen to be representative of the Loire Inférieure in the Legislative Assembly.

The constituency of the Loire Inférieure was essentially conservative, and it was by professing conservative opinions that Fouché and his seven colleagues won its suffrages. In the Convention Fouché took his place on the Right, while Robespierre, from whom he was already estranged, sat on the opposite benches. Among Fouché's personal friends at this period Condorcet and Daunou were the most noted. Fouché

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of Nantes was as yet an unknown man, waiting on Providence, watching the signs of the times, and undergoing a useful training upon financial and other parliamentary committees. The discussion on national education brought Fouché to the tribune with the report of the committee, drawn up in September 1792. In supporting it he vowed, in an impassioned speech, that he would never consent to the alienation of the existing educational endowments, which were mostly in the hands of the Congregation of the Oratory. In the following year he published some reflections on public education, which vehemently denounced the Congregationalist system, branded all religion as hypocrisy and superstition, anathematized State payment of the priesthood, and demanded that all education should be based on pure reason only. This astounding change of front finds its explanation in the events that happened during the interval. The moderate party had been vanquished, and the death of Louis XVI. decreed January 21, 1793. It is mere waste of time to endeavour to fathom the motives which induced Fouché to vote with the majority. In after years he asserted that he was alarmed at the report that the King was bringing a German army to Paris; that his youthful spirit was intoxicated with the republican maxims of Athens and Sparta; that he was deluded by the representation not of the true Louis, but of the phantom monster set before the Convention. M. Madelin sweeps all such flimsy excuses aside. Fouché intoxicated! Fouché indignant! Fouché credulous! The man never lost his head or betrayed a symptom of fear, even when Robespierre publicly proscribed him. That his constituents at Nantes abhorred the King's condemnation was unquestionable; but he braved their wrath and his own misgivings under the conviction that the Jacobins were masters of the situation.

Whatever guilt attaches to Fouché for his regicide vote a far deeper and indelible stain is branded on his memory by the famous 'Missions' to Nantes, Nevers, and Moulins, and the wholesale massacres at Lyons. Yet absolutely inexcusable as Fouché was in inspiring and countenancing these enormities, M. Madelin contends—and alleges plausible reasons for his contention—that he was all the while wearing a mask. The chill ferocity of his letters is in stupefying contrast to his acts, so far as we can judge the latter by the accusations laid against him before the Convention of 1794. His own reports mingle declarations of the loftiest humanity with the roar of cannon that mow down two, three, or five hundred aristocrats

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at a single discharge. The indictments of his accusers complain only of arbitrary arrests, of irregularity in levying taxes, of the detention of a score of innocent citizens in prison, of the public preaching of atheism. His adoption of terrorism is the more culpable because extremes were alien to his natural temperament. But he was clear-sighted enough to foresee that in the impending struggle between the Girondists and the Dantonists the more ferocious party would prevail, and he then, as always, deliberately sided with the stronger, regardless of any other motive, human or divine.

His choice once made Fouché pursued it ruthlessly. Already his indefatigable industry was displayed in a torrent of edicts which quickened the zeal of sluggish patriotism and rallied thousands to the republican standards. Successive proclamations denounced the poltroonery of false republicans and called for their expulsion from the ranks; ordained the secularization of Church property and the abolition of all religions as subversive of morality; enacted social equality and a system of general education from which religion was expressly excluded; confiscated the property of *émigrés*, and ordered lands to be cultivated at the expense of absentees, while the crops should belong to the labourers who tilled them. The effect of these ordinances was soon manifest in the regiments despatched for the defence of the Republic and the treasure remitted to the central authority in Paris. Waggons laden with the spoils of a thousand sacristies—chalices, monstrances, reliquaries, jewelled and of the daintiest workmanship—copes and vestments of costliest material and design, and stiff with gold embroidery, the priceless gifts of centuries of devotion, the choicest works of art that self-sacrifice could secure and piety could sanctify, the unique treasure that could never be again replaced: all were swept from the sanctuaries which had so long sheltered them and sold at bankrupt prices to help provision the army, sold for the melting pot, or bought by greedy speculators to produce rich profit when happier days returned.

These extreme measures were prompted by the condition of things which Fouché found throughout the west, and which proved that the Revolution was most distasteful not only to the *noblesse* and the clergy, but to the bourgeois and the general population. It was necessary at first to proceed with caution, and Fouché wrote to Chaumette, 'I am compelled to adopt the policy of Machiavelli, or I should cause a premature explosion.' On his arrival at Nantes Fouché accordingly practised all the artifices of a consummate demagogue. He was

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accessible to everyone, declared his intention of doing justice to all alike, paraded his love for the justice which is not vengeance, but is inseparable from clemency and generosity. All was to be done for the welfare of humanity. The reign of universal peace was proclaimed. These incentives to patriotism were fittingly crowned by the 'civic baptism' of Fouché's infant daughter, born at Nevers on August 10, 1793. At the high altar of the country erected in the Place de la Fédération, with much tawdry pomp and bastard ceremonial, surrounded by a crowd of patriots and of the National Guard, with Citizen Damour as godfather and Citoyenne Champrobert as godmother, Fouché publicly acknowledged as his own legitimate offspring the child to whom the name of Nièvre was given. The weakling lingered through a year which devoted her father to the undying execration of posterity and touched the heart which a thousand crimes had only served to render more callous.

From philanthropic platitudes and pasteboard profanities there was an abrupt transition to sterner realities. News came from Paris that the faction of Chaumette and of the Terror was gaining the mastery, and Fouché hastened to anticipate their utmost desires. On October 9 he issued a proclamation which was the first official recognition of atheism. All public worship beyond the walls of the different churches, all wearing of ecclesiastical dress outside the sacred precincts, all display of religious emblems in the public streets or squares was forthwith prohibited. In one common burial-ground for all classes alike, isolated from all habitations and planted with trees, there was to be erected a solitary statue representing sleep; while over the entrance these words were ordered to be inscribed: 'Death is an eternal sleep.'

The protagonist of atheism, whose *pronunciamiento* afforded a model for wide imitation throughout France, can also claim to have been the prime author and apostle of the Commune. At Nantes, at Nevers, at Moulins, at Lyons edict after edict denounced the possession of wealth as an outrage on the poor, and enjoined the duty that lay upon all patriots to carry out measures of confiscation for the benefit of humanity. Only a perusal of these atrocious proclamations, for which we have not space in these pages, will convey an adequate idea of the universal ruin they prescribed.

M. Madelin does not support M. de Martel's assertion that it was at this period of shameless and general rapine that Fouché laid the foundations of his gigantic fortune. For the moment he was perhaps too absorbed in maintaining his

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reputation as a relentless Terrorist, which he was soon further to establish on an impregnable rock of infamy, but there was ample opportunity for peculation, of which some of the patriots took full advantage. The Revolution was rapidly descending on the downward path of Communism. The nobility and the priests had been got rid of, and now the merchant and commercial classes were proscribed, and with universal terror there would soon be complete stagnation in business and consequent universal misery. Ominous murmurs were rising and bitter complaints were reaching Paris, and Fouché was glad to leave Nantes to the tender mercies of Carrier and take up the work of exacting vengeance upon Lyons, whither he was despatched as second commissioner under Collot d'Herbois.

Of all the black catalogue of crimes that sullied the French Revolution none were darker than the scenes enacted in the great commercial metropolis of France. The town of Lyons, the second in population and importance in the kingdom, had been guilty of resisting the dictation of the Committee of Public Safety in Paris; had opened its gates to a royalist army, and had sent to the scaffold a republican leader named Chalier. Such audacity inflamed the Jacobins of Paris to ungovernable frenzy. In opposition to the policy of Robespierre, who was in favour of conciliatory measures, the famous or infamous decree of October 12 was passed by the Convention and declared: 'The town of Lyons shall be destroyed, and all the quarter inhabited by the rich shall be levelled. The collection of houses that remains shall bear the name of Ville Affranchie. On the ruins of Lyons shall be erected a column to testify to posterity the crimes of the Royalists of that city and its punishment, with this inscription: "Lyons made war against liberty; Lyons is no more."'

The task of accomplishing this horrible threat had proceeded but slowly under Couthon when Collot d'Herbois was despatched to supersede him. The new commissioner was a ruffian of the most degraded type, a *ci-devant* fourth-rate actor, a drunkard, and a debauchee, with all the blatant rant and vanity of a low poltroon, and all the excesses of a libertine clothed with unbridled power. To this coarse scoundrel there was now to be allied the subtle, sagacious, witty, and self-possessed ex-Oratorian; and, incredible as it sounds, he did not abjure the connexion. While partly screening himself behind D'Herbois he did not shrink from the most outrageous proposals of wholesale spoliation and butchery. The proclamations of the two commissioners might have issued from

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a madhouse filled with victims of homicidal frenzy. Hell was let loose on Lyons.

The partisans of Chalier had succeeded in fanning popular fury to the utmost pitch of insanity, and a public fête marked with the most horrible profanity was held to celebrate the apotheosis of the martyr. Words only applicable to the blessed Redeemer were addressed to him, and the commissioners bowed solemnly before his bust, which was placed on the high altars from which the priests had fled in terror. Our pen refuses to reproduce on these pages the blasphemies which Collot in the nation's name uttered ostentatiously in the Place des Terraux, in the renowned cradle of French Christianity. The vengeance solemnly promised to appease the manes of Chalier was worthy of such an inauguration. Murmurs arose that the tribunals were too dilatory, the prisons too restricted, the guillotine too slow for the multitude of the guilty, and speedier methods of retribution must be adopted. A new commission of seven was appointed, which within a few weeks condemned to death over two thousand citizens. The trials were of the briefest, the avowed object being at once to purge the community and to clear the overcrowded dungeons for fresh inmates. But how to be rid of the condemned! The commission recommended the use of cannon, and Fouché signed the decrees that authorized it.

On December 4, 1793, there was witnessed for the first time a novel spectacle of horror. On the plain of Les Brotteaux, between two parallel ditches, to serve as their place of sepulchre, sixty-four young persons tied together, two and two, were drawn up before the guns of the revolutionary army. The victims sang out the *chant du départ* as, at a signal from the platform where the representatives were seated, the cannon were discharged and mowed down at one blow the troop of martyrs. In a moment the *chant* was changed into piercing shrieks from the mass of mutilated forms, most of whom were still living and were brutally finished off with blows from swords and axes by the soldiers. Eleven days later the same scene was repeated, but this time no less than 209 were massacred. To the Committee of Public Safety the commissioners wrote, 'We experience a secret satisfaction, a solid enjoyment; nature resumes her rights, humanity appears avenged, the country is consoled and the Republic saved by being put on its true foundation, on the ashes of its cowardly oppressors. . . . Terror, veritable terror, is here the order of the day.' This letter, every syllable of which is

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stamped with the most odious cynicism and hypocrisy, bears side by side the signatures of Collot and Fouché.

Exasperation, terror, grief were all inflamed beyond endurance, and their voice at last made itself heard in the capital. Collot was summoned to Paris, and his appearance before the Convention was a triumph; but the note of warning had been sounded and Fouché began to prepare for a retreat. For the moment indeed his pen was as ferocious and his hand as blood-stained as ever. Another holocaust of over two hundred souls was offered to the revolutionary Moloch, but Fouché began to profess disgust at his task, and to plead that he was only obeying the orders of Collot and the Convention. The rapid interchange of parties at the capital, where Hébert, Danton, and Robespierre were contending for the mastery with elaborate and ever shifting intrigue and alternate success and failure, was infinitely perplexing, and to be suspected of moderatism was still a deadly hazard, but Fouché risked his life in protecting some of the *suspects*, and through them in warning others of their danger. It is pleasant to read that among these was an old member of the Oratory and professor of physics at the college of Juilly. 'You regret Juilly?' 'I have more reason to regret it than you!' and then opening his mind to him Fouché said, 'The agents of the Revolution are wretches and madmen; I am more their slave than their master.' Strange to say Robespierre, who had at first protested against the massacres, became a Terrorist at the moment when Fouché turned over to the moderates and took effective measures to repress the Terror at Lyons. These proceedings were viewed with disfavour by Robespierre's adherents in Lyons, and Fouché was recalled to Paris by a resolution of the Committee of Public Safety which reached him on April 1, 1794, and which ordered all proceedings against the patriots to be suspended. Was his sudden *volte-face* then a blunder? Had he miscalculated the turn events were taking? Was it destined that the confederate of Collot should fall under the accusation of lukewarmness?

The chapter describing the death struggle between Fouché and Robespierre which ended in the victory of Thermidor is a masterpiece of vivid, nervous narrative. Only nine months had passed since Fouché quitted the capital, but there had been crowded into them the work of a century. Fouché had been the chief agent of the Terror over a fourth part of France. He had grappled with enormous difficulties.

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'He had not only levied, armed, provisioned and sent under fire many thousands of troops to Mans, to Caen, to Nantes, to Lyons, to Toulon; he had not only tried to destroy by fire and sword, by mine and mitrailleuse, a city of 100,000 inhabitants "for the happiness of mankind"; he had not only overturned twenty communal administrations, district and departmental, transforming Directorial and Girondist municipalities into Jacobin powers, dictating laws, annulling marriages, condemning criminals; he had attempted, two years before Babœuf, to make the political revolution communist, he had striven, two years after the civil constitution of the clergy, to establish official atheism. His communistic decrees had inspired the great commune of Paris. His atheistic proclamations had swept over the south-west up to the Pyrenees. His passage was thus marked through thirty departments by fire and bloodshed amid the ruins of all order, political, social and religious. In Paris he had been passionately discussed. It was no obscure and ordinary commissary who, worn out, suffering, prematurely aged, reappeared with his wife and their dying infant at his third floor in the Rue St. Honoré on April 8, 1794' (i. 152–3).

Next day he took his seat in the Convention on the benches of the Mountain, in which Robespierre was just making terrible gaps. Vergniaud, Daunou, Condorcet, Hébert, Clootz, Ronsin, Chaumette, Danton, Camille Desmoulins—the ablest, the boldest, the most learned, the most winning, as well as the bloodiest and most brutal—had perished under the hatred of Maximilien the Incorruptible. Some of them had been Fouché's closest associates—Ronsin in the massacres of Lyons, Chaumette in the establishment of atheism—while Robespierre stood out as the champion of property and of theism. Some of them had enjoyed the support of the country, or the Commune, or the Convention; but all had fallen before the tortuous policy of Robespierre. He had undermined giants, and their ruin had made him king, and his royalty was sustained by the persistent terror and the monstrous popularity that success inspires. And the man himself was no raving madman, but a cool, calculating politician, blessed with inordinate pride and superb self-reliance; absolutely confident of his mission and his ideals; ready to sacrifice without compunction the bosom friend of to-day in order to further the project of to-morrow; calmly representing and believing himself to be the incarnation of Liberty, the Revolution, and the Republic, and his foes as necessarily their worst enemies; never forgetful of a slight, incapable of gratitude for a favour, crafty, insinuating, impenetrable, imperious. Robespierre has been justly termed the Pope of the Revolution.

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Such was the man whom Fouché had now to face in the full plenitude of power, which for the moment appeared as irresistible as it was merciless. The Convention was terrorized, the Commune crushed, the country stupefied. Each day it was whispered that fresh names were added to lists of the proscribed that were circulated, and Fouché's name was prominent in all of them. So widespread was the consternation that sixty deputies dared not sleep at their own homes. Forty more feigned sickness and took to their beds. True Robespierre had bitter enemies—Legendre, Tallien, Barras Collot, Billaud, Cambon, Carnot; but abler men than they had perished, and the survivors were paralyzed by uncertainty and mutual distrust. They had no common bond of action and no leader to weld them together until Fouché appeared upon the scene.

In all that terrible and motley group of politicians there was none who had more reason than Fouché to fear the enmity of Robespierre. In the clash of official administration they had been frequently at variance, and Fouché had won unpardonable triumphs. Their mode of thought was essentially conflicting. Robespierre was a stern doctrinaire, priding himself on immutable theories. Fouché was the supple prince of opportunists whose principles were ever changeable as the necessities of the moment should dictate. This strong political antagonism was envenomed by the poisoned stimulus of personal and private animosity—early intimacy chilled by after dissension, by the slight passed on Robespierre's sister, by the unwelcome memory of pecuniary obligation. It would be a struggle *à outrance*, and all the odds were in favour of the reigning dictator.

We cannot follow the details of the long-drawn conflict. More than once during its continuance Fouché seemed hopelessly lost. The Convention and the Jacobins, the Commune and the capitalists were all with Robespierre; but Fouché's confidence and courage ever rose with the rising tide of danger. The victory, won after alternate spasms of success and failure, was one of Fouché's proudest recollections. In 1815, when warned against the wrath of Napoleon, he answered, 'On a certain day Robespierre said, "Within a fortnight Fouché's head or mine must fall on the scaffold." It was *his* that fell.'

Would the fall of Robespierre, secured through a temporary alliance with the Centre, prove fatal to the victors? Would the Moderate party turn upon their new allies and despatch Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, Tallien and

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Fouché to the galleys or the guillotine? It is significant of the even balance of parties that every new combination among these distracted and discordant politicians suggested the fear of a reaction when the shrift of regicides would be short and stern. This consideration probably drove Fouché back again to the extremists. Again the struggle was long and arduous, and the denunciation of Fouché conclusively damning. All Tallien's eloquence was exhausted in the exposure of Fouché's crimes, while deputations from Nevers, Moulins, Clamecy, and Gannat swelled the indictment to a chorus of universal reprobation, until, after exhaustive debate, the condemnation and immediate arrest of Fouché of Nantes was decreed by the Convention. With what subtlety of intrigue and adroit special pleading he waged the unequal battle—now alleging that he had only been the instrument of others, now extenuating his actions by the jeopardy of the Republic, now urging the kindness he had extended to many of the proscribed Lyonnais; playing many parts simultaneously, communist, extremist, moderate, and displaying in all of them shameless audacity and consummate ability, so that when, twelve months later, all the leading Montagnards had perished on the scaffold or were rotting in the hulks, Fouché of Nantes was still at large, awaiting the counterplot which, supported by Napoleon's artillery, at once established the Directorate and plunged Fouché into impenetrable obscurity.

The three years which followed the success of Vendémiaire 1795 were years of poverty, wearisome inactivity, and repeated disappointment. Fouché did not obtain a seat in the new Representative Assembly, and his only powerful friend was Barras, whom he vainly plied with solicitations for employment. His private income was almost lost, owing to political changes at home and in the colonies, and he was even driven from his 'dog-hole' in the Rue St. Honoré, then overshadowed by the death of his child, and banished to the vale of Montmorency. At length an army contract, obtained through Barras's intervention, brought him into contact with Ouvrard and Hinguerlot, the great financiers of the hour, and his versatile talents were directed to the money market. Another turn of the political wheel of fortune saw Carnot and Barthélemy expelled from the Directorate, the elections annulled in four departments, the Royalists crushed, and Fouché gazetted, October 6, 1798, as French envoy to the Cisalpine Republic. His failure to retain this office was abundantly redeemed by his appointment to a like position

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in the Batavian Republic, which, under complicated difficulties, he filled with such rapid and signal success that he was selected by both Barras and Sieyès, despite their strong antipathy to one another, to be Minister of the General Police on the 2nd Thermidor, 1799. The stability he desired was not possible under a Directory distracted by mutual distrust and enmity, whose leading members, Barras and Sieyès, were already traitors to the constitution under which they held their powers.

It was under these circumstances that Fouché was recalled from Italy to resume the Ministry of the Police, and his biographer indulges in some caustic reflexions on the oath he was required to take on accepting office, an oath of hatred not only of the Jacobinism of which for three years he had been the coryphæus, but also of royalty, for which he would become a Secretary of State under the brother of Louis XVI.; an oath of attachment to the constitution which he was to overturn with Bonaparte on the 18th Brumaire, and to the republic whose death he was destined to hasten in 1804. Five days later there issued from the Hôtel de Juigné, on the Quai Voltaire, a proclamation from the Minister of the General Police to the French citizens, of which thousands of copies were printed and distributed. It was couched in terms of almost incredible audacity, at a time when none but the generals dared speak out, and was published without being first submitted to the Directory.

'To watch over all and for all,' so it ran, 'is the duty imposed on me under circumstances which demand exceptional energy and severity. At this moment the enemies of liberty are all in arms: without, they menace the territory of the Republic which they impiously promise to share among themselves: within, they stir up passion with a view to produce confusion and disorder. I have solemnly engaged to re-establish internal tranquillity: to put an end to the massacre as well as to the oppression of Republicans, to arrest the plots of traitors, and to snatch from the foreigner all hope of accomplices. Aid me, citizens, in this honourable task. Support me by your zeal, encircle me with your patriotism, and let this happy union of citizens and magistrates be the assured presage of the triumph of the Republic.'

The lofty independence of this manifesto was followed by corresponding energy in action. Fouché was convinced that a policy of *juste milieu* was indispensable, and he was determined to uphold it with impartial firmness. Vain were the outcries of Royalist and Jacobin. 'What will you do with the Jacobin Club?' 'I am going to dissolve it,' was

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the calm reply. It seemed incredible. The Club was openly supported by Bernadotte, the Minister of War, by Marbot, the Governor of Paris, by General Jourdan, the president of the Five Hundred. To the first of these, who then had no dreams of a throne, he said, 'Imbecile, where are you going and what do you want?' and when Bernadotte boasted of his Jacobinism he added, 'Recollect that if after to-morrow, when I have to deal with your club, I find you at its head, your own shall fall from its shoulders. I give you my word for it, and I will keep it.' Bernadotte yielded, and the two became fast friends. The threat to close the famous 'Société Constitutionnelle,' which for more than a year had terrorized the Directory, was carried out much after the fashion in which Cromwell dissolved the Long Parliament. Fouché expelled the members, locked the doors, and put the keys in his pocket. 'Probably,' says M. Madelin, 'the 27th Thermidor' (the date of this exploit) 'even more than the 18th Brumaire, which made Napoleon First Consul, won the dukedom of Otranto for the intrepid Police Minister.' Meanwhile the Directory he was upholding so ably was daily losing ground. Barras was treating with the Bourbons, Sieyès was dreaming of a military dictator. The hour was come but the man was wanting. What direct share Fouché had in devising the conspiracy which deposed the Directory and installed Napoleon as First Consul is somewhat uncertain; so little did the future Emperor know of the Police Minister that he kept him waiting for an hour in his ante-chamber, until Réal explained, 'He is just the man we want in such a transaction, and I have initiated him into the plot.' It was the first meeting between Napoleon and Fouché, and the future Emperor was speedily convinced of his ability. The bargain between them was struck on the spot.

Who could analyze the complex feelings which this strange being inspired in Napoleon and those which Fouché entertained for the Emperor? How singular was the association of these two men, the soldier of fortune and the upstart professor, the man of authority and the man of the Revolution, the passionate Corsican and the cool Breton, the genius of rapid conceptions and startling strokes and that of long-drawn combinations and secret intrigues! They knew and so judged one another on the 18th Brumaire, and during sixteen years they lived sometimes as colleagues, often in opposition, studying one another while they acted in concert, and ceaselessly measuring one another's aims. Napoleon knew all Fouché's intrigues with his foes, but he thought that the

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blood of Louis XVI. made an impassable trench between the Bourbons and Fouché of Nantes. He liked to taunt his Minister of Police with this painful souvenir: 'You voted for the death of Louis, monsieur le duc d'Otrante.' 'Certainly, Sire,' replied the irritated but always phlegmatic minister; 'that was the first service I was permitted to render to your Majesty.' Such cool rejoinders amused the autocrat. 'I ought to have had your head struck off,' Napoleon said one day to him. 'That would not be my advice, Sire,' was the imperturbable reply. 'What would you do if I were carried off by a cannon ball or some other accident?' asked the Emperor. 'I would seize as much power as I could, so as not to be mastered by circumstances.' 'Certainly it is fair play,' Napoleon replied. In his most ungovernable outbursts of wrath Napoleon retained his sense of Fouché's value; his activity, his intelligence, his application, his quick perception made him invaluable, even when he opposed and contradicted his sovereign. He did not take amiss his standing out against his passionate and imperious commands. The man's suppleness amused and his ability pleased him, and his consummate management of the police was indispensable. So for six long years the close association of the two remained so unbroken, despite their well founded mutual distrust and the unceasing efforts of Napoleon's minions to foment it, that the Duchesse d'Abrantès said of their quarrels, 'It is no use their returning letters and portraits; they always make it up again.'

M. Madelin devotes a long and interesting chapter to the evolution of the general police of France from its origin as merely of a branch of the *maison du roi* to its final development under the Empire. In a day when the country was honeycombed with intrigue and each successive government was in constant dread of insurrection; when adversaries were suspected from the most opposite quarters, whose fundamental antagonism would yet not prevent their combination and overturn the existing *régime*; when every department throughout France nurtured its own native brood of insurgents, whose restlessness was so fanned by foreign capital as to make a profitable trade of treason; when discontent was so rife among the clergy that every parish priest was a *suspect* and every religious seminary a hotbed of sedition; and when all these complicated factions of disorder had their head centres in the capital with its vast *ouvrier* population of hereditary volatility and explosive violence, the Minister of the General Police of France held probably the most

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important position of any servant of the country and the crown. He was responsible for the maintenance of public order, and required a whole army of subordinates, divided into territorial sections and enrolled under the most varied categories. A wide network of detectives, gendarmerie, and spies covered all France from the sands of Brittany to the shores of the Mediterranean, frequented the wine shops of country *cabarets* and the *salons* of the faubourgs, reported the latest arrival of a Royalist agent from abroad, the unrest of a Chouan commune, the suspicious expenditure of a village cultivator. Each district had its distinct body of officials, whose independent and separate reports were submitted daily to the Minister, who alone held the key to their combined significance, and could alone detect the first symptoms of a conspiracy before it had time to gather strength or even to be suspected by those who furnished the clue to its discovery.

Fouché's tenure of office from 1799 to 1815 was not unbroken. The story of its exercise is mainly filled with the record of innumerable plots, Royalist or republican, against the existing Government, a record which is only rendered interesting by relating details for which we have no space. The political atmosphere was charged with electricity in the most opposite directions, and clumsy manipulation might easily produce an explosion. The network of espionage which Fouché had woven was too delicate for any less skilful handling than his own, and needed a touch both light and firm. With unerring tact he knew exactly where to strike effectively and yet to avoid all needless agitation. He consistently opposed extreme measures, and so incurred the wrath of Napoleon, whose detestation of the republicans was unbounded, and that of his *entourage*, who persistently supported the reactionists, and the latter, after many attempts, secured the suppression of the Ministry of Police, as no longer requisite after the Peace of Amiens. The rank of Senator for Aix, with an income of 20,000 livres, and a further gift of 1,200,000 francs paid down, gilded a dismissal which was further softened by the First Consul's assurance that he should still receive with pleasure Fouché's information and advice. Napoleon soon found that he had abundant need of them, that the unofficial reports of the ex-Minister exposed the incapacity of his successor and revealed Fouché's grasp of the situation. 'Consult Fouché,' the First Consul repeatedly wrote to Réal, who was now at the head of the police, and a series of blunders, crowned by the infamous murder of the

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Duc d'Enghien, provoked a furious outburst of discontent, which placed Napoleon's life in peril. 'The air is full of poignards,' was Fouché's note of warning. A yet further timely service—the passing by the Senate of the decree which besought the First Consul to assume the Imperial crown—led to the re-establishment of the Ministry of Police and the restoration of Fouché to its direction. The official *Moniteur* duly announced the appointment, July 11, 1804.

All the vigilance of the reinstalled Minister was roused by the perils that surrounded the new-born Empire. First and foremost of these was the conspiracy with which Moreau, Napoleon's ablest general, was implicated, and which kindled such enthusiasm on the great soldier's behalf in Paris that Georges, the famous Chouan leader, said, 'If I were in Moreau's place I would sleep to-night in the Tuileries.' Then the activity of the Royalist reaction, sustained by help from England in the south and west of France, needed unremitting watchfulness. The hostility of the clergy, justly irritated by Napoleon's ill-treatment of the Pope, was further cause of unceasing anxiety. Never were the Police Minister's consummate astuteness and duplicity more signally exerted than at this period of his ministry. He traced with unerring sagacity and crushed with an iron hand successive plots in Normandy and Brittany, in the south of France and the heart of Paris. He laid before his suspicious master all their details with masterly lucidity, not hesitating in his absolute self-reliance to include his own name in the list of those on whose aid the conspirators were believed to be relying for support. He gathered up the scattered threads of intrigue spun in England and Jersey, and hunted down with such vigorous precision their leaders—Prigent, Armand de Chateaubriand, Le Chevalier, Goyon Vaucouleur—as to extort the Emperor's admiration and make himself indispensable. Yet in the pursuit of these measures of repression he contrived to gain the ear of Louis XVIII., and so to prepare for his retention of office after the restoration of the Bourbons.

It is remarkable that so terrific an upheaval as the French Revolution should have thrown up only two men, Talleyrand and Fouché, who, surviving the Directory and the Consulate, could claim the rank of statesmen when the Empire was inaugurated. Until 1808 they had been bitter opponents and had pelted each other with fierce epigrams. 'It is strange that Fouché should hold so low an opinion of human nature,' remarked a friend to Talleyrand. 'He knows himself thoroughly,' was the reply. 'A minister of police is a person

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who first applies himself to that which concerns him and then to that which does not concern him,' was another *mot* of the ex-bishop, which deeply offended his rival. When Talleyrand was nominated Vice-Grand Elector Fouché remarked, 'It is the only vice he has not already, and will not count for much amongst so many of them.' No small astonishment was consequently occasioned by the sudden and ostentatious reconciliation brought about through the intervention of D'Hauterive. Men began to ask what *the two conspirators*, as Metternich called them, were brewing. Every movement of the Police Minister was reported to the Emperor, then absent at the front. He was plotting his master's downfall. He was burning compromising papers. Of this chronicle of scandal Fouché knew every detail, and could reply to it effectively. 'Burning papers, was he? Yes, he was always burning papers, his pigeon-holes were choked with them,' and then, with the subtlest *persiflage* and the most venimous pleasantry, he would turn upon his opponents and describe their private life and their political conduct, their indiscretions, their gallantries, their conjugal misfortunes, until each was hopelessly discredited or compromised.

How far the idea of overturning Napoleon was ever entertained in the fertile brain of the Police Minister, who had just been honoured with the title of Duc d'Otrante, will probably never be revealed. Some of his contemporaries believed it, and even those Bonapartists who discredited the story vehemently protested against the excessive power which Fouché's union of two great ministries bestowed. Napoleon's suspicions were aroused. The tone of his despatches suddenly changed, and Fouché was relieved of the portfolio of the Home Office. With superb self-control Fouché affected the utmost satisfaction at being freed from duties which were incompatible with the proper fulfilment of the Ministry of Police. And the Emperor, while he severely blamed the calling out of the National Guard of Paris, wrote, 'This mistake by no means effaces the merit of all you have done for my service.'

Yet how deep was the Emperor's mingled distrust and displeasure is strikingly illustrated by a scene which occurred within a week of Fouché's receipt of the commendation we have just quoted. On October 26, 1809, Napoleon arrived at Fontainebleau post haste from Spain, and next day Fouché was peremptorily summoned to attend. What passed at the long and stormy interview can only be conjectured from its strange *dénouement*. On leaving the imperial cabinet Fouché

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found General Ségur, with whom he was on far from friendly terms, waiting in the antechamber, and, to the General's boundless astonishment, the Police Minister in the greatest agitation went straight up to him and led him off for a long walk in the Forest of Fontainebleau.

'There, in one long passionate and terrific monologue he repassed before Ségur, who was at once stupefied and deeply moved, his terrible past, endeavouring to justify it all—his adhesion to the Revolution of 1789, to the republic in '92, his vote in January '93, his odious missions in the year II, recalling the part he had taken on the 9th Thermidor, in the ruin of the Jacobins under the Directory, in the *coup d'état* of Brumaire and the establishment of the Empire, the whole in a tone of such vehement self-exculpation that his confidant could not but conclude that the minister had been obliged, in the Emperor's cabinet, to be silent under too cruel recriminations' (ii. 136).

There were, however, two burning questions of the hour in the management of which Fouché's experience and tact were indispensable—the struggle with the Roman priesthood and the preparation for the impending divorce. Fouché's manner of handling the recalcitrant clergy was a masterpiece of political vigour combined with the keenest regard for his own self-interest. He put down all attempts to violate the fundamental principles of the Revolution with relentless severity, suppressed all missions or other associations which under a religious title would foster the reaction, maintained with unyielding firmness the most absolute religious equality, and braved the wrath of Cardinal Fesch and the Jesuits. At the same time he recognized how just was the indignation roused by Napoleon's unworthy treatment of Pius VII., and sheltered many of the cardinals and other dignitaries from the Emperor's brutality so adroitly that all the blame for cruelty was imputed to the sovereign and all the credit for indulgence was assigned to his minister.

In the controversy that raged about the selection of an empress to take the place of the outraged Josephine Fouché earnestly advocated a marriage with the Russian royal family, on political and personal grounds. He deprecated the choice of a niece of Marie Antoinette as affording an inevitable stimulus to the reaction, and prophesied with statesmanlike sagacity the dangers of so unnatural an alliance. It required little foresight to understand how it would imperil the position of a regicide minister, but Fouché struggled bravely and for a time successfully. When the Empress arrived she played her first game at whist with the two regicides Cambacérès

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and Fouché, but her household was composed of rallied Royalists, and the entire Court swarmed henceforward with those to whom the man of Nantes and Lyons was utter abomination. The enormous mass of notes belonging to the years 1809 and 1810 show how ably and unceasingly Fouché fought to maintain his ground with no other ally than his own unique combination of audacity and dexterity. Yet the great position he had so strenuously established was undermined by his own hand, and he was finally and deservedly hoist by his own petard.

No part of Napoleon's policy was so distasteful to Fouché as his persistent hostility to England. He regarded it as opposed to the highest interests of France and the Empire. To make a satisfactory peace with the Court of St. James's would relieve France from a crushing expenditure, revive commerce, now seriously crippled through the command of the sea by its powerful enemy, put an end to the perilous plots fostered by English gold, and effectually extinguish the hopes of the reactionaries who thronged around the exiled Bourbons. Fouché had with this view cultivated every opportunity of establishing an understanding with the English Government, and he now employed several confidential agents —the financier Ouvrard being the principal—to open negotiations with the Marquis Wellesley. The transaction was betrayed to Napoleon; Ouvrard was instantly apprehended, and the Emperor hurried, flaming with anger, from the army to St. Cloud. After some threatening preliminaries a grand Council of State was held, June 3, 1810, at which Fouché was the only high dignitary who did not attend. 'What think you,' asked Napoleon abruptly, 'of a minister who, abusing his position, and without the knowledge of his sovereign, opens communications with the enemy, commences diplomatic negotiations on a basis of his own devising, and in this way compromises the policy of the State? What punishment is enjoined in our codes for such a betrayal?' The Council, filled with Fouché's adversaries, was silent. Cambacérès hesitatingly uttered a few words of extenuation. Talleyrand smiled. Napoleon took them up shortly. 'The Minister of Police is disgraced. Who is to succeed him?' Once more general silence, amidst which Talleyrand's voice was heard in a whisper to his neighbour. 'Doubtless M. Fouché has acted very wrongly, and for my part I can find a substitute for him, but only one—that is, Fouché himself.' The public despatch which informed Fouché of his dismissal and his appointment to the government of Rome was accompanied by a private

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letter from the Emperor, couched in terms of almost fatherly and dignified remonstrance, in which the writer declared his confidence in the purity of Fouché's intentions and his hope that he might yet enjoy the benefit of his talents and faithful services.

The Emperor's decision once known there was not an hour to be lost, and Fouché, summoning his intimate friend Gaillard to his aid, set about the destruction of all compromising papers. Thousands of confidential communications of every description, from avowed and secret agents, in all classes of society and from all political groups, whose contents might bring ruin upon the writers and upon Fouché himself, filled the countless *dossiers* of the Quai Voltaire. When the Duc de Rovigo, Fouché's appointed successor, arrived, in no little trepidation at the reception he might meet with, he was welcomed with profuse cordiality. Fouché would be only too glad to afford him any assistance, but it would, of course, require some time to arrange the papers, and Madame Fouché would also want to leave the *hôtel* in perfect order. Rovigo gladly acquiesced in so reasonable and helpful a suggestion, and the work of destruction went on unremittingly. From time to time Gaillard pleaded for the preservation of specially interesting documents, but for four successive days packet after packet was cast into the flames.

The minister's retirement from office was followed by some stormy passages with Napoleon. As the extent of his secret and unauthorized negotiations with Lord Wellesley was more fully revealed the Emperor's irritation increased, and he peremptorily demanded the surrender of all the late Police Minister's correspondence. Fouché asserted that he had destroyed all confidential papers; that the Emperor's own letters and those of other members of the Imperial Family had been too sacred and confidential to allow of their meeting other eyes than his own; that, as no like demand had been made on his former resignation, he had not anticipated such a request. The dispute waxed hotter and hotter, and eventually, after a partial compliance, Fouché was dismissed from office and ordered to set out either for his estates in Aix or for some place in Italy within twenty-four hours.

There is a marked decline in the interest of the Fouché romance—for his entire biography is one continuous romance—from the date of his disgrace in June 1810 until his resumption of office on Napoleon's return from Elba in April 1814. Needless to say so restless a spirit, while affecting the utmost

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indifference to power and declaring that he only longed for quiet and for the education of his children, busied himself with unwearied efforts to regain his place on the Quai Voltaire. He played, as usual, many parts at once, now sending Napoleon sound counsel which, if followed, might have saved the Empire, advocating liberal measures, trying to dissuade him from the expedition to Russia; now coquetting with the Comte d'Artois and promoting the return of the Bourbons: now contriving dark designs with Murat, and under strong suspicion of sharing his treachery and the consequent loss of Italy. When Napoleon retired to Elba he assumed the character of a candid friend, recommended him in an open letter to take up his abode in the United States, for in Europe he would always be to the sovereign Powers what Vesuvius is to Naples. To the Bonapartists he affected to support the proposal that the King of Rome, assisted by a powerful regency, should be acknowledged as emperor in his father's place. To the Royalists he insinuated that the rule of Louis XVIII., after eighteen years of exile, ignorant of the internal state of the country and absolutely without experience, could only be maintained through the skilful pilotage of the minister who knew how rightly to handle the general police and was in his own person the one trustworthy link to unite the Revolution, the Empire, and the Bourbon throne.

Fouché had not reached Paris when Napoleon's abdication in April 1814 opened the way for the Bourbons, nor was his name among the Provisional Government which recalled Louis XVIII. 'Les absens ont toujours tort.' He returned, however, in time to assume a leading position as Minister of State and to display his wonted fertility of resource in arranging matters of critical delicacy. His counsels of moderation fell on unheeding ears, and he quickly despaired of the monarchy when Napoleon landed in the Gulf of Juan. There are men who in times of political crises should be either in prison or in power, and Bourrienne, the recently appointed prefect of police, had orders to arrest Fouché. The ex-Police Minister was utterly astounded when his carriage was stopped on the boulevard and the warrant for his apprehension produced; but he only shrugged his shoulders, and saying, 'We do not arrest a minister or a senator in the street,' he ordered his coachman to drive to his *hôtel*. Once there, the Duc d'Otrante protested vehemently it was some gross mistake; the warrant was a forgery; it was utterly improbable that a minister should be arrested who had spent the whole night closeted with the Police Minister and the King's brother;

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they had better send for the National Guard and inquire whether the King or the Comte d'Artois knew anything about it. While these inquiries were being prosecuted Fouché walked up and down, talking with the commandant Tournon, to whom the warrant had been entrusted, expressing perfect confidence in the answers which would be received from the Tuileries, and as he leaned for a moment against the door of a partition he suddenly disappeared. Tournon, suspecting no stratagem, waited a decent time, and then went in search of his host, who had sprung from a window into his garden, scaled the wall by a ladder, and disappeared. He did not emerge from his hiding-place, from whence he sent indignant protests to the Senate and to Madame de Custine, until Napoleon's arrival at the Tuileries. A few hours later he accepted for the fourth time the portfolio of the Police from the man whose forced exile he had advocated for the past eleven months and to whom he had addressed such disdainful counsel.

A hazardous escape from the most imminent peril during the Hundred Days is too characteristic of both the Emperor and his minister to be passed over. Owing to his friendly relations with the English and Austrian diplomatists Napoleon at times employed Fouché in negotiations with them, and, under cover of some public transaction, Fouché, at the request of Metternich, despatched a secret agent of his own to confer with Werner, a confidant of the Austrian Chancellor. The plot was revealed to Napoleon; Fouché's agent was arrested and confessed, and Fouché himself—as yet ignorant of what had happened—was summoned by the Emperor, but failed to say a word on the matter. Convinced of his minister's treachery, Napoleon determined to probe the matter more deeply, and sent Fleury, one of his secretaries, to meet Werner at Bâle. There the whole scheme came out. Before, however, Fleury could return Fouché was informed of what was in store for him. With the most perfect *sang-froid* he repaired on some excuse to the Tuileries, and in the course of conversation with the Emperor he observed, 'By the way, sir, I have forgotten to name to you a letter I have had from M. Metternich. I have so many important things to attend to. Besides his messenger forgot the powder to bring out the sympathetic ink, and I thought there was some mystification. Here it is, sir.' Further inquiry revealed deeper depths of treason, but Napoleon thought the season inopportune for revenge.

The hesitations and embarrassments following upon the

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crushing defeat of Waterloo need not detain us, since M. Madelin avowedly borrows his account of the crisis from Thiers's well known history. The imperturbable *sang-froid* of Fouché must have been perpetually strained to the utmost. His unerring instinct told him that the restoration of Louis XVIII. was the only practicable solution of the crisis, but in his judgment it was essential that the Bourbons should neither be imposed on France by the allies nor too cordially welcomed by the nation, but should owe their acceptance to his own unique and peculiar sagacity and statecraft. Despite the alternate audacity and duplicity with which he cajoled in turn the Republican, Bonapartist, and Reactionary leaders—Carnot, La Fayette, Macdonald—despite the cool intrepidity with which he faced the rising displeasure of the Chamber and the outspoken indignation of his colleagues in the Ministry, who found themselves incessantly duped or disregarded; despite the unwearied patience with which he strove to moderate the dangerous impetuosity of the Royalists, whose interests he was yet promoting under such imminent peril—all seemed hopelessly jeopardized by the obstinacy with which the Ultra-Royalists refused the liberal concessions that Fouché urged upon them. Meanwhile the allied forces were steadily advancing towards Paris, and unless terms of capitulation could be promptly arranged the fall of the capital was inevitable. M. Madelin suggests in a few eloquent sentences the deplorable consequences which would have followed its forcible occupation, and assigns due and unstinted praise to Fouché and Davout for the timely concessions by which these inexpressible calamities were averted. 'This should be acknowledged and repeated,' he writes. 'On July 3, 1815, they saved Paris and France.'

With the confirmation of his appointment as Minister of State to the Most Christian King the fortune of Fouché reached its zenith, and in the following month (August 1815) the top stone was placed on it by his marriage with Gabrielle de Castellane, a daughter of one of the most ancient families of Provence. His biographer pauses at this point to moralize upon a career whose success seemed to defy all justice, human or divine—a career probably without parallel in the long page of history—and we crave space for a condensed recital of the long-drawn indictment M. Madelin prefers. Fouché had apostatized early in life, and though engaged in ecclesiastical duties had borne in a few months, through fear, ambition, and absolute lack of convictions, to become the most violent apostle of irreligion, persecuting his brethren,

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proscribing Christian worship, profaning its altars, and abjuring its God. He had committed murder and boasted of it, while he secretly deplored it, and for twenty-one years on the plain of Les Brotteaux there had stood the huge charnel-house where were rotting the remains of two thousand Lyonese shot down by Fouché of Nantes, while the pavement of the city was still stained with blood from the scaffold which he had raised. He had voted the King's death, although a few hours before he had professed to desire his acquittal. He had preached communism and public plunder, and yet had amassed a gigantic fortune through obscure speculations and disreputable profits, and had acquired a great political position through unblushing treacheries. The servant of Barras and Sieyès, he betrayed the one on the eve and the other on the morrow of Brumaire. Laden with wealth and honours by Napoleon, he had contributed more than anyone to his final ruin, and when the son's fortune was under his charge he had been a traitor to him, as he was to his father. Yet everything had prospered with him. The clergy honoured the apostate. The Faubourg St. Germain received with open arms the murderer of the aristocracy at Nantes and Nevers, the assassin of the nobility at Lyons. The bankers and financiers of Paris looked on the communist of the Terror as their mainstay in the Ministry, and chose him as their representative. His modest fortune, all but ruined in 1793, had swelled to nearly twenty millions in 1815; he was the largest landed proprietor in France, with châteaux, *hôtels*, forests, domains, and each day was augmenting his princely estate; and, to crown all, he had just married a beautiful girl of twenty-six with the bluest blood of France in her veins, while the marriage contract was signed by the consecrated King of France, the anointed descendant of St. Louis, and the wedding was blessed with the benediction of Cardinal Maury, one of the most honoured men in the French Church, bestowed on the new couple from Rome.

And now the old story repeats itself. Fouché's fortune has culminated and long prosperity apparently is before him—credit, power, popularity, domestic happiness, royal favour. He was elected by three constituencies for the new Chamber. He had the support of the Comte d'Artois. He was deemed indispensable. Suddenly the ground beneath him collapsed. The new Chamber, filled with ultra-reactionists, would have none of him. One by one his supporters forsook him—Talleyrand among the first. Murmurs were heard that the presence of a regicide in the Council was an outrage, and D'Artois turned him the cold shoulder. Pamphlets de-

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nounced in uncompromising language his earlier crimes, his most recent political infidelities, his scandalous wealth. The Duchesse d'Angoulême, whom Napoleon called the only *man* among the Bourbons, had bluntly declared she would never receive him. It is unnecessary to dilate upon the *Two Reports* whose publication formed the excuse for Fouché's dismissal. It was only a month after his marriage that his mission as ambassador to Dresden for the second time gilded the disgrace and closed the official career of Joseph Fouché. He was never to see France again. After four years of wandering in Germany and Austria he died at Trieste, fortified by the rites of the Church, on December 28, 1820. A violent snowstorm overturned the hearse that was bearing his coffin to the basilica of San Giusto, as if nature refused peaceful rest to the man who passed so agitated and tempestuous an existence.

ART. VII.—CHRISTIANITY AND HUMANISM.

Culture and Restraint. By HUGH BLACK. (London, 1901.)

To all who hold that the Christian Faith comes from God—that it is essentially Divine, alike in its significance for Thought, and in its practical serviceableness for Life—the question as to the precise relation between that Divine gift and the natural order in the midst of which it comes to us is one of surpassing interest; to Christian philosophy—at least, to Christian philosophy in that widest sense in which it aims at an interpretation of the whole of History and Existence, the whole of Being and Becoming—it is, perhaps, of central importance.

What is the relation of Christianity to secular History? What is the true relation of the Church to the World, and of the Christian ideal of Life to those other ideals which the age-long history of the world has wrought out, and which, in the present and the past alike, have been so often set forth as alternative? Is it a relation of contrast or of contradiction, or can we, in any practically significant and useful sense, hold that the Divine order is the completion and fulfilment of the natural?

In the past history of Christendom there have been many who have seen only a contrast or contradiction between the Divine economy of grace in which they had their life and the

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secular order around them. The Christian vocation had come to them as, primarily, a call to separation—to separation, not only from the world's sin, for as such the call of God comes to each one of us, but also from its predominant interests and characteristic activities. The new life into which Christ had brought them seemed one in which the aims, the rewards, and the criteria of the world's daily business has no place. These belonged, or seemed to belong, to a passing scene of history, upon which sin had already brought the Divine condemnation. They were, characteristically, of the world, worldly, and, in sharpest contrast to them, the aims, the rewards, the criteria, of the Christian life seemed wholly 'other-worldly.' To believers such as these the old-world cry, 'Come out of her, my people!' seemed the present call of God to the present world, and they followed it, if not always literally into desert places apart from the world's thronging life, at least into spiritual solitudes which only the Divine Presence made habitable, and into which the world's industry and policy could find no entrance. 'Come out of her, my people!' Yes! Yes! But the world remained, if not with them, at least around them, obstructing their pilgrim-way with snare and hindrance, pressing in upon them with its adverse practice, and conflicting ideals, with its claims for an allegiance other than theirs. What wonder if the apocalyptic war in Heaven between the hosts of light and darkness seemed prophetically descriptive of the Church's life on earth? What wonder if men found in 'To your tents, O Israel!' the true watchword of Christian vigilance.

It is, perhaps, natural whenever men find either in their own personal experience, or in the history of the world as it is daily worked out before their eyes, extreme illustration of the moral difference between life with Christ and life apart from Him, that they should think of the Church of Christ, which is confessedly *in* the world, but not *of* it, as essentially a contrast to the world. It is quite natural, too, that they should express that contrast in terms that raise it into antithesis. Such a dualism, then—if one may put a little constraint upon a convenient word—such a dualism was natural in the first years of our era, when the fresh beauty of the Christian life first came to men, and, amid the corruption of the dying Græco-Roman world, brought them the glory of a new hope, the power of a new birth. No words then seemed too strong in which to set forth the contrast between the flesh and the spirit, between the old life and the new, between the cities of earth's dying civilization, embittered by hardness and

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stained by lust, and that 'holy city, the New Jerusalem,' into which nothing can enter that 'worketh abomination or maketh a lie.' No words then seemed too strong to emphasize the difference, and, in later history, in times of religious revival, when men have seen anew the glory of Christ, and felt anew the power and the wonder of His salvation, the same difference—essentially the same difference, although otherwise illustrated—has led to the same emphasis. Apart, too, from such general visitations of the Spirit, whenever, in any individual heart that same difference is found, whenever in and to any individual experience the new life of grace stands out, and is seen to stand out, against an earlier darkness that might be felt, then, also, and quite naturally, Thought, in reflecting upon the contrast it so intimately knows, is prone to rest on the apparent antithesis as final.

It is with the broad contrast thus indicated that Mr. Black deals in the book now before us. He contrasts two ways of life—the way of self-realization, and the way of self-sacrifice—the one as characteristic of the world's secular morality, the other as distinctively Christian, and he asks, 'What is the truth concerning them?' The question 'is no academic one' —certainly not for those who are awake to the seriousness of the Christian's choice; certainly not for those who, in early years, when life is opening before them, rich in promise and attraction, are called upon to decide between the two ways. Mr. Black uses the words 'Culture' and 'Restraint,' and other words which he employs as substantially equivalent to these, to characterize the two ideals he contrasts.

According to the one view,

'the purpose of life is that we should come into the full realization of our powers; and this is to be achieved, not by limitation, but by expansion, by obeying our nature fearlessly. It carries with it the sacred duty to develop all the faculties, to train the mind, to attempt to reach a complete and well-balanced state of existence, to become all that it is possible for each individual to become' (p. 4).

How sharply contrasted, in Mr. Black's view, is the other ideal, 'the other extreme,' we may gather from the following passage:

'It glorifies self-denial, and points resolutely to a strait gate and a narrow way, and does not hesitate to denounce as self-indulgence the aim of culture, to perfect the nature by the varied channels which the world affords. Only in sacrifice is life perfected. It speaks of restraint, denying oneself, and giving up, cutting off a right hand, and plucking out a right eye. In the passion of sacrifice it seems

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to make the ideal an emasculated life, anæmic, impoverishing the nature, cutting off the sources of joy, reducing the scope of the powers, and narrowing down the whole horizon. It is the way of the cross, and to the eye of culture it looks like madness, ever meddling with the free play of human instincts, ever silencing the voice of nature, leaving a poor mutilated life. Not "Be yourself" is the watchword, but Give up, go without, renounce the natural, put a check upon the normal and spontaneous outflow of vital energies, tame and subdue the high heart of man' (p. 7).

Out of this contrast arises a fundamental question.

'Should a man obey his nature or thwart it, seek self-limitation or self-expansion?' (p. ix.).

To this, notwithstanding the fact that one of these alternative ideals seems to him to be distinctively characteristic of non-Christian thought, while the other is historically just as characteristically at home in the Church, Mr. Black finds no simple or evident answer.

On the one hand he finds himself compelled to recognize that the 'instinct which seeks self-expression is innate to us,' and that 'no theory, economic or religious, can destroy the individualism of man' (p. 3). On the other hand he finds that the ideal of self-restraint has often led men into extremes of ascetic renunciation with which it is impossible for any of the modern world wholly to sympathize, extremes in which we find 'religion depreciating things which are the very glory of the race, in the strange thought of honouring God by denying some of God's gifts to men' (p. 3).

Once more, the question is not an academic one. It is pre-eminently practical, concerning as it directly does, our practical attitude towards the daily life around us.

'If we mean to follow Christ and do His will, what does that mean as to our relation to the common pursuits and human connections? Must we in any sense cut adrift from them and even renounce the natural bonds which unite us to the general social organism of our day? Is renunciation the keynote of the faith, and the accredited method of entering into the fullest Christian life?' (pp. x–xi).

'Must we . . . renounce the natural bonds which unite us to the general social organism of our day?' Upon our answer to this will depend not only our practical course in life, but also our philosophy of history. The question Mr. Black formulates, although immediately a practical one, is not exclusively practical. We have before us, not merely different ways of life, but different views of the world—different *Weltanschauungen*—and our answer, whatever it

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be, will therefore have wide-reaching consequences and implications for thought as well as for life.

By a simple comparison of the two conceptions of life, Mr. Black is unable to find grounds for a decisive choice between them. It is easy to decide between Pleasure and Duty, Right and Wrong, Selfishness and Unselfishness. Our choice is made—at least, our theoretical choice is made—as soon as the contrast is stated. But between Culture and Restraint we can make no such immediate decision. Here, the contrast, although on the surface marked enough, does not lead us to any immediate choice. There is something to be said for each. Each appears to contain an element of truth. There are facts on each side of the contrast—facts that cannot be disputed, facts that cannot be ignored. Neither view can be wholly rejected. We must endeavour to take both conceptions up into some higher thought that shall do justice to the truth in each.

Mr. Black identifies his conflicting ideals with the contrasted temperaments which—following, we presume, Mr. Matthew Arnold—he calls respectively the Hellenic and the Hebraic, and his opening chapter touches upon the warfare of these ideals in Maccabean and post-Maccabean Jewry. 'Thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece.'[1] Mr. Black does not, however, suggest that the conflict of these ideals is only a chapter in ancient history. Far from it. His names indicate a spirit; they are not intended to enforce or suggest national limitations. For him the Palestinian conflict was but one phase of a warfare that has not yet ceased. For him Western Europe during the Renaissance, and England during the seventeenth century, were scenes of spiritual struggles strictly comparable with those of the earlier time, and as, for him, Savonarola and the English Puritans were spiritual successors of the Pharisees, so the Humanists and Cavaliers stood in the Hellenistic line of the Sadducees.

The following passages show how Mr. Black conceives of the original contrast which furnishes him with his historical names:—

'Not self-sacrifice but self-realization, was the highest word of Greek thought. Every natural impulse was justified and had the sanction of religion, and even had a special deity assigned to it. The highest human aim came to be the cultivation of the natural, the beautiful, the graceful, in the world and human life, the due balance and harmony of all the powers and capacities of man, the fulfilment of the whole nature, the development of all sides of life (pp. 16–17).

[1] Zechariah ix. 13.

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'Pagan religion was nature-worship, the worship of what is, not the vision of the glory and holiness of God, which drove the Jews to their knees. . . .

'The contrast can be worked out in detail on many lines, but it is evident how the two ideals differ and how it is true that Zion must be against Greece. The one stood for Religion and the beauty of holiness; the other for Culture and the love of beauty. The one was sensitive to the moral purity of God and therefore to the moral sanctions of life; the other was sensitive to æsthetic beauty and therefore to the natural glory of life. Hebraism adored and glorified God; Hellenism deified the world and glorified man. . . . . Hebraism, therefore, stands to us for moral discipline; Hellenism for the culture of the human, the sensitive love of the beautiful and the joy of living' (p. 17).

In later times, when the Hebraic spirit, working itself out under the new conditions of Christian faith and practice, had issued in asceticism, the contrast appeared yet more marked. Compared with 'Hellenism'—simple and natural and joyous, a sort of victorious possession of the world—'Hebraism' wore a sadly unattractive guise—'unearthly, renouncing joy, and creeping out of the great experiences of life' (p. 326).

The following well-known passage, which is quoted by Mr. Black (p. 326), well illustrates the contrast between the full-blooded humanism of the Greeks and some, at least, of the ascetic ideals that grew up under the shadow of 'the Cross.'

'They were standing before the Apollo in the Belvidere gardens. Inglesant took from beneath his vest a crucifix in ivory, exquisitely carved, and held it beside the statue of the god. The one, the noblest product of buoyant life, the proudest perfection of harmonious form, purified from all the dross of humanity, the head worthy of the god of day and of the lyre, of healing and of help; the other worn and emaciated, helpless, dying, apparently without power, forgotten by the world.'[1]

No wonder if to many in those days the message of the Cross seemed foolishness. But such it must have seemed to the Greeks even at first, before its bearers had learned the extreme vocabulary of asceticism—so marked, says Mr. Black, 'are the contrasts between the way of culture and the way of restraint, so wide the differences between the temperaments to which they severally appeal.

'The cross, and the message of the cross, might be a stumbling-block to the Jews, with their glowing hopes of a Messianic King; but St. Paul knew well that to the Greeks the cross could only be

[1] *John Inglesant*, chap. xxv.

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foolishness, with their keen zest of life, their pride of knowledge, their love of the beautiful in nature, their whole conception of morality as the harmonious development of the powers existing in man' (p. 16).

What, then, shall we say to these two ideals? Are they ultimate forms of moral aspiration, or is there some more complete ideal which embodies the truth of each? We have already seen how Mr. Black contrasts them, but, as we have also seen, the simple contrast leaves this question undecided. To answer it effectually, we must study them more carefully. Let us take the ideal of self-culture first.

We must begin by making an important distinction—the distinction between mere Humanism and Self-realization in the narrower and higher sense. In a certain sense, we can say that all ideals of self-culture are humanistic, that self-culture always means self-realization. In so far as self-culture means the development—the cultivation—of human life, and of the powers and aptitudes of human life, it is always humanistic, and in the same degree, and for the same reasons, it always means self-realization. But what is the self that culture seems to realize? What is the ultimate nature of that human life which culture essays to develop and cultivate? To this question two widely different answers may be given—historically have often been given. It may be said, it has, in effect, been often said, that the 'soul' is *merely* a form of experience, *merely* the almost momentary unity of passing psychical states—an ever-changing focus around which the ever-changing contents of experience group themselves. If this be so, human life is merely a play of incident across an ever-shifting scene, and we find ourselves within measurable distance, perhaps actually across the borders, of mere phenomenalism—of that nihilistic analysis which reduces the world of men and things to 'a dream, without a dreamer.' On the other hand, we may say that the 'self' is an abiding spiritual principle in each individual, with powers, aims, and implicit ideals that become developed only in and through experience, that individual history is the record of this growth, and that in this growth we have self-realization.

If we accept the former view, self-culture can mean only *mere* Humanism. If the latter, it will mean a form of self-realization which is quite capable of being set forth in noble and attractive guise.

Mr. Black does not draw the distinction here made,[1] but

[1] Mr. Black, indeed, nowhere discusses, or even consciously approaches, the philosophical questions suggested by his theme. This is, perhaps, the radical defect in his interesting and suggestive book.

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his summary of Walter Pater's 'New Hellenism' in *Marius the Epicurean*, and yet more strikingly, a passage which he quotes from the last chapter of the same writer's *Renaissance*, well illustrate the lower form of Humanism.

Here is Mr. Black's summary:

'To him our physical life is a perpetual motion of impressions with some exquisite intervals, and the inward world of mind consists of a drift of momentary acts of sight and passion and thought, so that life is like a flame eagerly being devoured, or like the race of a swift stream on which a tremulous wisp forms and reforms itself as it breaks into consciousness. . . . The true purpose of life is not to gain the fruits of experience to be stored up in character, but experience itself is the only and sufficient end, to attain to some attractive mood of passion, or insight, or intellectual excitement. In the quick pulsation of this evanescent life, the great aim should be to pass more swiftly from point to point, and if possible contrive to be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy. To burn always with this hard gem-like flame, to maintain this ecstacy, is success in life' (pp. 64–5).

It is not, however, with this lower Humanism that we are here and now primarily concerned; nor, perhaps, is it in this that Mr. Black is primarily interested, for it is not in this form that Humanism comes into *direct* ethical conflict with the Christian ideal, it is not in this form that it offers an alternative to those who, in the practical ordering of their lives, are hesitating between 'Christ and other masters.' It is, of course, true, that between such Humanism and Christianity there is an unceasing conflict—and, equally of course, the conflict is ethical, but it is not *directly* and characteristically ethical, fought out on ethical ground, and decided by ethical issues. The difference between such Humanism and Christianity is wider than a simple difference of ethical conception, and no one wavers between such Humanism and Christianity for reasons that are simply and only ethical. The ultimate differences are philosophical. They go down to the very roots of our thinking about the world and about man, and it is upon these philosophical questions that, in *this* conflict, the main issue has to be fought out. Is there, indeed, an abiding spirit in man, or is there not? This is one form in which those ultimate philosophical differences appear. If

Mr. Black rightly opposes to Mr. Pater's ethical nihilism the conception of spiritual permanence. But he refers this conception directly to 'the religious man,' and he gives no hint that, although this thought is truly characteristic of religion—at least of our Christian religion—it is equally characteristic of the higher Humanism of self-realization—is, in fact, the very note which distinguishes the higher doctrine from the lower Humanism he is directly criticising.

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there is *not*, the ethic of the lower Humanism follows as a matter of course. If there *be*, that ethic makes no appeal—it is out of court.

But the affirmative answer to this preliminary question about the ultimate nature of man, although decisive against the lower Humanism, says nothing against the higher—against the doctrine of Self-realization in its narrower and nobler sense. Indeed, not until this affirmative answer has been admitted, can the higher ethic of Humanism be logically put forward as an available alternative to the Christian morality of Restraint. That higher ethic rests, as we have seen, upon the conception of the soul as an abiding entity—an indwelling spiritual principle, which has to achieve manhood, to develop its powers, and build up its character, in and through experience. Owing to Mr. Black's failure to distinguish between the two broadly contrasted forms of Humanism, it is not easy to find in his book any passages in which the idea of the higher Humanism is at all clearly set forth. He often speaks of self-realization. Culture, he tells us, in a passage already quoted—'Culture declares that the purpose of life is that we should come into the full realization of our powers' (p. 4). 'It emphasizes the duty which a man owes to himself to be what it is in him to become' (p. 33). 'It carries with it the sacred duty to develop all the faculties, to train the mind, to attempt to reach a complete and well-balanced state of existence, to become all that it is possible for each individual to become' (p. 4). 'All that it is possible for each individual to become.' This all-inclusiveness of aim frequently appears in Mr. Black's references to Culture and Self-realization. Culture, we have just seen, 'carries with it the sacred duty to develop *all* the faculties' (p. 4). Nay, Mr. Black apparently thinks that this universality of 'humane' endeavour is incumbent upon us as a duty without reference to any particular ethical theory. Culture does not *make* the duty—'the duty, which every man owes to himself . . . to use all means to attain a full development of all his powers' (p. 33)—it does but emphasize it. But in so far as the effort after Self-realization is thus undiscriminating, it does not differ in ethical value from that 'new Hellenism' of Walter Pater, which Mr. Black so entirely repudiates, and the completely formulated doctrine of it would seem to differ from that of the lower Humanism only in the metaphysical point that, as against the negations of the latter, it recognizes the real existence of the soul. But this recognition, in and by itself, is ethically valueless.

The true ideal of the higher Self-realization is quite other

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than this. It is essentially discriminating, and bids us, not simply to be all that we can be, but to be our best. If it did not, the conception of self-sacrifice would not enter so largely into it, as we shall presently see that it does. The fundamental law of the moral life, says Professor Mackenzie, is 'the commandment that bids us realize the rational self.'[1] The '*rational* self'—not the self as a mere empirically given fact—an aggregate, or little more than an aggregate, of variously developed and quite unorganized and undisciplined capacities and desires—but the self in that ideal completeness which can vindicate itself to thought—it is *this* self that the higher Humanism bids us realize.

Here, then, we have a principle of moral discrimination which effectually distinguishes between the higher and the lower self, and which, therefore, places the higher Humanism effectively beyond the range of much of Mr. Black's criticism.

But Mr. Black by no means recognizes this:

'It may be asserted that a complete scheme of culture would provide moral and spiritual training, and would make a man susceptible to all noble influences, and would, in any moral crisis, call for adherence to the good, even though it promise to bring only unhappiness; but this, after all, is imported into the theory and is an arbitrary standard, and does not naturally spring out of the original position. From the premises stated we are not justified in condemning another because he chooses for himself a lower type of experience, and a grosser form of pleasure than we perhaps would approve for ourselves' (p. 63).

Let us now turn to the contrasted ideal of Restraint. 'In opposition to the theory of the natural cultivation of all human powers, the world has ever had presented to it the rival theory, which works by a rigorous method of self-repression' (p. 154). With these words Mr. Black commences his examination of 'the rival method which opposes self-culture by self-restraint' (p. 153), and they naturally lead him directly to a criticism of ascetic theory and practice. Upon both his judgment is severe, although not unqualified.

The eternal truth of asceticism, says Mr. Black, is this, 'that a man has to master himself; has to bring his being into subjection to the laws of health, and to the higher laws of holiness; that discipline is needed in every sphere; that the energies and appetites must be subdued and ruled' (pp. 173-4). That being so, it is not surprising that it soon

[1] *A Manual of Ethics*, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, 3rd edit. p. 323.

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appeared in the Church as a protest and reaction against the surrounding corruption of the Græco-Roman decadence.

'When we think of the whole situation of men, who were set to keep themselves unspotted from evil, we are not surprised to find early in the history of the Church ascetic exercises creeping in, due chiefly to the necessary protest against the terrible evils of pagan life' (p. 195).

'A protest in the name of the soul was bound to be made' (p. 193), and the Christian protest not unnaturally passed into asceticism. Now, concerning this, as we have said, Mr. Black's judgment is severe, but it is not indiscriminating.

The ascetic scheme, he tells us,

'is not just a form of insanity, a blind fanaticism with no solid groundwork of fact. It springs from facts and forces which have their ultimate seat in the nature of man. It may overstep the work of the necessary discipline required to keep the body in subjection, but it at least honours human nature by demanding the ascendency of the higher instincts over the lower. The heart of man has ever acknowledged the grandeur of this view, inspired as it is with a deep sense of the solemnity of human life. Even the monastic system, which is so much discredited in modern thought, was a noble attempt on a magnificent scale to purify the flesh of its grossness, and to lift life to a higher level' (p. 157).

Concerning the Golden Age of Monasticism, indeed, Mr. Black writes a frank eulogy:

'We cannot do anything like historic justice to the monastic system also without admitting the practical good it achieved on various lines throughout the centuries that followed. The monasteries in their pure state were always schools of labour, in which the day was divided into work and prayer. They were also schools of charity, for the poor who lived within reach, for travellers and pilgrims passing through. It cannot be forgotten, also, that in some periods of European history they served a useful part in mitigating the distresses of the time as a refuge for the oppressed. Amid the wars and conquests of the Middle Ages they remained inviolate among the wildest violence, on account of the sanctity attached to the character of the inmates, or to the place itself. They were humanizing centres, as they had been in pagan or semi-pagan, so also in nominally Christian countries, convincing men of the sincerity of the religious by the self-denial they practised' (pp. 203–4).

Yet our author's final judgment is adverse—on certain points strongly adverse:

'The ascetic ideal taken by itself results in failure, even more disastrous than the failure of the theory of self-culture, for the latter at least aims at a positive end, while the former spends its strength on a merely negative method' (p. 222, foot-note).

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According to Mr. Black it is no unimportant misconception that leads to the practical failure of asceticism. The mischief is radical. 'The deepest idea at the root of asceticism is . . . the radically false conception of human nature, as a soul degraded by being imprisoned in sinful matter' [1] (p. 243).

On another page he writes: 'The deepest thought on all ascetic practice is that sin is due to matter or to the body of man' (p. 208). He definitely refers (208) 'the root conception of asceticism' to 'the Oriental answer to the problem of the origin of evil.' This answer, he tells us, influenced the Church through the Gnostic dualism which, he says (pp. 208–9), separated God from the world and represented the one as the principle of good, the other as the evil principle. The Church did not come out of the long struggle with Gnosticism 'without marks of conflict.' The victor was affected for good and for evil; and one of the effects for good and for evil was the ascetic bent given to the Christian life' (p. 212).[2] This, then, is Mr. Black's interpretation of history. Let us now turn to his more particular criticism of the ascetic ideal. Asceticism, he tells us,

'has its origin in facts, the fact of sin, and the duty of self-control; but it takes a materialistic conception of both of these facts. It sees that sin is the ruin of man, but it looks on sin as not essentially a spiritual evil. It sees the need of self-control, but it seeks this by external means, by methods of repression. The false diagnosis vitiates the method of cure. It confuses sin with sense, attributes evil to the animal desires, and naturally proceeds to reduce the connexion with sense' (p. 243).

'To reduce the connexion with sense.' This would naturally lead to exaggerated forms of self-sacrifice; and in Christian asceticism Mr. Black finds that these have, in fact, resulted. According to him the more extreme ascetics answered with an unqualified affirmative the question which he suggests in his introductory pages: 'Should not the ideal then be, whether we can realize it or not, rigorous mortification, even complete withdrawal from the entanglements of the world?' (p. xi). How, then, did they proceed to realize their ideal of separation from the world?

'The method insisted on, as can be seen from any book of ascetic devotion, is, Deny yourself every satisfaction, deny the eyes delight

[1] A student of the Neo-Platonists could write an interesting comment on this.

[2] But why does Mr. Black make mention only of Gnosticism? Had not Neo-Platonism also an ascetic influence on the life and thought of the Early Church?

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of seeing, the tongue the pleasure of speech, the palate what it likes, the ears the music of man and the song of birds, the body all ease and comfort; and the more complete this denial is, the more meritorious is the exercise, and the more pleasing the sacrifice is to God' (p. 224).

There is, Mr. Black feels, at least a half-truth in this, but that very half-truth in it

'makes its inherent falseness the more dangerous. A religious man must deny himself many things of ear and eye and tongue. He must often renounce pleasure; and all this is true, even to men who have no religious ideal, but who, like the self-contained culturists, have any high purpose at all. We do not need to be told the duty and obligation of self-denial by any anchorite of old, or by the weak devotionalists of to-day,[1] who echo faintly the anchorites' creed without the courage to follow their practice. It comes to every earnest man, and certainly it comes with forceful insistence to every sincere Christian soul, who knows that he must bend to a cross if he would follow his Master. He knows that he must give up if he would be true to himself as well as true to Him. But even where self-mortification may seem to be most necessary, it must never be for its own sake' (pp. 224–5).[2]

Mr. Black is no Epicurean 'of the baser sort.' He knows that self-denial 'must always have a place in the Christian life, if need be to the cutting off a hand and plucking out an eye' (p. 347); but, he contends, and contends rightly, that 'to look upon mortification as in itself a virtue is a perversion of our Lord's Gospel' (p. 347).

For this conception of self-sacrifice as disciplinary, as ancillary to spiritual progress, as finding its justification in a consequent strengthening and development of character, and in that alone, Mr. Black claims the direct sanction of our Lord Himself:

'That the Christian life demands self-denial Jesus taught distinctly. If the will is to be sanctified and submitted to God, there must be strenuous self-control and sleepless discipline. He demanded from His disciples the willingness to renounce personal gratification, and, if need be, for the Gospel's sake give up everything, even life itself; but that is not a general system of renunciation as a religious method, such as asceticism means' (p. 347).

'Christ's teaching, even in the passages which seem most an

[1] To whom does Mr. Black here refer?

[2] It is quite true that this element has existed in Christianity, but it never has been the teaching of the Church. The sacramental system is sufficient evidence that the Church never countenanced Manichaeism. And the great writers (such as Thomas Aquinas) who defend the monastic, ascetic, or celibate life do so, not because it violates nature, but because it makes man freer to live with Christ, *i.e.* attain the completeness of nature.

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encouragement to asceticism, is that it is better to pluck out an eye or to cut off a hand than to allow the whole body to perish, that it is therefore for the sake of the larger and higher life' (p. 226).

'In all Christ's teaching on self-denial it must never be forgotten that it always meant to Him some larger good. Self-repression was always a stage to a truer self-expression; any giving up of self would result in the true finding of self. Thus some common statements of the method of Christ are so one-sided as to make them caricatures of His method; for they leave out of account the great positive end. The end is not a broken, wounded life, but fulness of life, true life for the first time, so large and full that it can be called even here eternal life. It is not the process which is to be judged, but the object achieved. To say that religion means shrinkage and the attenuation of life, is to consider a few peddling details and to be blind to the result' (p. 359).

To whatever unwise and mistaken extremes the ascetics may at times have carried the idea and the practice of self-denial, the fact remains that self-denial is inevitable in life, and that, in the world as we have it, the discipline of self-denial is essential for any high and worthy achievement in manhood.

Now, concerning the reality of the self-denial that marks every worthy endeavour after worthy manhood, and concerning the moral value of self-denial as a discipline, Mr. Black has, of course, no doubt.

'The way to life is ever a narrow way. Sincere self-denial is an essential element of a noble life, without even taking into account the sacrifices for the sake of others which come to every man. To choose the better part means turning away from the other ways that please the carnal mind. There are desires, passions, tempers, that must be fought, temptations to be overcome. Not without watching and prayer and struggle can the soul shake itself free from earthly clogs and liberate itself from evil. Only by patient endurance can a man win his soul. It is the man who knows himself best, who knows how he must keep his foot on himself, in things that no one else imagines, perhaps in some sting of self-interest, some secret thought, some wounded pride, some selfishness. Every life has its own battlefield, where the lower wars against the higher. In that warfare men are trained in character; for only through discipline is true virtue possible' (pp. 174–5).

Self-denial, as Mr. Black has already told us, 'must always have a place in the Christian life, if need be to the cutting off a hand and plucking out an eye' (p. 347). But the life of Culture, of Self-realization, what of that? Have we not here, in this matter of self-denial, a vital breach between the two conceptions of life? What concord can there possibly be, either in thought or in life, between Self-realization and

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Self-denial? At first sight, one might be disposed to regard them as mutually exclusive, and certainly it would not be difficult to find representations of the life of Culture in which self-sacrifice has no part. The direct appeal of Culture is æsthetic. It speaks to us of the beauty of life, of the full beauty of life, a beauty which knows no shadow of loss. And Self-realization appeals to our sense of manhood and suggests fulness of achievement, and the joy of life that comes with success. If we seek for this in formal definitions, we find the following ready to our hand in a journal of philosophical repute:

'And self-realization may be best defined as the cultivation of character, as the formation of a rich, noble, and harmonious personality; or, again, speaking in terms of function, it means a life full of rich, noble, and harmonious activities.'[1]

What place is there for self-sacrifice here? The word 'noble' might perhaps afford it shelter, but 'rich' and 'harmonious' surely exclude it?

Yet no fact in the history of ethical thought is more evident or more certain than this, that the higher Humanism frankly admits self-sacrifice with its conception of the good life, and frankly recognises the discipline of self-denial.

Mr. Black uses the word 'Culture' in preference to either 'Humanism' or 'Self-realization,' unfortunately, as we are inclined to think, because of its wide and loose connotations and its undue æsthetic bias. In more places than one, and in more ways than one, these defects adversely affect his work; but despite the dangerously close relevancy of the second defect to the point we are now discussing, upon that point Mr. Black is perfectly clear. Culture, he says,

'if it is to be more than an easy acceptance of the natural, must to some extent make use of restraint to achieve its end. Sacrifice is essential for a well-balanced character and life. The scholar must make some sacrifice of bodily health, or at least of bodily pleasure, if only to give him time to study. It is recognised to be justifiable to give up pleasure of sense in the interests of intellectual good, to "scorn delights and live laborious days" that truth may be reached. It can be even seen to be noble and right to make some sacrifice of mental culture for a larger spiritual good. Sacrifice there must be, since nothing can be got without it; and the ideal of culture would be a dead letter without the upward striving. When the lower in any sphere is given up for the higher, we commend the sacrifice, and feel that it is amply justified' (p. 223).

[1] 'Self-Realization as a Working Moral Principle,' Henry Sturt. *International Journal of Ethics*, April 1898.

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So true is it that self-sacrifice is at home in all the world's nobler morality, that Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, himself a distinguished representative of the distinctively modern movement in ethics, is able to say, without any reservation,

'In all the different kinds of lives which are apt to be taken as types of conflicting moral ideals, self-affirmation and self-renunciation play in principle precisely the same part. In every case there is an immediate self to educate and to subdue; and it is impossible to say, as a matter of principle, that more of this self is negated in one case than in another.'[1]

With writers belonging to the modern school of ethical self-realization, self-sacrifice often indicates the transition from individual to social good.

Many literary men, most notably Mr. John Morley, have insisted strongly upon the need of public interests as a corrective to the one-sidedness of purely academic culture. Partly for ethical reasons and partly for philosophical reasons connected with their distinctive view of the nature of the soul, and the very meaning of self-realization, our modern philosophical Humanists—the men who carry on the sane and healthy tradition of T. H. Green[2]—are equally strenuous in their demand for social service. This demand has become characteristic of their school. Social service, says Dr. Bosanquet, 'is pretty constantly the ideal case both of self-culture (in the best sense—the cultivation of strength, breadth, and character) and of self-satisfaction.'[3]

Professor Mackenzie tells us that self-sacrifice 'is self-realization, but it is self-realization for the sake of the whole.'[4] He continues:

'We can realize the true self only by realizing social ends. In order to do this we must negate the merely individual self, which . . . is not the true self. We must realize ourselves by sacrificing ourselves.'

Quite in the same spirit Mr. Muirhead[5] says: 'The end which is the standard of moral judgment is a social one, the

[1] *Recent Criticism of Green's Ethics.* A paper read before the Aristotelian Society (London) on December 2, 1901.

[2] 'This is the point of view which T. H. Green did so much to impose upon our generation. A life of social devotion, of service in the spheres of the family, the parish or city, and the state, is really a life of self-realization of the truest and highest kind.' 'Self-Realization as a Working Moral Principle,' Henry Sturt. *International Journal of Ethics*, April 1898.

[3] *Recent Criticism of Green's Ethics.* A paper read before the Aristotelian Society (London) on December 2, 1901.

[4] *A Manual of Ethics*, 3rd edition, p. 276.

[5] *The Elements of Ethics*, pp. 159–160, 233.

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good is common good,' and, further, 'the interpreter and administrator of this ideal standard is the social reformer, with his brother, the martyr for social causes.'

This conception of social service is equally prominent in Mr. Black's account of the Christian life. The Christian salvation, he tells us,

'is social as well as individual; it could not really be the one without the other also. Our Lord's purpose was to found a kingdom of souls working out to social ends, a kingdom of men and women living in loving relation to each other through their loving relation to God. The Christian faith in God carries with it as an inevitable consequence the service of man' (p. 367).

What now has become of the broad contrast with which Mr. Black started? The truth of the ascetic doctrine of mortification has passed over into the Christian doctrine of self-sacrifice. The ethical Nihilism or atomism of the lower Humanism has been left behind, and the higher Humanism—the higher doctrine of Self-realization—has been shown to include conceptions of self-sacrifice and of social service which admit of easy translation into Christian speech. It is this higher Humanism which divides with Christianity the empire over the best life in the modern world. At first, when we commenced our inquiry, it was the difference between the two ideas that seemed most conspicuous; but now, when our conclusion is in sight, it is the points of agreement that appear most prominent. The way seems open for a final reconciliation.

Of course, if it could be maintained that in the contrast between Culture and Restraint—if we continue to use Mr. Black's original designations—we really have a radical difference between motives, the approximation just indicated would, after all, be of only secondary value; for, between Self-Culture and Self-Restraint as consciously proposed ends of action, the difference amounts to contradiction. It is almost the same as the difference between Selfishness and Unselfishness, and between these no approximation could be more than apparent or ethically unimportant. But in that contrast have we such a difference? Probably not. We need not be concerned to press the verbal criticism that only a desire can be a motive, and that Self-Culture and Self-Restraint, as such, are not desires. We have to go deeper, and to ask—Are Self-Culture and Self-Restraint, in themselves and directly, terms of desire, so that desire for one or the other of them can operate as a motive? Now, so far as Self-Restraint is concerned, the answer must be distinctly

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negative. No man desires self-sacrifice as such, in itself and for its own sake. Whenever it appears to be desired, it is only a means to some further end, be that end either the supposed will of God or some governing ideal of human life and character. This point is forcibly and clearly brought out by Mr. Black in his criticism of the ascetic movement, and it is entirely true. Just as truly, although perhaps somewhat more technically, we may say that self-realization cannot be an object of desire. At first sight, no doubt, it seems as though it could be; but this is only because we do not at once distinguish between the self which seeks its realization in life and the intrinsic character of the life in which self-realization is sought. It is this latter that is the true object of desire in the life of self-realization. A man following that life desires the gladness, the satisfaction, the content of this or that particular kind of life. Strictly speaking, no increase of reality can come to the self as an existing thing. It either exists or it does not. If it does not exist, it cannot realize itself. If it does exist it is already real, and nothing can add to its reality. But it may be urged that this is to attach a meaning to 'reality' which it does not distinctively bear in discussions about self-realization. The aim of self-realization, it may be said, is not to make the self real simply in an ontological sense—to perform the impossible task of giving to it entitative existence, but rather to make actual its potentialities of being and doing this and that, to develop the meaning and the character which it already implicitly possesses as an actually existing thing. True; but this unfolding of content can take place only in and through the concrete forms of life, and the motive behind the soul's dynamic outgoing is desire, not for the unfolding as such—either as process or result—but for the concrete goodness of the life in and through which self-realization is sought. The soul has no explicit character, except as agent and subject in experience, and it is the felt goodness of some particular concrete form of life that urges it to seek self-realization in and through that form rather than another. For self-realization in the abstract no one cares, and the moment we speak of realization in definite forms of life and experience, in some particular ideal of character, among some particular line of work, the centre of interest is shifted from the soul to the concrete forms in which it seeks its good; and it is in *them*, and not in the mere thought of self-development, that we find the true term of desire. Even in the life of self-realization, what man consciously seeks is not himself, but some-

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thing which he sets before himself as good. Even in the life of self-realization—provided it be self-realization of the higher type we are now speaking of—goodness is always disinterested.

The way to reconciliation is therefore still open, and Mr. Black takes us along it to the end. Not only do the Christian and Humanistic ideals approximate in their view of self-sacrifice and social service, but, Mr. Black tells us, they agree also in this, that they set before us, as our ultimate end, a conception of perfect manhood. Culture, he says, 'begins with accepting the Christian ideal, which aims at perfection of life' (p. 33), and thus, he adds, 'with all its incompleteness, it is in some form necessary to every man who has ideals at all' (p. 33). As to the conception of a perfect manhood, it gets its true place, he says,

'In the Christian ideal, as in the great passage where St. Paul is driving home the duties which devolve upon Christians as members of the Church, to use all the variety of gifts and graces for mutual edification in the forbearance and tactful spirit of love. The purpose of the varied working, the ideal end, is that all together should come into a perfect man. He points to the progressive attainment of an ideal. The master-thought of the passage is *growth*, growth in faith and knowledge and love, not only increase in the amount of these, but improvement in the quality of them, the deepening and enrichment of their meaning and scope to each' (pp. 133-4).

Let us, then, now turn to Mr. Black's account of the 'Christian solution.' We can endorse most heartily and unreservedly Mr. Black's presentation of the all-inclusiveness of the Christian life, and of the generous fulness of the self-realization which our Christian faith makes possible.

Here is a striking passage:

'The Christian religion is the progressive grasp of the whole contents of human life, taking possession of every department of thought and activity, conquering and assimilating all forms of human development. Historically it took the philosophy of Greece and absorbed it, and gave it a new lease of power because it put it on a permanent basis. It took the imperialism of Rome and directed it into a new sphere when Roman power was crumbling away. It took the humanism of the Renaissance and gave Art a new birth. It took the political and intellectual freedom of the Reformation and made them religious. It is taking the science and politics and social movements of to-day and will direct them to large and noble ends. It solved the problems of the old world and will solve our problems, because nothing human is alien to it. It is a principle of life and has its undying power in the present realization of God in the world. Its task is to make the secular life of man sacred, and to transform

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the natural into the spiritual. It gives added worth to all human things, asserting that there is nothing common or unclean in the life of man that cannot be adorned with a new splendour' (pp. 379–380).

What, then, is the fundamental fact which makes our Christian faith veritably a present victory? It is our Christian consciousness of God, says Mr. Black—a consciousness which passes into love.

'The love of God in Christ unifies life for us and shows us the way out of difficulties as they arise if we are loyal to conscience. As love increases and faith deepens, a man comes to see God everywhere in the world which is made beautiful and sacred by His presence in all human love, which is a reflection of the divine' (p. 379).

'The deepest thought in Christ's teaching and life is simple confidence in God, as seen both in the world and in human life, recognizing Him in nature and in man. This consciousness of the divine takes precedence of all else and becomes the great inspiring motive, driving the life to noble ends and at the same time putting everything into its rightful place in the large scheme' (p. 353).

As we walk in the light of this new faith we find our old difficulties vanish. We no longer think about them.

'Perfect moral health is a state in which self-consciousness is forgotten, and a man desires simply to do God's will. When a heart is motived by the love of God, and a life is inspired by the consciousness of God's presence, the needful restraint becomes easy. The surrender of self to the will of God makes all necessary self-denial not worthy to be mentioned. In the interests of this great self-surrender some may need to practise a self-sacrifice that will look like the mutilation of life, but that is only appearance. The obligation will always rest on a Christian to give up all that is contrary to the mind of Christ, but when the heart is filled with love of good it finds no pleasure in evil. It does not mean any narrow deprivation of anything truly human, for the Christian life is inclusive, subduing all spheres that belong to man' (p. 379).

Even self-sacrifice is transfigured, and whereas aforetime it seemed to bring us only loss, we know it now to be the chalice of God's divinest gift of life.

'In the midst of outward loss, with the cutting off of earthly joys, with the shutting up of worldly prospects, with the narrowing of life all round, there has ever been to His followers an enlargement of life, a deepening and broadening of the true sources of life, and even a joyous, exulting sense of victory through Him that loved them' (pp. 357–8).

Whatever be the attractiveness of other ideals of life, we find that attractiveness made perfect in the transfiguring light

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of Christ. Each of the contrasted ideals with which we started—the ideal of Culture and the ideal of Restraint—contains elements of essential value for human life. In the Christian ideal those also are made perfect.

This, then, is Mr. Black's conclusion—this his solution of the problem with which he started. Now concerning it, what shall we say? It is of course true—our Christian Faith *does* furnish a solution of that problem—but is Mr. Black's statement of the solution quite satisfactory? We think not. In the first place, Mr. Black's solution is little more than a practical one. He says, in effect, 'Follow Christ, and your difficulties will vanish.' Doubtless, but why? The problem of Culture and Restraint is not *merely* a practical one, it is also speculative, and demands a solution in which thought can rest. A practical answer may suffice against the immediate pressure of difficulty, but man cannot permanently rest in views that are merely practical. Unless the answer to doubt can be made intelligible, unless it can be shown to be reasonable, the old difficulties will one day revive, and the new speculative problem will still recall the old practical one. Certainly, we who live by faith in the Intelligible Word are bound, by our very loyalty to Christ, to vindicate Christian conceptions, not only as serviceable in daily practice, but also as true to thought.

In this inadequacy of Mr. Black's conclusion we see one result of that philosophical unpreparedness which we have already had occasion to notice.

Again, Mr. Black gives us no very clear account of the way in which, after all, the ideals of Culture and Restraint are, in fact, unified by the Christian conception of life. Certainly, most certainly, they *are* unified by that conception; but how?

We found that, according to Mr. Black, the ideal of Culture agrees with the Christian ideal in at least one important particular—in the fact that it points to an ideal of perfect manhood as the true end of human life. We passed this at the time without comment, because it is substantially true. One reservation is, however, necessary—Perfection is *not* the end of man. It is true that in Thought and in all the practical activities of life—in Art, in Policy, in our endeavour after goodness—we aspire after Perfection, but Perfection is not our practical end. In its most complete sense it is the prerogative of God alone, and in Him it results from the perfect sufficiency of His self-sufficient life—a sufficiency which nothing created shares, which nothing created can attain.

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The practical ideal for man, therefore, cannot be found in the thought of Perfection. How otherwise, then, are we to think of it?

The ideal of any given nature sets forth the complete form of that nature—it embodies the truth about that nature, the full truth, the truth as God sees it. We may say that an ideal is always the perfection of the actual existence to which it relates, but unless that existence be Divine, its perfectness is not that of the Absolute Perfection. To set forth the practical ideal for man, therefore, we must know the truth about human nature. What is man and what is his vocation? These are the preliminary questions we must answer if we would reach true thought about man's ideal. Our Christian faith and thought finds in the spiritual dependence of man the essential characteristic of human nature. Not only is each individual man a spirit, but he is a dependent spirit—dependent upon God, not merely as a creature upon its Creator, but as a child upon its father; dependent upon Him, not only for mere existence, but also for the sustenance and furtherance of his life.

But this same dependent spirit of man has a real community of character with the Divine. Man has a rational and a moral nature. He longs after truth and needs to know it, and he seeks to apprehend it by his thought and by his art. He aspires after goodness, and his conception of it governs his life and shapes the pathway of his endeavour. But neither in truth nor in goodness can we rightly admit any divergence of meaning. Although relative to natures ultimately so distinct as the human nature and the Divine, in meaning they are always univocal. 'Natures ultimately so distinct;' for human nature, notwithstanding its Divine affinities, is in essential character quite other than the Divine. God is the Absolute, the Self-sufficing, and, because of the perfect fulness of His life, there is no unrealized possibility of Truth and of Goodness beyond Him and above Him. We may rightly say either that God has no ideal, or, preferably, that in Him the ideal and the actual coincide. With man we know it is far otherwise. Because of the limiting conditions of his dependent life there is a Truth beyond his completest thought, and he knows that there is; there is a most excellent and most blessed Life beyond the range of his highest possibilities of achievement, and, once more, he knows that there is. These unrealized possibilities are the term of his aspiration; for in them, and in them alone, is full completeness of life. In them and in them alone, is the

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Perfect Truth which his reason and his art essay to reach, so that it may become serviceable in his daily practice and endeavour. In them, and in them alone, is that Perfect Goodness which he knows to be the Highest Good. Because this ideal completeness is actual in God, worship is natural to man when once the reality of the Divine has dawned upon him. Moreover, because in God Perfect Goodness is thus actual, He does not leave man helpless, spending his days in futile aspiration and worship. He becomes to man—according to the practical measure and purpose of human life—the sufficiency man cannot be to himself. Here we have the inmost truth of Religion, which, in its central reality, is the Divine response to human longing and to human need. But what does this Divine Ministry to man accomplish? Does it build him up into the sufficiency of the life of God, so that for him, too, all possibilities of Goodness and of Truth become actual? By no means; for this could not be unless man became as God, and to make man identical in nature with Himself is beyond the power even of the Omnipotent. There can be no such thing as the temporal development of a self-sufficient nature. The Divine Ministry comes to us that it may build us up in love. Love is the soul's response to life—to the gift of life. Truly, most truly, 'we love God, because He first loved us,' and in love comes to us that we may truly know that more abundant life which is Life indeed. Man, then, receives of the Divine sufficiency through love. God builds him up in love that he may truly live. Hence, through love, the spiritually dependent nature of man reaches its practical completeness. But the grace of God is always mediated to us, always sacramental. It comes to us through the outward order of history and through the outward duties and relations of each individual life, and according to the measure of our love is the degree of its power. Love, then, is the central and sovereign truth of human nature—not simply love for God, but a love that dominates and inspires our everyday life, and determines our attitude towards the daily reality around us, that daily reality in the midst of which the grace of God comes to us.

In the Christian conception of love, then, our nature finds its practical completion, its practicable ideal, and because Love is thus the completeness of Life, in the life of love we have the complete truth of the doctrine of Self-realization, of the doctrine that bids us essay completeness.

Love, too, finds no difficulty in self-sacrifice; for 'Love seeketh not her own.' In Love—love for 'whatsoever things

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are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report'—disinterested goodness is made perfect. Although in Love we most truly realize ourselves, we do not love in order to realize ourselves. Love seeks 'first the kingdom of God and His Righteousness,' and all other things are added unto her.

There is only one point more, and that a small one. Mr. Black speaks of the Love of God as though it were a new motive in life. But is it? Indeed, properly speaking, is our human love for God a motive at all? We think not. Love is a new energy in life, confirming purpose and renewing hope; and so it adds strength to our motives, and sometimes gives a new practical direction to motives, but we do not think that it is, in itself, a motive. The criticism may appear a small one; but the point of view here indicated seems somewhat to simplify our philosophy of History and of Revelation—seems to bring out more clearly the essential nature of Religion as a Divine ministry of *life*, and the central characteristic of the Church's appointed work, which is surely this—we are speaking from the standpoint of philosophy rather than from that of theology—to enable the human spirit, by the mediated grace of God, to reach its natural completeness.

A new motive so transcendent as love for God would be—were that indeed a motive—would revolutionize life rather than fulfil it; for it would place life upon a new foundation, and reorganize it round a new centre. But although the Christian life is truly new, it is the transfiguration of the natural life, and not the radical reconstruction of it.

ART. VIII.—A WANDERING SCHOLAR OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The Epistles of Erasmus. From his Earliest Letters to his Fifty-first Year. Arranged in Order of Time. English Translations from the Early Correspondence, with a Commentary confirming the Chronological Arrangement and supplying further Biographical Matter. By FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS. (London, 1901.)

FROUDE, in his *Life and Letters of Erasmus*, regrets that

'the editors of his *Letters* have been unable, after all the pains they have taken with them, to fix accurately the dates at which they were written. . . . As they are now arranged they assign to him

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movements contradictory, and often impossible. Sometimes a whole decade of years is dropped out or added; and, with the most patient efforts, the confusion can be but partially disentangled. Something, however, can be done to arrange them at least with an approach to correctness.'

The work under review has for its main object an attempt so to arrange the correspondence of Erasmus that, after four centuries, it may at length be read in the order in which it was written. A subsidiary purpose is to examine the accepted history of his life in the light of the new arrangement of his Letters, from which it has been principally drawn, and so at once to test the new chronology and revise the old biographies. More than seven hundred Epistles, including Dedications and Prefaces in epistolary form, are tabulated in a Chronological Register extending to the end of the year 1517; after which the dates of the Letters, although, or perhaps because, they are more numerous, are more easily ascertained.

Several letters are included which present Erasmus in a light not altogether so favourable as that of the biographies, an effect from which the writer does not shrink, and for which he deems the reader should be able to make allowance. The perennial fascination of the personality of Erasmus, so far from depending on an ideal excellence, springs rather from the elements mingled in him of strength and weakness, playing their part at a period of momentous and revolutionary changes, when to hesitate was to be lost, and when to shun the fray was less inglorious than to plunge into it and draw back. That

'He is all fault that hath no fault at all'

is a maxim most welcome to those whose faults are not few; but certain it is that, in proportion as some historical personage of heroic mould and splendid achievement compels our admiration, he may chill our sympathies. 'The low sun makes the colour.' This severer scrutiny rather enhances than lowers our interest in Erasmus; which, again, is not obscured by a tedious multiplication of details, a microscopic examination of the dust of libraries, and the labyrinthine pursuit of literary hares worth neither the having nor the hunting.

The Introduction, which deals with the chronology of the Epistles, is not inferior in interest—and more cannot be said—to the Letters, furnished with illustration and comment, that follow, so ample is the writer's grasp of the subject, so grave

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and scholarly his method, so modest and urbane his style. What was not done in the lifetime of Erasmus, and what four centuries of students have sighed for in vain, is not by any one man, *uno ictu*, likely to be so done as to disarm criticism, and nothing could be further from the mind of the writer than to assume such an authority. He is to be congratulated on having so handled a perplexed and difficult subject as to merit the gratitude of the student, whether agreeing with him or not, for the accuracy and sweep of his information, his acute yet cautious conjecture, and his undoubted success in fixing, for the first time, many dates and elucidating many obscurities, while telling the story of a life by far more romantic in reality than the famous romance founded on it.

Two questions at the outset provoke inquiry: What led to the publication of the Epistles? and how the difficulty arose of fixing their dates?

From his very boyhood he seems to have had a special and instinctive attraction to this particular vein. From Epistle 29 we learn that he had not only read but transcribed with his own hand the Letters of St. Jerome. His own efforts were at first merely literary exercises, and in his treatise *De Conscribendis Epistolis* he mentions Cicero, Pliny and Politian, and elsewhere Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.), as his models. 'As a boy,' he records, 'and also at a riper age, I wrote a vast number of letters, but scarcely any for the purpose of publication. I practised my pen, I beguiled my leisure, I made merry with my acquaintance, I indulged my humour; in fine, did nothing but exercise and amuse myself without the least expectation that friends would copy out or preserve such trifles.' Such assiduous practice had an exquisite result, of which he was not unconscious. 'As a writer of letters I may perhaps have seemed not altogether incapable.' The elegance, facility and brilliance of his style were early perceived by his contemporaries, who began to circulate his letters in manuscript. It was only when he became aware that this epistolary style might be a vein of gold that he began to collect and preserve his correspondence in letter-books, one of which, containing many passages in his own handwriting, is actually in existence in the library of Deventer. The number of his letters was enormous. In 1523 he wrote: 'I have written and still am writing such a quantity of letters that two waggons would scarcely be equal to carrying them.' It is remarkable, therefore, that the *Farrago Epistolarum* was the only collection published in his lifetime (1519); and in this are found only two epistles earlier than his thirtieth year.

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The omission of dates from the letters is accounted for, as far as the year is concerned, by the custom of the time, and as to the day and month, by the peculiar circumstances of the writer, at any rate in his earliest letters. In the case of unimportant letters of no public interest, and about which there can be no mistake on the part of the receiver, the year date is constantly omitted even nowadays, and in the olden time it was the general practice to do so. The *Paston Letters* are evidence that the year is rarely given in the correspondence of that age, and when given is expressed, like Acts of Parliament, *in* the year of the king's reign (p. lxvii).

With respect to Erasmus's own practice, it seems that to his earlier epistles he rarely added any date at all; and that the dates given in the later editions and absent from the original publication are clearly inserted by the editor. Moreover, the date in the early epistles, when given, rarely included the year; but when, about 1514–15, during his visits to Basel, he began to correspond with the learned of Upper Germany, and to mingle with persons who had acquired the Italian usage of dating their letters *Anno Domini*, he could not but perceive the advantages of the practice. That up to 1517, or thereabout, Erasmus habitually left his letters undated, and that the dates added by editors have been somewhat arbitrarily fixed, are facts of extreme importance to remember in the attempt to fix their true chronology. Thus, letters written during his first residence in Paris, in 1494–95, have been dated indiscriminately 1497–8–9; and again, letters evidently written within a few days of each other, the one being an answer to the other, early in 1513, are assigned, the former to 1515, and the answer to 1512 (p. lxvii). A further difficulty has arisen from the variety of ways of reckoning the beginning of the year. In his treatise *De Conscribendis Epistolis* the public time, he explains, is denoted by such a phrase as 'in the 1500th year from the birth of Christ.' But some, he remarks, begin the year at Christmas, some on January 1, some at Easter, and some on Lady-day—'a fruitful cause of mistakes, which ought to be abolished.' Erasmus himself neither confined himself to one usage, nor invariably adopted that of the place in which he happened to be residing. It is necessary, therefore, in arranging the letters to consider not only the date of the year, but the method of computing it.

The neglect to fix any date at all, whether of day or place, so strange to modern ideas, is very noticeable, especially in the earliest letters. The letters belonging to the first thirty years of his life are generally without date; *e.g.*

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of the Epistles 1–41 in the Register here given, the only one dated is Ep. 21. The explanation is obvious. These letters were written during his conventual life, generally to monks of the same convent or to another of the same order, and were either handed to them by the writer himself or by a messenger; they were very often regarded merely as literary exercises; the dates of writing and delivery were almost the same, so that there could not be any mistake; and, in any case, the date was of no importance. For some time after leaving the convent he continued to omit the dates; but gradually the usefulness of adding them was forced upon him, as he moved from place to place and formed a large circle of distant correspondents. It is curious to note in Ep. 37 that William Herman, writing from the convent at Stein, while thinking it quite unnecessary to date his own letters, requests Erasmus to do so. 'Please, in future,' he writes, 'add the day on which you send out anything.' After the year 1517, to which this volume extends, the letters are more regularly dated, and when undated, do not present the same difficulty. Nevertheless, we hope the writer may be able to complete his work as at first designed by a second volume dealing with the letters of the more stormy and eventful period of Erasmus's life. The present volume takes leave of him at what may fairly be deemed the zenith of his career, when he was foremost among European scholars, was recognized as a leader of thought; before he had begun to reap the whirlwind from the wind he had sown; when he could afford to resist the blandishments of the Papal Court in the golden hopes inspired by the invitation of the King of England, a new Harry, and—'Such a Harry!'

It is not easy to exaggerate the difficulties he had surmounted; and a glance at them will help towards an estimate of the man and of the forces at work in his lifetime.

The shadow of the cloister lay across his cradle, threatened to blight his young life, haunted his early manhood, and, though yielding somewhat to the omnipotence of Rome, never wholly left him; even the Pope could not undo what had been. He was the son of a priest, born out of wedlock, whether before or after his father's ordination is uncertain; if the former, he was robbed of a father's care by a heartless deception; if the latter, there was added to his base birth the deeper stain of sacrilege. The same power that had ruined his father's life, and for the very reason that it had ruined it, marked him out also for its own. The biographers of Erasmus seem to have overlooked a very special reason

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why he should have been forced into the cloister. It was not only, or mainly, because his guardians had wasted his little patrimony, or that the monks saw in him a lad of brilliant parts who would do credit to their order—the credit he might win for them was not of the kind they sought; nor was it an ordinary incident of the monastic press-gang which then, as now, fills its ranks by the compulsion, disguised or undisguised, of unwilling recruits. We think there was the special and peremptory reason that he was the son of a priest, a blot on the scutcheon of clerical celibacy, a reproach to the Church, to be hidden away from men. For, as a recent novel observes of one of its characters—Robert Orange, also the son of a priest—*The Church will have her own.* Erasmus was her own by right of sacrilege; and the arm of the Church was very long in those days. The step was disastrous to the monastic system as well as to him. Left to pursue his life in his own way, he would, we think, have troubled himself little about religious matters. He seems to have had little positive interest in, and rather to have disdained, them. But when religion blighted his career, no wonder he struck with beak and talon at the hand that had broken his wings. It is noteworthy that in all his attacks on the monks—and they were many—there is no trace of a humorous tolerance of their failings, so conspicuous in other satirists; nothing of Chaucer's keen-eyed smile, or of Rabelais's enormous laughter. The monk of romance is a wonderful creation: an omnipresent, mysterious power, the terror of princes, the almoner of the poor, an all-seeing spy, a pitiless inquisitioner, a Psalm-snuffling drone, a sour shaveling, a roystering blade, a hypocrite condemned by warrant divine to a life of outward sanctity, steeped in melodramatic vices and vintages. There is no ray of light in *his* picture of the gloom and degradation of the conventual life; to him it meant ignorance, vice, sloth, mere animalism, roused only by any attempt to reform it, and then inflamed to savage and inexpiable fury. He dwells on the ignorance of the monks and their hatred of the light, their age-long efforts to cloister the human spirit within the scholastic theology, their *frequentes bibationes et tacenda.* If he admits theoretically that a holy life may be lived within the walls of a convent, he is careful to add that it may be equally well lived in the world without, and that the reality fell terribly short of the ideal. It is easy to imagine the despair and disgust he felt when, as a lad of seventeen, half conscious of great powers, quivering in every nerve with living force, he found himself, like a

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caged eagle, fast within the clutch of irrevocable vows which would presently consign him to what he regarded as a living death in a whited sepulchre. Craftily was the hook baited. Young as he was, he entered the convent with the idea of becoming a missionary of—Letters. In the study of the classical authors, prolonged far into the night, and so severe as to injure his health, in labouring to inspire others with his own ardour, he sought distraction from his grief and a refuge from the temptations that the convent walls shut in, not less violent or pernicious than those they shut out. In a letter addressed to Sasboud, probably a young brother of the order (Ep. 15, p. 54), he advises his friend as follows:

'But I beg of you, Sasboud, dearest of my companions, to beware of so devoting yourself to this art of painting as to give up your interest in letters. You know, at any rate, what you promised me, when leaving this place, and on what condition you took the books of poetry from me—I mean, that you would dedicate yourself wholly to the study of letters..... If I were not prevented by the limits of time and of this letter, I could mention a great number of persons, and those of our own body, who, having seen what glory is gained by letters and what shame by ignorance, feel the deepest regret when they see, too late, that the season of youth, which is adapted to study, has slipped through their fingers. Therefore, my sweetest Sasboud, while your age is still unwasted, take the ant for an example, and exert yourself to prepare the materials which may delight and feed your age. And that you may do that more earnestly, it is worth your while, if you cannot altogether guard yourself from the dominating passions of youth (for that is almost more than human), at any rate to control and restrain them. You know what I mean: I have said enough.'

It is true that in his twentieth year he wrote an epistle, *De Contemptu Mundi*, setting forth the advantages of the conventual life, at the request of a friend who wished his two nephews to embrace it. From this it might be inferred, either that he was not strongly averse to that which he recommended, or that he was guilty of treachery more cruel than that which brought about his own captivity. The latter hypothesis may be dismissed; for, though not so 'averse to lying' as he claimed to be in matters he deemed unimportant, and mindful as he was of the prudence of keeping his own counsel, he never seems, when directly challenged, to have been false to his real convictions. We believe rather that, while seeming to comply with his friend's request, he treated the matter as a literary exercise, reproducing the stock arguments in the choice Latin that was his own; and if the final chapter originally stood as it now appears, his

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criticism of the monastic life, as he knew it, was more than enough to neutralize anything he had written in favour of it. 'The trouble you have escaped,' writes a brother monk, 'no one knows better than I, who am even now tossed about in the same storms. I often congratulate you, and think how happy you are to have swum out of the billows.'

For the letters that were his delight were also his deliverance; if not loosed from his fetters, at least he escaped from prison. In 1493, Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambrai, meditating a journey to Rome, with a view to the Cardinalate, felt the need of a secretary with a good Latin style. Erasmus's letters had spread his fame as a brilliant scholar and elegant writer, and the Bishop obtained his release from the convent at Stein, and attached him to his own household. Probably from want of money, the Bishop relinquished his design, and Erasmus was for the second time disappointed of his darling wish to visit Italy; but the tremendous boon had been granted him. He received a dispensation from residence in the convent, temporary, indeed, and for a long time liable to be withdrawn; but he never actually returned to what he regarded as a prison. He was still obliged to wear the monastic garb, but this also he discarded after a time, and at last received formal permission to exchange it for the dress of an ordinary priest.

Erasmus seems to have found the position somewhat distasteful; and the Bishop, having no special need for his services, was prevailed upon to furnish him with the means of proceeding to Paris and taking up his university residence in the College of Montaigu, probably in the year 1494. This freshman was, however, no youth just loosed from school. He was an ordained priest, about twenty-eight years of age, who had already a brilliant reputation for his scholarship. His stay was very brief; for the condition of the college, as he describes it, was wretched in the extreme. The diet was coarse, the sanitary arrangements were atrocious. A single year of residence in many cases caused blindness, madness, or leprosy. 'I know many,' he says, 'who cannot even now shake off the delicacy of health there contracted.' A significant touch is the mention of the hated cowl and gown of brown cloth which the members of the college were obliged to wear, and from which they were called '*Les pauvres Capettes de Montaigu.*'

Early in 1496 he returned to Paris, no longer as a member of a college and supported by a patron, but dependent on his own resources and free to order his life as he pleased; for the

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Bishop of Cambrai seems at first to have sent a smaller allowance than Erasmus expected, and afterwards to have withdrawn it altogether, perhaps because he felt this cloisterless monk too great a responsibility. He says in the *Compendium Vitae* that he 'existed rather than studied'; but he seems to have earned fees by teaching *Rhetoric* large enough not only to maintain himself in comfort, and even in some degree of luxury, but to leave a margin, which he saved with a view to his long-cherished design of visiting Italy—a design that was frustrated by a severe illness in 1498. His sickness had the proverbial effect on a monk—or, was it the Monk? He writes to Nicholas Werner:

'I have been most grievously sick for a month and a half, most reverend Father, and do not yet see any hope of recovery. What is man's life, and with how much sorrow is it mingled? I have been almost killed by a slight fever, but one that recurs almost daily. I have now no liking for the world, and despise all those hopes of mine; I desire that life of holy rest in which I may have leisure for myself and God alone, may meditate on the Holy Scriptures and wash out with tears my former errors. This is what I turn over in my mind, and what I hope some time by your aid and counsel to attain.'

The following letters will afford a glimpse into the serious method and lighter incidents of his life in Paris:

Erasmus to Christian.

'Avoid nocturnal lucubrations and studies at unseasonable times. They exhaust the mind and seriously affect the health. The dawn, beloved of the Muses, is the fit time for study. After dinner either play, or walk, or take part in cheerful conversation. Possibly even among these amusements some time may be found for improvement. Take as much food as is required, not for your pleasure, but for your health. Before supper take a short walk, and after supper do the same. Before going to bed read something exquisite and worth remembering, of which you will be thinking when overcome by sleep, and for which you will ask yourself again when you wake. Let this maxim of Pliny always rest in your mind: All your time is lost which you do not impart to study. Remember that nothing is more fugitive than youth, which, when once it has flown away, never returns. But I am beginning to preach after promising to be nothing but a guide. Follow, sweetest Christian, the plan I have traced, or any better that you can. Farewell' (p. 110).

Erasmus to Christian.

'. . . . "But why have you not written earlier to-day?" you will say. We have been engaged sitting at the play, and very entertaining it was. "A tragedy, you will ask, or a comedy?" Whichever you

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please. Only, no masks were worn by the players; the piece was one act, the plot neither Roman nor Greek, but quite on a low level, without either music or dancing. The ground formed the stage, and my parlour the gallery. The *dénouement* was exciting, and the last scene most animating. "What the devil," you will say, "is this play you are inventing?" Nay, Christian, I am relating a fact. The spectacle we saw to-day was that of our landlady engaged in a desperate fight with the maid. The trumpet had sounded long before the encounter, as violent abuse was hurled from both quarters. On this occasion the forces parted on equal terms, neither side gaining a triumph. It took place in the garden, while we looked on in silence from the parlour, not without laughter. But hear the catastrophe. After the fight the girl came up to my chamber to make the beds. In talking to her I praised her courage in having been a match for her mistress in noise and abuse, and said I wished she had been as brave with her hands as with her tongue. For the mistress, a stout termagant that might have passed for an athlete, kept on pommeling the head of the girl, who was shorter than herself, with her fists. "Have you, then, no nails," I said, "that you put up with such blows for nothing?" She answered with a grin that she did not want will, but strength. "Do you fancy," said I, "that the issue of battles depends only on strength? The plan of attack is always most important." Then she asked what advice I had to give her. "When she attacks you again," said I, "do you at once pull off her cap." For these housewives of Paris are marvellously fond of wearing a black cap of a peculiar fashion. "When you have pulled that off, you can then fly at her hair.' As all this was said by me in jest, I supposed it had been taken in the same sense. But just before supper-time a stranger comes running in breathless. . . . "Come here," said he, "my masters, and you will see a bloody spectacle." We rushed to the spot, and found the landlady and her maid struggling on the ground; and it was with some difficulty that we parted them. How bloody the battle had been was shown by the result. Strewn on the floor lay on one side the cap, and on the other the girl's kerchief, and the ground was covered with tufts of hair, so cruel had been the slaughter. As we sat at supper the landlandy related, with much indignation, how stoutly the girl had borne herself. "When I was preparing," said she, "to chastize her" (that is, to pommel her with fisticuffs), "she at once pulled the cap off my head!" I recognized that my song had not been sung to deaf ears. "As soon as that was done, the hussy brandished it in my eyes." That was no part of my counsel. "Then," said she, "she tore out as much of my hair as you see here." She took heaven and earth to witness that she had never met with a girl so small and so vicious. We did our best to palliate human events and the doubtful fortune of war, and to treat of peace for the future. Meantime I congratulated myself that the mistress had no suspicion of the affair having been conducted by my advice, as I should otherwise have found for myself that she had a tongue in her head.'

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We have quoted this letter at some length, not so much for the comic element in it, which, we confess, seems somewhat forced, as for the unconscious revelation it affords, even at this early period, of that trait in the character of Erasmus which is chiefly conspicuous in his writings and shaped his public life. We refer to his disposition to stand aloof from a controversy, fearing to be drawn into the strife, yet unable to refrain from helping the weaker party by advice 'given in jest and expected to be taken in the same sense'—not always with the same impunity as in the instance he relates. No pen could have touched off more happily than his own a scene in which the mistress and the maid in the above letter should represent the Church and the Reforming Movement, the only character needing no change being Erasmus himself, though with more tragedy than comedy in the event.

An event of the utmost importance to Erasmus was brought about by his new mode of life in Paris. Among the young Englishmen of birth and fortune who, having repaired thither to complete their studies, placed themselves under his instruction was William Blount, Lord Mountjoy, himself an English peer, stepson to the Earl of Ormond, and destined to hold high office in the English Court. In the company of Lord Mountjoy, Erasmus made his first visit to England, in the summer of 1499, during which he resided for a short time at Oxford, and laid the foundation of his famous friendships with our English scholars and statesmen. Even more noteworthy is his first glimpse, thus recorded in the *Catalogue of Lucubrations*, of the boy-prince in whose young heart lay pent up earthquake and eclipse:

'I was staying at Lord Mountjoy's country-house when Thomas More came to see me, and took me out with him for a walk as far as the next village, where all the king's children, except Prince Arthur, who was then the eldest son, were being educated. When we came into the hall, the attendants not only of the palace but also of Mountjoy's household, were all assembled. In the midst stood Prince Henry, then nine years old, and having already something of royalty in his demeanour, in which there was a certain dignity combined with singular courtesy. On his right was Margaret, about eleven years of age, afterwards married to James, King of Scots; and on his left played Mary, a child of four. Edward was an infant in arms. More, with his companion, Arnold, after paying his respects to the boy Henry, the same that is now King of England, presented him with some writing. For my part, not having expected anything of the sort, I had nothing to offer, but promised that on another occasion I would in some way declare my duty towards him. Meantime I was angry with More for not having warned me, especially as

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the boy sent me a little note, while we were at dinner, to challenge something from my pen. I went home, and in the Muses' spite, from whom I had been so long divorced, finished the poem within three days.'

The poem was sent to the young prince, with a dedication which concludes thus:

'We have for the present dedicated these verses, like a gift of playthings, to your childhood, and shall be ready with more abundant offerings when your virtues, growing with your age, shall supply more abundant material for poetry. I would add my exhortation to that end, were it not that you are of your own accord already, as they say, under way, with all sails set; and have with you Skelton, that incomparable light of British letters, who can not only kindle your studies, but bring them to a happy conclusion. Farewell, and may Good Letters be illustrated by your splendour, protected by your authority, and fostered by your liberality.'

That he enjoyed his visit to England may be judged by the following, from Ep. 98 (p. 203):

'We, too, have made progress in England. The Erasmus you once knew is now become almost a sportsman, no bad rider, a courtier of some practice, bows with politeness, smiles with grace; and all this in spite of himself. If you are wise, you, too, will fly over here. Why should a man with a nose like yours grow to old age with nothing but French filth about him. But you will say, your gout detains you. The devil take your gout if he will only leave *you*! Nevertheless, did you but know the blessings of Britain, you would clap wings to your feet and run hither; and if the gout stopped you, would wish yourself a Dædalus.'

Then follows the passage in which he mentions with keen appreciation 'the fashion in England, never to be commended enough,' of kissing. Certainly there had been a butterfly development of the studious young brother at Stein, the half-starved student at Montaigu, or the monk who had formed such good resolutions when he was sick. It is amusing to note how different in tone are the letters to his superior, written in dread of a recall to the convent, and anxious to dispel the notion either that he was maintaining himself in luxury or neglecting sacred studies. Thus:

Erasmus to his Father in Religion, Nicholas Werner.

'If you are all well at Stein, it is what we wish and trust. For my part, I am thankful to say I am heartily well. If anyone has doubted how much I value sacred learning, I have now shown it by evidence of fact. I am using boastful language, but Erasmus must not hide anything from his loving father.

'I have lately fallen in with some Englishmen, all of noble birth

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and high rank. Very lately a young man in priest's orders joined the party. He had abundance of money and had refused the offer of a bishopric, because he was aware of his deficiency in learning. Nevertheless, within a year he is again to be invited to that dignity by the king, although without any bishopric he possesses two thousand crowns a year. When he heard of my knowledge of letters he began to exhibit an incredible regard and respect for me; for he lived some little time in my household. He offered me a hundred crowns if I would instruct him for a year. He offered me a benefice within a few months; and he offered to lend me three hundred crowns to maintain my position until I should repay it out of the benefice. If I had chosen to accept his proposals, I should have obliged all the English in this city, for they are all of the highest families, and through them all England. I have turned my back on ample fortune, and still more ample expectations. I have disregarded entreaties backed with tears. . . . The English now know that I care nothing for all the wealth of England. Neither is it without consideration that I refused and still refuse these offers. I will not by any bribe be led away from sacred studies. I have come here to learn, not to teach or to heap up money. Indeed, I intend to apply, God willing, for a doctorate in theology.

'The Bishop of Cambrai is a wonderful friend to me. He promises liberally, but, to tell the plain truth, he does not send liberally. Farewell' (pp. 117–8).

With all these professions of a disinterested love of learning, it is painful to read the unfortunate and adulatory solicitations for money which he addressed to the Bishop of Cambrai and to another patron, who figures largely in his earlier correspondence, Ann, the Lady of Vere. *Gnathonisms*, he called them, and perpetrates them not without shame; but his self-respect yielded before necessity, which, delicate as he was and luxuriously inclined, was with him a term of somewhat liberal interpretation. Doubtless, also, he felt, as many others have felt with less justice, that genius has a claim on wealth and a right to be relieved of the meaner cares of life. The following extracts will exhibit how low an Erasmus could fall:

Erasmus to the Lady of Vere.

'Three Annas have been commended to posterity by ancient literature; one, called Perenna, who for her singular devotion to her sister Dido was believed by antiquity to have been received among the gods; another, the wife of Elkanah, for whom it is praise enough that, by the Divine blessing, she gave birth in her old age to Samuel, not to be of service to herself, but to be a devout priest of God and an incorruptible judge of His people; the third, the parent of the Virgin Mother, the grandmother of Jesus, God and man, who requires no further eulogy. The first has been consecrated by the

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Roman Muses to immortality. The second has been extolled in the Hebrew annals. The third is worshipped by Christian piety, and has been celebrated by the eloquent verse of Rodolphus Agricola and Baptista Mantuanus. May Heaven grant such virtue to my writings that posterity, not unacquainted with your pious, chaste, and stainless heart, may number a fourth Anna with the other three. So shall it be if only one feeble genius be equal to your merit. . . . I may venture to confess that I am the more attracted to you because I see that deity of Rhamnus, whom I have always found most unkind to me, is not altogether well disposed to you; for a fellowship in misfortunes is often a means of knitting people together. But what comparison can be drawn between us? Your rank is almost placed beyond the risks of Fortune, who yet sometimes gives you a pinch; but against me she rages with a constancy which is the one quality not like herself, as if she had entered into a conspiracy against my Letters. . . . But I am ashamed, so help me Heaven, that I, a man, in some degree fortified by the protection of learning, and armed with the precepts of philosophy, should lose my courage; while you, whom Nature has made a woman, and who have been born in the highest station and brought up in the greatest luxury, have still something to suffer, and bear it in no womanly spirit. I should remember, too, that, however Fortune may thunder against me, there is no excuse for my abandoning letters or allowing my heart to fail, so long as you shine before my eyes as a Cynosure of security. Letters we cannot be deprived of by Fortune; and those little means which my leisure requires your wealth, abundant as your liberality, can easily supply. . . . And as for any poor return I may make, whatever my poor genius can do shall be exerted to the utmost, that future ages may know that there existed at this extremity of the world one lady by whose beneficence good letters, corrupted by the ignorance of the unskilful, ruined by the default of princes, neglected by the indifference of mankind, were encouraged to raise their head. . . . I send you herewith another *Anna*, a poem, or rather some verses, I made when quite a boy, which may show you the ardent veneration which from my youthful days I have cherished for that Saint.'[1]

The following is written to James Batt, his devoted and constant friend:

'If you are heartily interested in my fortune, this is what you must do. You will make a fair excuse to my Lady, that I cannot for very shame expose my own destitution before her, but that I am now in the deepest poverty, this flight to Orleans having been a great expense, as I had to leave behind some sources of income; that a doctor's degree cannot be so properly taken as in Italy; that Italy cannot be visited by so delicate a man without a considerable sum of money, especially as my reputation, whatever it may be worth, as a man of learning forbids my living in an altogether mean fashion.

[1] *Ep.* 137, pp. 294–6.

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You will point out how much more credit I shall do her by my learning than the other divines whom she maintains . . . such unlearned divines abound everywhere; men like me are scarcely found in many centuries—unless, indeed, you are too scrupulous to tell a few fibs for a friend. . . . When you have expended your eloquence on these subjects, and have enlarged upon my character, my aspirations, my attachment to her, and my natural reserve, you will then add that I have written to you that I could not do with less than two hundred francs, so that the next year's pension would have to be paid in advance. Then press her to provide me on my return with some preferment upon which I may devote myself in quiet to literature. Of course, I am aware that there are many applicants for livings; but you can say that I am the one person whom, if she compares with the rest, &c., &c. You know your old way of lying profusely in praise of your Erasmus.'

It is pleasing to reflect, and perhaps Erasmus himself may afterwards have been gratified to remember, that he gained comparatively little by such ignoble stooping.

The limits of our space forbid us to linger, as we should with delight, on his second, more prolonged visit to England, and the many beloved and famous names he added to the list of his friends. Through their frank liberality, and not by the bounty of patrons extorted by servility, he was at length able to carry out his long-cherished project of visiting Italy and obtaining a doctor's degree in divinity; not that he himself set a great value on it, but because an extraordinary distinction and authority were attached to it in that age.

'I have long felt,' he wrote, 'the necessity of two things: to visit Italy, so that my little learning may derive an authority from the celebrity of the place, and to take the title of Doctor. The one is absurd as the other; for they do not change their minds who cross the sea, as Horace says; nor will the shadow of a name make me a whit more learned. But it is no use acting a good play to be hissed by all the audience: and we must put on the lion's skin, to force the conviction of our competence on those who judge a man by his title, and not by his books, which indeed they do not understand.'

He took his degree at Turin, the first place at which he halted for any considerable time; and thence returned to Bologna, where he witnessed the triumphal entry of Pope Julius II., a spectacle which made a deep impression on him, and to which he often referred, with censure. '*Spectabam, ut ingenue dicam, non sine tacito gemitu.*'

It was then, while Pope Julius was still in the city, and, as Erasmus asserted, by dispensation from him, that he made the change in his dress from the habit of an Augustinian monk, which he had hitherto worn, though generally covered up, to

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the dress of an ordinary priest. In defence of this step he urged the plausible excuse that the resemblance of the habit to the costume of the physicians employed to tend the plague-stricken brought upon him a violent attack by some ignorant people for not keeping out of their way. The excuse was perhaps as unreal as the dispensation; but in the year 1517 a dispensation, undoubtedly granted by Pope Leo X., practically freed him from his monastic obligation, and relieved his mind of the fears of a recall, which had constantly harassed him ever since his escape from the Convent of Stein. Not only was he now free from the control of his order, but every disability was removed which, arising out of the circumstances of his birth, might be urged against the validity of his orders or his title to a benefice.

We cannot follow him to Pavia, Venice, Padua, Ferrara, Siena, Rome, and Naples; but, remembering a recent bull-fight in which an armoured motor-car was substituted for the ordinary assailants of the victim, we may turn a glance of amusement to a bull-fight he witnessed at Siena, in which huge wooden machines in the likeness of various beasts, moved by men inside them, charged the hapless brute; and we may question whether, after four centuries, our imagination is as superior to theirs as our machinery.

We must snatch a glimpse of him at Rome:

'When I was at Rome, after I had been invited by Cardinal Griniani to visit him, . . . and the invitation had been more than once repeated—so much did I dislike paying court to the great—at last I went to his palace, rather from shame than from inclination. There was no creature to be seen either in the court or in the vestibule. It was afternoon. I gave my horse to my servant, and mounting the stairs by myself, went into the first reception-room. I saw no one. I went into the second and third. Just the same. I found no door closed, and marvelled at the solitude around me. Coming to the last room, I found one person keeping watch at an open door. He had the tonsure, and was, I believe, a Greek physician. I asked him how the Cardinal was engaged. He said he was within, talking with several gentlemen. I made no reply, and he asked what I wanted. "To pay my respects to him," said I, "if it had been convenient; but, as he is not at leisure, I will call again." As I turned to go, I lingered at a window to look at the view, and the Greek came to me again, to inquire whether I wished any message to be taken to the Cardinal. "There is no need," said I, "to interrupt his conversation, but I will come back shortly." At last he asked my name, which I gave him. As soon as he heard it he went hastily in without my noticing it, and coming out directly, bade me not to go. Without further delay I was fetched in, and the Cardinal received me, not as a Cardinal, and such a Cardinal, might

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receive a person of humble rank, but as he might a colleague. A chair being placed for me, we talked together for more than two hours, and all that time I was not allowed to remove my hat, a marvellous act of courtesy from a man of such rank. In the midst of much learned talk about literary studies . . . he began to advise me not to leave Rome, the nursing-mother of intellects. . . . As I offered to rise, he stopped me, saying that a disciple should stand before his master. At last he showed me his library, rich in many tongues. If I had happened to become acquainted with this personage earlier, I should never have left the city, where I found more favour than I deserved. But I had already made up my mind to go, and things had gone so far that it was scarcely open for me to stay. When I told him I had been sent for by the King of England, he ceased to press me' (pp. 461–2).

He might, indeed, have become a colleague of the Cardinal if he had chosen to remain in Rome; but who could resist such an invitation as the following, addressed to him by his friend, Lord Mountjoy?

'I have no fear, my Erasmus, but when you heard that our prince, now Henry the Eighth, whom we may well call our Octavius, had succeeded to his father's throne all your melancholy left you at once. For what may you not promise yourself from a prince, with whose extraordinary and almost divine character you are well acquainted, and to whom you are not only known but intimate, having received from him (as few others have) a letter traced with his own fingers? But when you know what a hero he now shows himself, how wisely he behaves, what a lover he is of justice and goodness, what affection he bears to the learned, I venture to swear that you will need no wings to make you fly to behold this new and auspicious star. Oh, my Erasmus, if you could see how all the world here is rejoicing in the possession of so great a prince, how his life is all their desire, you could not contain your tears for joy. The heavens laugh, the earth exults, all things are full of milk, of honey, and of nectar! Avarice is expelled the country. Liberality scatters wealth with bounteous hand. Our king does not desire gold or gems or precious metals, but virtue, glory, immortality. I will give you an example. The other day he wished he was more learned. I said, "That is not what is expected of your Grace, but that you will foster and encourage learned men." "Yea, surely," said he, "for indeed without them we should scarcely exist at all." What more splendid saying ever fell from the lips of a prince. . . . I would bid you be of good cheer, if I did not think that without my bidding you are already hopeful, if you have any hope in you. Make up your mind that the last day of your wretchedness has dawned. You will come to a Prince who will say:

"Accept our wealth and be our greatest sage."

. . . Come to us as soon as you can.

The Palace, Greenwich, May 27, 1509' (pp. 457–61).

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So we must leave him, speeding to 'Africa and golden joys'; how changed from that Erasmus who sighed to be free of the cloister or starved in a garret at Montaigu; who fawned on the Lady of Vere or trembled like a truant, half his life, at the thought of recapture. He 'claps wings to his feet,' and hastes to England and wealth, to high place and authority, to the intimate counsels of the king, to some large, far-reaching measure of reform; above all, to honour, security, peace. *So he thinks.* In a letter of the following year occurs for the first time the name of LUTHER; which, if he had been wise to hear, would have been to him the first tragic note of an Iliad of woes. But, as our author happily remarks: 'He has finished his prolonged *Lehrjahre* and *Wanderjahre*;' he is 42 years of age; he has seen many men and many cities; he has a fair field and his part to play in the world, happy if he have not already yielded his peace into the hand of his enemies!

ART. IX.—CANON CARTER OF CLEWER.

1. *A Memoir of John Armstrong, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Grahamstown.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer. With Introduction by Samuel, Lord Bishop of Oxford. (Oxford, 1857.)
2. *Harriet Monsell: a Memoir.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. (London, 1889.)
3. *Sermons.* By THOMAS THELUSSON CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. (London, 1862.)
4. *The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. 2nd edition. (London, 1869.)

And other works.

THERE is an event in the Old Testament which comes to our mind with something of a deterrent effect, as we attempt to sketch the life and work of the late Canon T. T. Carter. 'Uzzah put forth his hand to the Ark,' and the judgment of the Lord fell upon him. What exactly was his sin is not explained, but it was probably some want of reverence in the act, some hasty handling of an object which should have been approached with greater recollectedness and awe. The fear is lest there should be something in these pages unfitting,

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something unworthy in the attempted portrait of a life of such holiness.

Canon Carter presented sanctity under the aspect of beauty. There are holy persons, but with something repellent about them. There is all the difference between a building which is surrounded with scaffolding and implements, and a completed structure with all unsightly materials removed. Nature and grace seem to have conspired together in 'Carter of Clewer' to form an attractive personality. His appearance arrested attention—a tall commanding presence, a face not easily forgotten, so full of loving-kindness, a brow betokening great intellectual power, a mouth a mixture of sweetness and determination, and eyes penetrating, which sometimes looked as if they glowed with fire. We cannot say that the painting of the late F. Holl, familiar to many, quite pleases us, excellent as it is as a work of art. We miss the brightness, the life, the vivacity—these seem to have fled, while the anatomy of the veins gives almost a death-like hue to the features. Those who looked upon him in the coffin speak of a colour in his cheeks, as if flushed with a touch of his far distant youth, as if radiant with hope.

We regard brightness as the dominant note of his character. The gleam would come and go; it seemed to be always ready at a moment's call, in greeting a friend, in bidding adieu, in the enjoyment of something which he was reading, in his delight in everything which was beautiful, in the midst of sorrow. Yet this last may be exaggerated. He had sorrows which left a lasting mark upon his life; it could not be otherwise in a nature so affectionate. But he had wonderful self-command. Those who knew him intimately could not make the mistake of imagining that he did not keenly *feel* trouble and bereavement; they have seen him turn aside and weep. True sanctity is never unnatural. Brightness without the note of sympathy would have little charm in this world of sin and sorrow. A sketch must be, or attempt to be, a 'vivid delineation of a person,' and so take into account, as far as possible, the different elements of character. Sympathy, of course, reinforced by grace, was the moving cause of the work at Clewer. Its origin was penitentiary work. We find in the earliest book of Mr. Carter (there was at least one earlier, *The Blessings of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper*) with which the writer of the present article is acquainted, the *Life of Bishop Armstrong*, published in 1857, how keenly he was touched with the Church Penitentiary movement, an object which 'excited his compassion,'

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and in the promotion of which he found a worthy coadjutor in the late Bishop of Grahamstown, whose zeal and devotion to the cause greatly excited the admiration of the future Warden of Clewer. The 'Appeal' made in March 1849 was so warmly responded to, that in the June following the House of Mercy, Clewer, was begun.

We remember how Dr. Liddon, when lecturing upon St. Paul, said: 'As a rule, three elements were to be distinguished in the preparatory life of any men who achieved much,' viz. the raw material of personal character, an influence, and the fusion of both. The 'influence,' a mutual influence, seems to have been the early friendship between Mr. Carter and Bishop Armstrong, each acting on the other through the common sympathy in 'rescue work.' Of Bishop Armstrong Bishop Samuel Wilberforce said:

'Above all, he awakened through God's blessing those efforts on behalf of the most miserable class of outcast women, which have led to the exercise of so much of that skilful and affectionate care for such penitents, which surely ought especially to mark the followers of Him who, in spite of the jeers of the Pharisee, suffered the woman who had been a sinner to "wash His feet with her tears."'

One of these friends, so 'lovely in their lives,' was soon to occupy the new See of Grahamstown, and to pass early to his reward; the other, to become the leader of penitentiary work in his own land and to live to a great age. They were kindred spirits, and the pen of the one has perpetuated the memory of the other.

Our concern now with the Penitentiary Work at Clewer, of which Canon Carter was the Founder, and the beginning of which he describes in his memoir of *Harriet Monsell*, is only so far as it illustrates the character of our subject. We trace in it his intense sympathy for the fallen, and his practical wisdom. Penitentiary work, we need hardly say, was not an entirely new thing in the Church of England, but as it existed it created no enthusiasm, and but little hope. 'Facilis descensus Averni;—sed revocare gradum'—few had belief in such a return. To put new life into this, that was 'the work and the difficulty.' It was feared at the time that the idea of Sisters taking up penitentiary work 'would discourage the formation of Sisterhoods.' This junction was in our communion an experiment. The feeble efforts of existing penitentiaries seemed to be confined to the separation of the fallen from their surroundings, and to the formation of external regularity of life. It was felt that some 'vital change' was needed, and that the root of the evil had not

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been reached. Then the instrumentality of 'self-devoted and unpaid ladies' was proposed, with the view of exercising some deeper spiritual influence on those who had been removed from a life of sin—this removal often through the desire of friends and relations, but without as yet any real conversion to God. Clewer through Mr. Carter seems to have supplied the first test of 'this new form of Church work.' He believed in the power of ladies, whose lives were dedicated to Christ, to deal with this terrible social evil; and, if we mistake not the order of events, compassion for the fallen was the source and origin of the Works at Clewer and of the Community. Penitentiary work began in 1849 with six women 'of the lowest and coarsest kind': the Community of St. John Baptist began in 1852. Now in fifty years the two or three ladies who offered themselves to take charge of a few 'penitents' at Clewer have developed into a Community of some three hundred Sisters, working in various parts of England, in New York, in Calcutta, and elsewhere, all following the rule which was sanctioned by their Founder and Warden; while the long list of good works—penitentiaries, refuges, orphanages, hospitals, schools, and parishes—are too many to be enumerated within the limits of this article.

The following statistics may give some idea of the size of a few of these Works:

Clewer House of Mercy accommodates 80 penitents and 33 magdalens.
St. John's Home, 68 girls, orphans.
St. Andrew's Hospital, 85 beds.
St. Andrew's Cottage, 8 ladies.
St. Stephen's College, 50 young ladies.
St. Stephen's High School, 60 children—170 with day scholars.
St. Augustine's Home, 50 boys.
St. John Baptist School, King Henry's Road, South Hampstead, 23 girls.
St. Barnabas Orphanage, 60 orphans.
The Refuge at Pimlico, 13 women.
Home of the Good Shepherd, Leytonstone, 60 girls.
Home for Working Girls, Blackfriars, 66 girls.
Oxford Penitentiary, 60 women and 6 magdalens.
House of Mercy, Bovey Tracey, Devon, 80 penitents.
St. Lucy's Home, Gloucester, 35 girls.
Newark House, Hampstead, 30 girls (preventive).
St. Andrew's Hospital, Folkestone, 130 patients.
A Rescue Home, 53 children.
St. Michael's Home, Leamington, 32 penitents.
House of Mercy, Great Maplestead, 50 penitents.

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Diocesan House of Mercy, Highgate, 60 penitents.
Pratt Memorial School, Calcutta, 80 boarders.
European Orphanage, 60 boarders.
Diocesan School, Darjeeling (Anglo-Indian), 90 boarders.
Besides large works in the United States of America, the Mother House being 233 East 17th Street, New York.

Of course, this vast organization is not the product of one unaided personality, however remarkable. There are several whose names Canon T. T. Carter would mention, if he were writing this; there is one which we cannot pass over, that of 'Harriet Monsell,' of whom it has been truly said that, when the history of the revival of Sisterhoods in our Church is written, 'a golden page will be given to Mother Harriet.' She was Superior of Clewer for nearly a quarter of a century, and but for her assistance Clewer would not have been what it is. But it was Bruno who drew devoted followers to the beautiful valley of Chartreuse; and it was Thomas Thelusson Carter who, by his spiritual attractiveness, drew souls to Clewer who desired to offer themselves to live entirely for God.

Though it may truly be said of him, as you stand in the midst of the institutions at Clewer, 'Si monumentum requiris, circumspice,' we must not forget his long services rendered to the Church as a parochial clergyman. T. T. Carter, from the time of his ordination, was a zealous parish priest, and continued these labours until 1880, when he had nearly reached the age of seventy-three. He was born in Eton, March 19, 1808. Nearly the whole of his very long life was spent in or near Clewer. We have been told that at little more than six years old he went to school at Eton. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1831, First Class, *Lit. Hum.* He was ordained deacon at Salisbury in 1832, and so lived nearly the 'three score years and ten' in Holy Orders. His first curacy was at Reading, under Dean Milman. From Reading he went to Burnham, and became curate to his father, and was ordained priest in Buckingham Palace Chapel. The annexation of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire with the Oxford diocese only came about in 1836 and 1837. The Rev. T. T. Carter was married at Pitminster Church, near Taunton, to Mary Anne Gould, the second daughter of John and Jane Gould, who resided at Amberd House, in that parish. For a few years he was rector of a little country parish in Dorset, where he laboured to restore the parish church, and where a memorial is now being raised to him. At Clewer, before the House of Mercy was built, a few fallen women were received into a private house, and attended regularly the

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services at the parish church, which was restored by the rector with the greatest care, and beautified; and where a devoted congregation regularly attended his ministrations, from the parish and the neighbourhood, Windsor and Eton. He was rector of Clewer from 1844 to 1880. Though hardly by nature adapted for ministering to poor people, he was greatly beloved by them, because of his kind sympathy and generosity.

In any sketch of Canon T. T. Carter's life some allusion must be made to the great and exhausting labours which he endured as a spiritual guide. There must be thousands who have known him in this capacity, some for half a century. In earlier days, when such help was not often near at hand, those who sought his guidance came from all parts. It is almost too sacred to do more than touch this branch of his work, carried on till within two days of his death. Many who read these lines will recall blessings which they owe to his ministrations. They will all testify to his delicate tenderness and quick sympathy. He was never mechanical or official. Numbers who came to him in trial and perplexity, as well as those who sought his help when burdened with sin, will remember the absorbed attention with which he ministered to each one, as if the same had some special claim upon his time, his thought, his prayers. And the interest which, perhaps, centred upon one in a family, stretched out to the others in tenderest inquiries and remembered intercessions, in time of sickness or other affliction. Yet this constant and wearying occupation of listening to the tale of sin or sorrow of all conditions of men did not seem to overcloud his life. The pained look, the obscuration of the gleam of brightness, was but for a moment; and the gentle smile returned. The late Canon, like the late Bishop of Durham, was undoubtedly an optimist, if by an optimist is meant one who ever sees some remnant of good in a character, some possibilities of grace and glory. We find a passage in a sermon in the *Ministry of Christ*, which is characteristic of the style and thought of the author, then in middle life, upon the words, 'This man receiveth sinners and eateth with them,' which contains a description of those spiritual interviews to which we have alluded. He says:

'What lessons are here given to the pastor of souls when this first outer intercourse has been passed through, the outer crust of human fellowship removed, and soul meets soul, and the inner life is laid open to the influences of individual teaching and personal cleansing, of guidance and discipline; when the grace of sacraments, of abso-

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lutions and intercessions, casts the veil of an unearthly consciousness around, and the spirit is felt to commune with spirit, and the Unseen Presence more and more pervades the inner sense and desires of the new creature? What does the picture we have been contemplating of our Lord's ministry in the flesh teach us of the love, the spirituality, the chastened purity, the intense longing for souls and for the manifestation of the glory of God, which ought to animate such an inner circle of communion in the breath of that inner life in which the heart of God is ever moving in its inexhaustible longings for the perfect bliss of all whom He hath created for His own glory!'

Here is the deep spirituality, expressed in long involved sentences, which those familiar with the writings of T. T. Carter will quickly recognize.

It is obvious in this connexion to refer to Canon Carter's teaching on the vexed subject of confession. This is contained in one of his earliest works, *The Doctrine of Confession in the Church of England*, the first edition of which appeared near the middle of the last century. His name is attached to a 'Declaration' on Confession, a long and rather elaborate statement, issued on December 6, 1873, which was intended to dispel serious misapprehensions on the subject, and to claim all that the Prayer Book preserved and allowed. Its limits also were clearly stated: 'The Church of England does not justify any priest in teaching that private confession is a condition indispensable to the forgiveness of sin after Baptism, or is a condition indispensable for receiving Holy Communion; yet that under certain circumstances the clergy are directed to "move" persons to such confession.' In this, as in all other matters, Canon Carter was ever loyal to the teaching of the Church of England. As an evidence of this temper of mind, his desire not to go beyond what the Church of England permits or encourages, we may note his treatment of the General Confession and Absolution in our Prayer Book. He did not regard them as worthless for the purpose, but as supplying 'some measure at least of the grace of this ministry to all who frequent the services of the Church, thus meeting, so far as possible, the needs of those who, from whatever cause, make use of the liberty to confess themselves to God alone.' And again, 'the Church of England undoubtedly attaches more value to general confessions and absolutions than Western Christendom had been accustomed to do for some centuries previous to the Reformation.' On the other hand, he did not regard the directions of the Prayer Book as restricting the *liberty* of confession. Its habitual use in the formation of a saintly

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character, especially in the case of those who were vowed to the service of God, he would have certainly encouraged; or, on the other hand, in the case of those who were recovering from a life of deadly sin. A very different view was taken by many of the public absolutions. Maskell, after stating that there are 'seven theories' about them as to their efficacy, held himself that the grace of absolution only followed upon 'particular confession.' Canon Carter, though in the midstream of the 'Catholic Movement,' never uttered a word of disparagement of the English formularies, though at the same time clearly asserting the greater blessing which under certain circumstances would be obtained by private confession to God before the priest.

Canon Carter was considered great as a preacher, but not in the popular sense. A great preacher, on being told that his sermons were to be printed, conceitedly replied, 'You must print me too.' Such words could never have escaped from the lips of the saintly Carter, but they would have been true. There was a charm in his presence and in his voice, though it was not strong. Yet he has been heard well at the end of St. James's Hall when stirred by some great Church question. There were certain centres of spiritual activity where he repeatedly preached. It will recall reminiscences in many if we select two for special mention—All Saints, Margaret Street, and All Saints, Clifton. These churches, especially in the earlier days of the Oxford Movement, were fountains of influence, and men of mark from all parts of the country had the privilege of preaching during the Octaves of the Dedication Festivals. The present Dean of Chichester was a master in the arrangement of these series of sermons at Clifton. The name of the Rev. T. T. Carter appears as one of the preachers at the consecration of All Saints, Margaret Street in 1850; he occupied the pulpit on the Thursdays in the Lent following, and on many subsequent occasions. It will be remembered how the thin volumes entitled *The Life of Imitation*, *The Life of Sacrifice*, *The Life of Penitence*, &c., contained in permanent form the devotional addresses which had been delivered. These sermons drew together a large number of devout and cultured persons, who were able to appreciate and follow his teaching. All Saints, Clifton, we believe, ten years later followed the example of its namesake in London. Here the Rev. T. T. Carter preached upon such themes as 'The Blessed State of the Saints departed,' 'The Son's Compassion for the Children of God,' 'The Pure in Heart in the Beatific Vision,' 'Our Blessed Lord

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transforming our nature in the Holy Eucharist,' 'The Likeness of God seen in His Saints,' &c.

In the earlier part of his ministry he was in the habit of writing his sermons, and in a hand which was hopelessly illegible to a stranger; and his letters are, of course, in the same hand. He thought and wrote rapidly, sometimes kneeling on one knee and not keeping firm grasp of the paper, so that the writing twisted about and often ended with the 'T. T. C.' in the extreme corner of the page. But there are those who could read every word, from acquaintance with the hand, and also with the mode of expression. In later life he acquired the habit of preaching without manuscript or notes, in a meditative style, his thoughts often expressed in beautiful language, and his countenance growing radiant when something heavenly or Divine was upon his lips; but it was the sustained earnestness of the preacher, the evident love of God, the absence of all striving for effect, the insight into the soul's real needs, the commingling stream of tenderness and austerity in the teaching, which arrested the attention and stirred the conscience, and opened up to many a vista of new life and holiness.

While treating of his preaching, we must not forget his great power as a conductor of Retreats. He was one of the first to revive these devotional exercises. The essay on *The Church and the World* in 1868 supplied a *rationale* of this practice, which Canon Carter regarded as 'too closely imbedded in Holy Scripture to admit of mere party considerations.' In his *Retreats, with Notes and Addresses*, published as late as 1893, he gives the 'points,' and provides a summary of some of his addresses. Extremely useful as they are, they are but outlines. They will suffice, however, to recall to many days and gatherings at Cuddesdon which will ever be treasured. They were turning points to some. Canon Carter's powers were especially suited for the conduct of such hours of retirement. His addresses seemed to be the outcome of his own life and meditations. He did not bind himself in any way to the Ignatian method, though thoroughly acquainted with it, but appeared to be drawing upon his own communings with God. In his later days, his style, in consequence of the habit of giving spiritual meditations, partook very much of what is customary in Retreats. It may be of interest to give the outline of one of his Retreats, given at Cuddesdon in 1864. It consists of a preliminary address, in which the necessary 'dispositions' for entering Retreats are set forth. Address I. 'The Life of Self-knowledge'—most

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searching. Address II. 'Life of Contrition.' Address III. 'Life of Self-surrender'—Christ-like, definite, entire. Address IV. 'Life of Religious Activity'—avoid return of old sins, dangers of success, externalism. Address V. 'Life of Prayer'—preparation, adoration, dependence. Address VI. 'Life of Repose'—amid outward activities. Here Canon Carter's acquaintance with the Sulpician as well as Ignatian methods is noticeable.

Notwithstanding Canon Carter's contemplative turn of mind, and sometimes apparent abstraction of manner, he always kept before him practical aims, and especially in the restoration of the Religious Life. His attention seems at first to have been drawn to it, as we have seen, for the more effective dealing with penitentiary work. He saw holiness was needed for attacking strongholds of sin, and that refined ladies, who had learnt sympathy at the foot of the Cross, would make better nurses in hospitals than the ordinary hireling. It seems not to have been his intention to revive contemplative and enclosed orders, but dedicated women for the service of Christ. At the same time he meant to restore the *Religious Life* as a distinct vocation. The following is his own description of a Sisterhood as distinguished from other kinds of associated communities of women. He says it

'implies a vocation to live and work wholly and individually for God, as a permanent state; an aptitude for devotion and useful service; a religious rule; fellowship in prayer and work, binding all together; a gradation of offices with gradation of authority; rights and customs carefully guarded; and a systematic way of adapting the capacities and dispositions of the different members of the community to the necessities of the work undertaken.'

Thus, in his estimation, a Community was not only an institution for the cultivation of personal holiness, but also for the realization of the 'highest idea of Christian work.' That was his view. And he also, if we may express our opinion, showed his strong good sense in utilizing the assistance of clergy and laity, men of business, in councils and committees, to give advice in the conduct of the different religious works and finance, but not to interfere with the life and organization of the Sisterhood.

Again, he showed practical wisdom as well as tenderness in avoiding as much as possible the collisions between parental authority and religious vocation, which were likely to be more frequent in the revival of the Religious Life in our country than where it has never been in abeyance. No ladies, under the age of twenty-five, were to enter the Community of St.

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John Baptist, Clewer, without parental consent. And those who entered kept up natural affections, and were allowed to renew them by a visit, we believe, annually to their homes. These were not merely tactics to avoid strife, but the outcome of a heart which, while fully recognizing the supreme claim of vocation, was full of the sweetest consideration for parents. He would never allow any disparagement of domestic life nor any invidious comparisons between Community and married conditions. He would point to the differences of vocation as reflected in the variety of natural beauty, each calling claiming from the other 'respect, sympathy, and love.'

There are many who have formed the notion that Canon Carter was a sort of knight-errant, whose name was to be found among those who took a prominent part in the heated ecclesiastical disputes of the day, and that with great effect. There are, perhaps, certain elements of truth in this estimate, but it gives a very erroneous view of his character. His name, it must be admitted, occupies a conspicuous place in those organizations which were called into existence in consequence of the Church controversies in his day. He was a Vice-President of the 'English Church Union,' and the Founder and for many years Superior-General of the 'Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,' the last an exclusively devotional Society. But he was only forced into controversy when he felt it necessary to defend what he believed to be the best interests of the Church, and when others turned to him for guidance in some 'crisis' of the Church. He was naturally meek, gentle, retiring, averse to strife. But when some part of the Church's heritage, the Church of England which he loved so dearly, seemed to him at stake, he would conquer his natural temperament, and go forth courageously to defend her rights. And even then, as a disputant he was ever the pink of courteousness, and of fairness in argument as well as force. We will take two illustrations. The three letters written to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury in 1877 and 1878, entitled respectively 'Constitutional Order, the Rightful Claim of the Church of England'; 'A Further Plea' for the same; and 'The present Movement a true Phase of Anglo-Catholic Church Principles,' were models of courteous and cogent reasoning. The damage which he did to the principle of the Privy Council judgments, that 'omission is prohibition' has never been repaired, though attempts have been made in that direction. These letters fill more than 170 pages of printed matter, and bear witness to the logical and historical knowledge of the writer, and are not

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marred by one word of bitterness, or even dubious expression on the score of respect. They calmed the storm, and re-stated the true principles of the Oxford Movement—the 'old historic High Churchmanship.'

Another instance of his gentleness and courage is to be found in his behaviour as Rector of Clewer under an attack, the character of which we do not care to describe: it can be gathered from documents in the archives of the Diocese of Oxford. His forbearance, and yet manly adherence to principle, were conspicuous throughout the case, which ended in securing, in the highest Court, to the episcopate its rightful power. In the *Diocesan History of Oxford* this event is referred to in the following terms: 'A signal benefit has been conferred upon the Church at large, and not upon the Diocese alone, in the vindication of the authority of the bishop and his perfect liberty of instituting, or of not instituting, a suit, when it is desired to promote the office of the judge under the provisions of the Clergy Discipline Act.'[1] Having secured this benefit to the Church, Canon Carter resigned his living. He felt this was due to Bishop Mackarness, who had behaved so nobly in the case. As there were not wanting those who thought the Bishop had put some pressure upon him to resign, Canon Carter at once wrote to the papers, stating that there was not 'a shadow of truth in this'; that Bishop Mackarness 'was one of the most just, honourable, and liberal-minded of men'; that the Bishop 'had shown in defence of a great principle considerable legal acumen'; and had never given 'the slightest indication of his wish that I should resign.' He further adds: 'When the Bishop had won his case on appeal, my course seemed to me clear. I could not change anything, believing what I had done to be true: and I could not take advantage of the Bishop's kindness and self-sacrifice, so as to expose him to the certain reproach of favouring what at the time was very generally thought to be illegal.'

In a sketch of the Life and Letters of Canon Carter some comments may be expected upon his view of the Ritual question in general. He regarded it certainly from a practical standpoint. He saw the importance of certain 'points' of ritual as witnessing to the continuity of the English Church—to use Professor Freeman's expression, the 'absolute identity' of the Church of England before the Reformation with the Church of England after the Reformation. Besides this, we have to take into account his natural sense of beauty, in

[1] 3 & 4 Vict. c. 86.

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consequence of which a solemn ceremonial in his case would be sure to aid devotion, would have an elevating effect, a 'soaring upward,' an expression which he used in reference to the ascending fumes of incense. To the recent ruling concerning this beautiful symbol, he felt the clergy were called upon to submit, but he had the hope that this would be only for a time, and that some regulation in its use would be the final result—that is, he added, 'if the laity continue to desire it.' He would also retain the use of incense in processions, which were not touched by the judgment. He thought that perhaps this 'rebuff' would be a good checking of 'extremes,' and a staying time, which would bring back more 'ordered ways.' But the Lambeth 'Opinion' was really a grief to him. He had a hope, too—he was always hopeful—that the submission of High Churchmen might draw other sections of the Church, not distinguished by obedience to rubrics, into better line. Canon Carter's practical genius also discerned the fact that people were taught, especially the poor, more directly through the eye than through the ear; and that belief must find its expression in the ceremonial of the Altar, if the Presence of the Lord and the pleading of His Sacrifice are to be realized in the celebration of the Blessed Sacrament. But he was slow in introducing unaccustomed ceremonial into his church. For a long time the black gown held its place in the pulpit, and the children of the Orphanage occupied the chancel. His method was almost an illustration of the text, 'He that believeth shall not make haste,' and was commented upon adversely by those who were in a hurry and precipitated changes.

Canon Carter took a broad common-sense view of the rubrics. Rubrics designed to prevent abuses which no longer existed, he felt might be interpreted on the *mutatis mutandis* principle. He would not discourage a priest, for instance, from celebrating the Holy Eucharist because he could not be certain that three would communicate. He would be in harmony with the spirit rather than the letter in such a case. In the same way, he would take the practical view as to the question of reservation for the sick. The rubric which at the time was intended to prevent profanity, would not touch the reservation for the sick, under episcopal restriction. At the same time, he would be careful to draw the distinction between reservation for the sick and reservation for devotional purposes. In his Preface to the Rev. T. E. Kempe's book he makes this clear, and does not advocate the latter. There was the same flexibility in dealing with Dissenters. He drew

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a distinction between Dissenters of our own country and Presbyterians from Scotland or Lutherans from Germany. And those Dissenters who resided in England and wished to avail themselves of the ordinances of the National Church, we have heard that even those he would not repel from Communion when they had not been confirmed and had not renounced their errors. But of this we cannot speak with certainty. The former had been baptized, and had not taken up the position of Separatists from, or hostility towards, the National Church. Similarly, in parochial visitation of Dissenters, when they were extremely ill and approaching death, he would not deny them the Blessed Sacrament, if accepting the ministrations of the Church without question or opposition. Perhaps in communicating a dying man, the words in the Sarum Manual —*extra mortis articulum*—might afford some cover. This flexibility may be criticized, and, it may be said, has the danger of degenerating into laxity, or of being applied to what is bidden as well as to what is forbidden; but it was safe in Canon Carter's hands. The fact is, he had a dislike to hard and fast lines, and was no rigorist. He might have made the utterance his own, 'there are no outlines in Nature,' and a Turnerian haze might have had an attraction for him; but he would never allow any tampering with dogmatic definitions adopted by General Councils and accepted by the whole Church. The 'Vincentian Canon' would be final to him. Antiquity was the Court of Appeal, as with Pusey and Liddon and the old Oxford school. But, we repeat, he was no rigorist—he was a mystic, in the sense in which we call Thomas à Kempis a mystic, one who keenly apprehends, to use the language of our own day, 'the relation of the individual to the Absolute'; or, to use the language of theology: Finis *Theologiae Mysticae* est, animam per viam perfectionis ducere usque ad unionem perfectae charitatis cum Deo;' the 'via' having three stages—purgative, illuminative, and unitive. Mysticism is really, says a great writer, only what John Wesley calls 'heart religion,' and a mystic is one who lives in the atmosphere of the supersensible Realities.

Space forbids our carrying this attempt at portraiture much further; but as we understand a volume entitled *The Life and Letters of the late Canon T. T. Carter* will in due time appear, we will content ourselves with a brief reference to two or three further matters of interest upon which the Warden of Clewer has from time to time expressed his mind. Though a friend of Mr. Gladstone from Christ Church days, in many respects he did not share his opinions. He

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was against Disestablishment, although some who accorded with him on ecclesiastical questions thought separation from the State might bring greater freedom to the Church. With regard to the question of Welsh Disestablishment, he thought it would in time lead to 'Total Disestablishment,' while some Welsh clergy seemed to imagine that it might bring benefit to the Church's spiritual life in the Principality. His feeling was to hold on as long as possible to what had been so divinely preserved to us among the nations of the world. He feared, with Döllinger, that English Disestablishment 'would be a terrible shock throughout Christendom.' Yet it was his habit to look at all sides of a question, and he could see also that 'Disestablishment might be a solution of many difficulties' and be 'full of results we can hardly realize.'

Great interest will be taken in his posture towards the Church of Rome. Those who knew Canon Carter intimately will agree that it may be said of him, as of Pusey, 'he was never near the Church of Rome.' That feature of his mind, the love of freedom and the hatred of hard-and-fast lines, made him dislike the rigorous methods which Rome loves to adopt. His piety was in quite a different mould. Freedom of discussion, mutual intercourse of mind with mind, study of the Holy Scriptures, appeal to antiquity, conciliar definitions, Anglican authorities, Church history, the Oxford divines, &c., formed in the main his 'theological apparatus.' We do not know a line in all his writings in which he can be charged with favouring any distinctly Roman doctrine—but he unflinchingly claimed all that was Catholic as our own.

He strongly enjoined upon those under his care the devotional study of Holy Scripture, sometimes suggesting an Epistle for the purpose. He once said: 'I used to learn a psalm daily, and let it sink into my soul as its nourishment.' While not unconversant with patristic divinity, he seemed to prefer to go to the fountain-head at once. This frame of mind is not easily shaken by the attacks of Romanism. He valued the 'Revised Version,' but he was very conservative in the matter of the 'Higher Criticism,' and the lengths which some younger men went in this direction pained him much. He heartily signed the 'Declaration' as to 'the Truth of Holy Scripture,' and thought the modern views were calculated to weaken belief in the Bible. He felt, too, that this teaching often went with the 'theory' of 'kenosis,' which he regarded as extremely dangerous. In all

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this, he only stood on the same ground as the old Oxford school, that our 'Lord Jesus Christ had set the seal of His infallible sanction on the whole of the Old Testament.' It must be remembered, in forming an estimate of Canon Carter's views in regard to the 'Higher Criticism' and its tendencies, that his standpoint would be wholly different from that of the professional expert. The appeal to antiquity might create an *a priori* objection to it, but we do not mean that. We refer to the Canon's habit of viewing everything in relation to the spiritual life. Some who built only upon the doctrine of the infallibility of the letter of Holy Scripture made shipwreck of their faith, and his fear would be that the admission that there were errors in the Scriptures would lead to general unbelief in Revelation, in a country where the authority of the Church, the other ground of faith, was often disputed and by many ignored. If any error had been pointed out to him in the Bible, we think he would have been contented to answer in the words of St. Augustine, 'Either the reading is corrupt, or the translation faulty, or you fail to catch the meaning.'

We have incidentally referred in this memoir to some of Canon Carter's writings. In conclusion, we can only add that he has left to the Church a precious legacy of spiritual teaching in many volumes. He has also carefully edited a number of books of devotion, among which perhaps the best known and most valuable is *The Treasury of Devotion.* We would also mention *The Way of Life*, *The Path of Holiness*, *The Guide to Heaven*, *The Star of Childhood*, and a *Manual of Devotion for Sisters*, 2 vols. He edited also *Nicholas Ferrar* (Longmans) and *The Life and Times of John Kettlewell* (Longmans). To these last-named he has written Introductions, in which he shows how the higher side of Church of England teaching and practice was not without witness in earlier days, and that the Oxford Movement was but 'a revival, a recovery of lost treasures of the Church's earlier and truer state.'

As specimens of Canon Carter's controversial powers, besides the works which have been already referred to, we may point to one of his early writings, *The Doctrine of the Priesthood*, published by Masters in 1857. The volume arose from a debate which took place in a clerical society of which Mr. Carter was a member. We believe the work on Confession similarly originated. *The Roman Question* will be found to contain some trenchant strictures upon 'salient points' on which we are at issue with Rome. *Richard*

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Temple West, the memoir of the vicar of St. Mary Magdalen, much loved, is another of Canon Carter's biographic efforts. *Parish Teachings*, in two volumes, contain courses of sermons delivered in Clewer Church in the author's simpler style; also *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, as drawn from the Holy Scriptures and the Records of the Church of England (Longmans), is for parochial use. *Vows and the Religious State* (Longmans) will concern those who may be drawn to the religious life. In these pages Canon Carter traverses some views of the late Bishop of Lincoln and the grounds upon which the Bishop bases them. We must not altogether omit the six volumes of *Spiritual Instructions*, in which the author deals with the 'Divine Dispensations,' 'The Life of Grace,' 'The Religious Life,' 'Our Lord's Early Life,' and 'Entrance on His Ministry,' &c. (Longmans). Our last reference shall be to a volume of sermons entitled *The Spirit of Watchfulness* (Longmans). These were written when he was over ninety years of age. He passed away on October 28 (St. Simon and St. Jude), 1901.

It has sometimes been made a reproach to the Church of England that she has shown too practical a spirit; that she has been unable to foster the life of devotion; that she has failed to produce saints. It is probably characteristic of all cultivated English life, and a result of the national temperament, that the piety of an Englishman will be chastened and restrained, and that his devotions will not be marked by the exuberance which has sometimes been exhibited by Latin piety. But with that limitation, we hardly think the charge can be sustained. There has always been a tradition of devotion in the English Church; the spirit which fosters it was not created but invigorated and more widely diffused by the Oxford Movement, and Canon Carter represents both a noble example and a fruitful source of it. In the past year we have had to mourn some of the greatest scholars of the English Church. It is, we believe, a sign of its wide and widening powers of influencing different types of the Christian character that side by side with a statesman like Bishop Creighton, with historians like Bishop Stubbs and Dr. Bright, with a scholar like Bishop Westcott, it should have produced the less learned and profound, but equally strong and genuine devotion and piety of Canon Carter.

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ART. X.—THE HOLY EUCHARIST: AN HISTORICAL INQUIRY.

PART III.

To the lists of books prefixed to Part I. and Part II. add the following:

31. ΕΥΘΥΜΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΙΓΑΒΗΝΟΥ *Ερμηνεία εἰς τὰς ιδ' ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ ἀποστόλου Παύλου καὶ εἰς τὰς ζ' καθολικὰς νῦν πρῶτον ἐκ παλαιοῦ χειρογράφου ἐκδιδομένη.* Ὑπὸ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΚΑΛΟΓΕΡΑ. (Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1887.)
32. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ ΜΕΘΩΝΗΣ *Λόγοι δυὸ κατὰ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν λεγόντων τὴν σωτήριον ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν θυσίαν μὴ τῇ τρισυποστάτῳ θεότητι προσαχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ πατρὶ μόνῳ κ.τ.λ. Νῦν πρῶτον ἐκδοθέντες.* Ὑπὸ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΑΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ. (Ἐν Λειψίᾳ, 1865.)
33. *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico.* Ascribed to THOMAS NETTER of Walden. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SHIRLEY, M.A. (Rolls Series, V.). (London, 1858.)
34. JOANNIS WICLIF *Trialogus cum Supplemento Trialogi.* Illum recensuit, hoc primum edidit, utrumque commentario critico instruxit GOTTHARDUS LECHLER. (Oxonii, 1869.)

IN the first part of this article we showed that the theology taught by the Fathers, while not expressly defining the relation of the elements to the Body and Blood of Christ or the exact nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, clearly affirmed that the consecrated bread and wine are Christ's Body and Blood, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice and is intimately connected with what Christ suffered and did on the cross and does in heaven. In the second part we showed that the Eastern writer of the eighth century, St. John of Damascus, very briefly referred to the Eucharist as the 'pure' and 'bloodless' 'sacrifice' foretold by the prophet Malachi, of which the shewbread and the offering of Melchizedek were types, and explained at some length that the bread and wine 'become' and 'are transmade into' the Body and Blood of Christ by the power of God exercised in the operation of the Holy Ghost; that no detailed explanations of the Eucharistic sacrifice are found in the West in the Middle Ages, though the tendency of the schoolmen was to connect it with the

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cross and death of Christ, and that of the liturgical writers was to associate it more markedly with His heavenly offering; and that, after the controversies of the ninth and following centuries, the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ was affirmed by Peter Lombard in the twelfth century in less materialistic language than had previously been used by Cardinal Humbert and others, the bread and the wine were said to be 'transubstantiated' into the Body and Blood of Christ in the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (A.D. 1215), and the scholastic doctrine of Transubstantiation was elaborated and explained by St. Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century.[1]

In this survey of Eucharistic doctrine as taught in the Church down to the thirteenth century, we said nothing about the East after the time of St. John of Damascus, with the exception of a brief reference to a phrase of Euthymius Zigabenus in the twelfth century. Before proceeding further with the history of the doctrine in the West, we must devote some space to the teaching found in the East during the Middle Ages.

X. Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, and Nicolas of Methone may be taken as representative of the Eastern theologians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; and to some extent they correspond in the East to the schoolmen in the West.

Theophylact was Archbishop of Bulgaria in the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. He died in A.D. 1107. His chief writings consist of commentaries on the books of the New Testament. In commenting on the passages which refer to the Holy Eucharist, he shows what was his belief with regard to it.

In the doctrine taught by Theophylact, the death of our Lord on the cross was a sacrifice for sin. 'The death of Christ,' he says, 'was an equivalent for the destruction of all

[1] In the account of the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas in our number for October last, the word 'retain' on page 108, line 25, should have been 'possess,' and the words 'or produces physical effects' on page 108, line 35, should have been omitted. The writer of the article regrets the carelessness which made him forget that, while St. Thomas Aquinas teaches that the accidents in the consecrated sacrament have the power of nourishing the body, he implies by his connexion of III. lxxvii. 6 with III. lxxvii. 5 of the *Summa Theologica* that this power is possessed by the accidents because, in the act of consecration ('in ipsa consecratione'), it has been by a miracle ('miraculose') attached to the accident of dimensive quantity.

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men, and, so far as His act was concerned, He died on behalf of all'; 'He died, bearing our sins, and offering sacrifice (*προσφέρων*) to the Father, that He might blot them out.'[1] By this 'one sacrifice' of 'His own body' which 'Christ offered for our sins,' this 'offering of the body of Christ which was made once for all,' Christians are sanctified.[2] The 'sacrifice' is 'of such a kind and of so great power that by means of it' Christ 'once for all cleansed the world.'[3] The 'object' of His Incarnation was that He might be a high priest.[4] But His priesthood and the work of it did not end with His death. He entered into heaven for our sake, 'that He might intercede with the Father on our behalf, as also the high priest entered into the sanctuary once in the year making propitiation on behalf of the people.'[5] 'He entered' into heaven 'with a sacrifice able to appease the Father'; 'He now appears on our behalf,' 'because He entered as high priest, for His entrance took place because of our reconciliation.'[6] 'He has not ceased to be a priest' because He sits with the dignity of God; His offering is His own body.[7] In the heavenly intercession which His abiding retention of His Manhood enables Him to offer He 'performs His high priestly work on our behalf.'[8] His high priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is associated both with the Eucharist on earth in which 'He offers Himself by means of His ministers' and with His intercession in Heaven.[9] Thus, Christians possess an 'altar' and 'the bloodless sacrifice of the life-giving body' of Christ.[10] In his teaching about the Eucharistic sacrifice, therefore, the position of Theophylact is much the same as that found in the patristic period, an assertion, with little explanation, that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, and an association of it with the death of our Lord and with His priestly work in heaven.

The doctrine of Theophylact about the presence in the Eucharist greatly resembles that of St. John of Damascus. Communion is 'the mystic reception of the Body,' 'the flesh,' 'of the Lord.'[11] 'He who eats' Christ is 'transformed' (*μεταστοιχειούμενος*) into Him.[12] The bread and the wine are not 'figures' (*ἀντίτυπον*) of the Body and the Blood of

[1] Theophylact on Heb. ix. 28.
[2] *Ibid.* x. 10–19. [3] *Ibid.* vii. 27.
[4] *Ibid.* viii. 11. [5] *Ibid.* vi. 20. [6] *Ibid.* ix. 24.
[7] *Ibid.* viii. 1, 3. [8] *Ibid.* vii. 25. [9] *Ibid.* vii. 3.
[10] *Ibid.* xiii. 10–12. Cf. on 1 Cor. xi. 24–6, where, though *ἀνάμνησις* is apparently interpreted of a remembrance to man, the Eucharist is called a 'sacrifice' (*θυσία*).
[11] *Idem* on St. John vi. 27, 48–51. [12] *Ibid.* vi. 56–8.

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our Lord, but the Body and the Blood themselves.[1] 'That which is in the chalice is what flowed from the side' of Christ; 'what the Lord suffered not on the cross (for a bone of Him was not broken), this He now bears, being broken for our sake'; 'as His Body is united to Christ, so also are we united to Him by means of this bread' of the Eucharist.[2] The bread and the wine are 'transmade' (*μεταποιεῖται*) and 'changed' (*μεταβάλλεται*) 'by means of the mystic blessing and the descent of the Holy Ghost' into the Body and Blood of Christ.[3]

Euthymius Zigabenus, also called Zigadenus, was a monk of Constantinople who flourished in the reign of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus. He died about A.D. 1118. His most important works are his *Dogmatic Panoply of the Orthodox Faith* and his commentaries on Holy Scripture.

The teaching of Euthymius on the subject of the Eucharistic Sacrifice closely resembles that of Theophylact. 'Christ,' he says, 'who is king as God, became also priest as Man, when He sacrificed Himself on behalf of the remission of our sins.'[4] 'He offered Himself as a sacrifice on our behalf, when He delivered Himself up to death.'[5] So efficacious is this 'one sacrifice' that it avails 'for the remission of all the defilements of sin committed at any time prior to the reception of Baptism.'[6] Christ was once offered and His sacrifice is all-prevailing.[7] He entered into heaven on His ascension 'with the sacrifice' which consisted of 'His sacrificed flesh.'[8] Before His death He had made an offering to the Father in His office as high priest after the order of Melchizedek at the time of His earnest prayer in the agony in the Garden of Gethsemane.[9] So, too, after His death and resurrection and ascension, His priestly work abides. 'When He had made His offering once for all, He sat down as Lord.'[10] But that glorious possession of high dignity does not hinder His abiding work in heaven as Man and as priest. He is an 'eternal priest'; 'even now He is the representative, as Man, on behalf of our salvation'; 'His Manhood itself beseeches the Father on our behalf';[11] 'in heaven He performs the priestly work' of 'intercession' and 'mediation';[12] it is His office, 'as our high priest, to make propitia-

[1] Theophylact on St. Matt. xxvi. 28; St. Mark xiv. 22–5; St. John vi. 48–51.
[2] *Idem* on 1 Cor. x. 16.
[3] *Idem* on St. Matt. xxvi. 28; St. Mark xiv. 22–5; St. John vi. 48–51.
[4] Euthymius Zigabenus on Heb. vii. 14. [5] *Ibid.* vii. 27.
[6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.* ix. 26. [8] *Ibid.* ix. 25. [9] *Ibid.* v. 7, 10.
[10] *Ibid.* x. 11, 12. [11] *Ibid.* vii. 25. [12] *Ibid.* viii. 2, 4, 6.

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tion to the Father on our behalf.'[1] In all these acts of 'our high-priest' in heaven, there is 'the same Christ' who ever 'offers His bloodless sacrifice'; and, in the Eucharist which Christians 'offer' 'on earth' 'often,' 'there are not many offerings,' but it is ever 'one and the same';[2] for the Eucharist is 'the mystic sacrifice of the Body of the Lord.'[3]

With regard to the Presence in the consecrated Sacrament Euthymius follows the lines of thought found in St. John of Damascus. In commenting on our Lord's words at the institution he says:

'He did not say, These are the symbols of My Body and My Blood, but, These are My Body and My Blood. . . . As supernaturally (ὑπερφυῶς) He added deity to (ἐθέωσε) the flesh which He took, so ineffably (ἀπορρήτως) He transmakes (μεταποιεῖ) these into His life-giving Body itself and His precious Blood itself, and into the grace of them (εἰς τὴν χάριν αὐτῶν).'[4]

In the *Dogmatic Panoply of the Orthodox Faith* he writes:

'The Body, which was taken from the Holy Virgin, is really (ἀληθῶς) united with Godhead, not that the Body which ascended comes down out of heaven, but that the bread itself and the wine are transmade (μεταποιοῦνται) into the Body and Blood of God. If you ask how this comes to pass, it is enough for you to know that it is by means of (διὰ) the Holy Ghost, as also the Lord in Himself took (ὑπεστήσατο) flesh from the holy Mother of God (Θεοτόκου) by means of (διὰ) the Holy Ghost. . . . The bread and the wine and water, by means of the invocation and descent of the Holy Ghost, are supernaturally transmade (ὑπερφυῶς μεταποιοῦνται) into the Body and the Blood of Christ, and are not two but one and the same.'[5]

In the middle of the twelfth century Soterichus Panteugenus and others asserted that the Eucharistic sacrifice was offered to the Father alone, not to the other Persons of the Holy Trinity. This view was seen to be in conflict with the phrase in the Byzantine Liturgy in which our Lord is addressed in the words, 'Thou art He who dost offer and art offered, who dost receive and art distributed';[6] and it was condemned at

[1] Euthymius Zigabenus on Heb. ix. 24.

[2] *Ibid.* x. 3. Both here and in his comment on 1 Cor. xi. 25, Euthymius, like Theophylact, appears to understand ἀνάμνησις to denote a remembrance to man; but he clearly regards the Eucharist as a 'sacrifice' (θυσία).

[3] *Ibid.* xiii. 9.

[4] *Idem, In Matt.* on xxvi. 28.

[5] *Idem, Panop. Dogm.* tit. xxv.

[6] *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*: see Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 378. In the earlier form of this liturgy as given in the Barberini manuscript of the eighth century the phrase is, 'Thou art He who dost offer and art offered, who dost sanctify and art sanctified'; see Brightman, *op. cit.* i. 318.

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a council held at Constantinople under the Emperor Manuel Comnenus in A.D. 1156, which declared that the sacrifice is offered to the Holy Trinity, and that our Lord 'offers sacrifice as Man and receives that which is offered as God (*ἱερατεύει μὲν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, δέχεται δὲ τὰ προσφερόμενα ὡς Θεός*).'[1]

In connexion with this controversy, two short treatises were written in A.D. 1157 by Nicolas, Bishop of Methone, in the Peloponnesus.[2] In these the opinion of Soterichus is stigmatized as dividing the one Person of Christ, and so leading to Nestorianism; as making a division in the Holy Trinity, and so akin to the error of Tritheism; as denying the equal glory of the Son with the Father and therefore approaching Arianism; and as certain, if these heresies should be avoided, to stumble into Eutychianism. Nicolas throughout assumes that the Eucharist is a sacrifice. He refers to our Lord's death as the sacrifice offered 'once for all,'[3] and speaks of Christ in His death on the cross 'offering Himself a living sacrifice.'[4] He mentions the 'abiding presentation' of 'the blood of salvation' which takes place on 'the heavenly altar' (*τὸ ἄνω θυσιαστήριον*).[5] In the Eucharist our Lord 'as Man offers and is offered,' and 'as God, together with the Father and the Spirit, receives His own sacrifice;'[6] and this act of sacrifice is closely connected with the abiding presentation in heaven[7] and our Lord's heavenly priesthood after the order of Melchizedek.[8] The sacrifice offered on earth in the Eucharist 'in time' (*χρονικῶς*) is the same as that offered 'once for all' (*ἐφάπαξ*) on the cross and 'abidingly' (*διαιωνίως*) in heaven.[9]

Incidentally, Nicolas refers to the presence of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament. The bread and wine are 'transformed (*μεταστοιχειουμένων*) by the operation of the Holy Ghost' into the Body and Blood of Christ;[10] and the Holy Ghost makes 'those who receive these in faith to be of one body with Christ and partakers of Him (*συσσώμους καὶ συμμετόχους Χριστοῦ*).'[11]

Among the other works of Nicolas of Methone is that entitled *Against those who doubt, and say that the consecrated bread and wine are not the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus*

[1] See the proceedings of this council in Nicetas of Chonae, *Thesaurus Orth. Fid.* xxiv.
[2] Published in A.D. 1865 in the edition prefixed to this article.
[3] P. 18 and *passim*.
[4] P. 67.
[5] Pp. 37, 38.
[6] Pp. 18, 19 and *passim*.
[7] P. 18.
[8] Pp. 48–52.
[9] P. 53.
[10] P. 51.
[11] Pp. 56, 61.

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Christ.[1] In this he speaks of 'the mystic and bloodless rite (*ἱερουργίαν*) in which the bread and the cup when consecrated are transmade (*μεταποιεῖσθαι*) into the Body and Blood of the Lord,'[2] and refers to the 'object' (*σκόπος*) and 'end' (*τέλος*) of the institution and continuance of the Eucharist being 'participation in Christ' (*μετουσία Χριστοῦ*) and the 'eternal life' of those who thus 'partake' of Him.[3] In still stronger language, he asserts the 'reception of the divine nature' (*ἐκθέωσις*) by communicants; and, referring to St. Paul's words to the Corinthians (1 Cor. x. 16, 17), says:

'What is the bread? Indeed, the Body of Christ. What do they who receive it become? Indeed, the Body of Christ. For, by partaking of the Body of Christ, we also become it. For, since our whole flesh was corrupted by sin, we are in need of new flesh.'[4]

Nicolas rests his belief on the power of God, the words of Christ, who is God, and the tradition of the Church. He contends that, if the birth from the Virgin, the resurrection, the ascension, and the other wonders of our Lord's life are believed, there is no ground for disbelieving the 'change' (*μεταβολή*) accomplished in the Eucharist.[5] He ends his treatise with expressions of horror at the crime of those who deny that the consecrated bread and wine are the 'perfect (*τέλειον*) Body and precious Blood' of Christ, and a prayer that they may be delivered from this error.[6]

Nicolas Cabasilas was Metropolitan of Thessalonica in the middle of the fourteenth century. In the fourth book of his treatise *On Life in Christ*, he expounded at length the completeness of the union with Christ which is the result of the reception of the Holy Eucharist. In his *Explanation of the Holy Liturgy* he dealt very fully with some parts of the doctrine of the Eucharist, and especially with its sacrificial aspect. In the latter book he describes the result of consecration as 'the change of the gifts into the sacred Body and Blood (*ἡ τῶν δώρων εἰς τὸ θεῖον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταβολή*)';[7] he teaches that this change is accomplished by the work of the Holy Ghost, and that the consecration is effected by the invocation of Him;[8] he says also that Christ 'sanctifies the gifts and changes them into His Body and Blood,'[9] that 'God takes the gifts to be His own (*οἰκειοῦται*) in such a way that

[1] Printed in Migne, *P.G.* tom. cxxxv.
[2] Migne, *op. cit.* col. 509 A.
[3] *Ibid.* 512 A.
[4] *Ibid.* 512 B, C.
[5] *Ibid.* 513 A.
[6] *Ibid.* 517 A.
[7] Cabasilas, *Sac. Liturg. Interp.* 1.
[8] *Ibid.* 27. For his strong objection to the Western form of consecration, see 29, 30.
[9] *Ibid.* 49.

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He makes them the Body and Blood of the Only-begotten Son,' and 'receives our bread and wine and gives back to us the Son Himself.'[1]

Cabasilas regards the various actions of the Liturgy as connected with the stages of Christ's life; and the whole rite is viewed by Him as a great act of sacrifice in which there is a commemoration[2] in the Church and before God of the human life of our Lord. The sacrifice of Christ was once offered on the cross, but He has not ceased from His priestly work, and exercises an abiding ministry on our behalf as a priest for ever.[3] In His work of intercession He unites man with Himself, and this means of reconciliation is in the Eucharist,[4] which is not a figure or symbol of a sacrifice but really a sacrifice, in which that which is offered in sacrifice is the Body of Christ, and in which the moment of sacrifice is when the bread and wine are changed into the Body and Blood.[5] This sacrifice is offered in prayer for the living and the departed, and in thanksgiving for the saints;[6] it sanctifies by way of intercession both the dead and the living, by way of communion the living only.[7] It is offered to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and in it our Lord offers and is offered and receives the sacrifice.[8] It is a proclamation of our Lord's death and resurrection and ascension.[9] It is the commemoration, not of the Saviour as working miracles, but of Him as crucified and dying, of the cross and all that follows the cross.[10] On the cross and in the Eucharist there is one sacrifice;[11] and in the Eucharist there is to be seen in mystery the whole incarnate life of the Son of God, for

'In the sacred rite of the Eucharist the whole Incarnation of Christ is written in the bread as on a writing tablet; for as in a figure we behold Him as a babe, and led to death, and crucified, and pierced in His side; then also the bread itself changed (*μεταβαλλόμενον*) into that all-holy Body which really endured this, and rose from the dead, and was taken up into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father.'[12]

There is a strong element of mysticism in the doctrinal teaching of Cabasilas; and the great importance he attaches

[1] Cabasilas, *Sac. Liturg. Interp.* 47.

[2] Cabasilas, like earlier writers, takes *ἀνάμνησις* to denote a remembrance to man: see especially chapter 9. He, however, regards that which Christians thus remember as being also a commemoration before God.

[3] *Ibid.* 2, 8, 28.
[4] *Ibid.* 44.
[5] *Ibid.* 32.
[6] *Ibid.* 33.
[7] *Ibid.* 42.
[8] *Ibid.* 49.
[9] *Ibid.* 1, 16.
[10] *Ibid.* 7, 50.
[11] *Ibid.* 32.
[12] *Ibid.* 37: cf. 6, 8.

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to the symbolical actions in the Liturgy corresponds with this. His central ideas of the Eucharist are that, in reception, it is the communication of the life of Christ; and that, as sacrifice, it is the presentation by the Church to the Holy Trinity of the Lord who has passed through death and is alive for evermore, into whose Body and Blood the bread and the wine are changed by the operation of the Holy Ghost.

In the Definition of the Council of Florence, assented to in A.D. 1439 by the representatives of the Eastern Church, an incidental reference was made to the effect of consecration in making the bread to be the Body of Christ, and it was affirmed that the Eucharistic Sacrifice benefits those departed souls who have died in penitence, but without completing the needed satisfaction for their sins.[1]

XI. It has been mentioned in the second part of this article that the positive teaching of Peter Lombard and St. Thomas Aquinas on the sacrifice of the Mass is scanty. But two hints thrown out by these two writers, almost as *obiter dicta*, had a great influence on the development of the doctrine of the sacrifice in the West. Peter Lombard suggested that the reason for the institution of the Sacrament in two kinds was that 'the bread is concerned with the flesh, the wine with the soul,'[2] and made a brief passing statement that 'the fraction is the representation of the passion and death of Christ.'[3] St. Thomas Aquinas, in the course of his discussion on sacrifice in general, answered an objection to the statement that a sacrifice is an act of a specific kind by saying:

'Sacrifices are properly so called when something is done with regard to things offered to God, as that animals were slain and burned, or that bread is broken and eaten and blessed. And this the name itself signifies; for a sacrifice is so called because man

[1] *Def. Conc. Florent.* Hardouin, *Concilia*, ix. 421, 422. The phrase by which the Eucharistic Sacrifice is denoted is in the Greek text τὰς ἱερὰς θυσίας, 'the holy sacrifices,' in the Latin text 'missarum sacrificia,' 'the sacrifices of the Masses.' For an account of the Council of Florence from an Eastern point of view, see *The History of the Council of Florence*, translated from the Russian by Basil Popoff, edited by Dr. Neale (London, 1861). In the decree of Pope Eugenius IV. in connexion with the Armenians, he uses the ordinary Western language of the time, that 'the substance of the bread is changed into the Body of Christ, and the substance of the wine into His Blood, yet in such a way that the whole Christ is contained under the species of bread, and the whole Christ under the species of wine, and the whole Christ is also under any part whatever of the consecrated host and the consecrated wine when a division is made in them:' see *Decret. Eugen. IV.* Hardouin, *Concilia*, ix. 439 D.

[2] Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV. xi. 6. [3] *Ibid.* IV. xii. 6.

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makes something sacred. But an offering is directly so called when something is offered to God, even if nothing is done with regard to it; as money or bread is said to be offered on the altar, with regard to which nothing is done. Wherefore every sacrifice is an offering, but not every offering a sacrifice. Now first fruits are offerings, because they were offered to God, as we read in Deuteronomy xxvi.; but they are not sacrifices, because nothing sacred was done with regard to them.'[1]

Dr. Vacant has pointed out that Alexander of Hales, in the thirteenth century, 'threw out as a passing thought' the idea that 'the consecration in two kinds was a representation of the separation of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ on Calvary;' but that, while the theologians of the thirteenth century as a rule 'continued to see an image of the Passion in the liturgical rites ordained by the Church,' Alexander of Hales stood alone in this carrying out of the suggestion hinted at by Peter Lombard with regard to the twofold consecration.[2] This idea was adopted in incidental statements by St. Thomas Aquinas, who, moreover, associated the sacrifice with the consecration, in which the priest, he teaches, is representative of Christ as he is of the Church in the prayers in general:

'In the Passion of Christ the Blood was separated from the Body, and therefore in this Sacrament, which is the memorial of the Passion of the Lord, the bread is taken separately as the Sacrament of the Body, and the wine as the Sacrament of the Blood;'[3]

'The priest is representative of Christ, in whose person and power he utters the words of consecration. . . . And so there is a sense in which the priest and victim are the same;'[4]

'In the Mass, the priest speaks in the prayers in the person of the Church . . .; but in the consecration of the Sacrament he speaks in the person of Christ.'[5]

The suggestions thus made, without any detailed discussion of them, by Peter Lombard, Alexander of Hales, and St. Thomas Aquinas, had an important influence on the later history of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the West.

A little later than St. Thomas Aquinas, at the end of the

[1] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II^{2}. lxxxv. 3, ad 3.

[2] Vacant, *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe dans l'Eglise Latine*, pp. 36–38. The passage in Alexander of Hales is *Universae Theologiae Summa*, IV. x. 2 (2).

[3] St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, III. lxxiv. 1; cf. lxxvi. 2, ad 1, lxxviii. 3, ad 2, ad 7, lxxx. 12, ad 3.

[4] *Ibid.* III. lxxxiii. 1, ad 3; cf. lxxviii. 1, lxxxii. 1, 3.

[5] *Ibid.* III. lxxxii. 7, ad 3.

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thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century, was the teaching of John Duns Scotus. It was opposed to that of St. Thomas Aquinas in many matters of widely varying importance;[1] and, in particular, it differed in minute and subtle points about the Eucharist. The tendency of his statements is to make the sacrificial action wider than the consecration taken by itself,[2] and he regarded the officiating priest as acting in the capacity of the minister of the whole Church.[3]

As in other matters, Duns Scotus had many followers in his teaching about the Eucharist. A clear statement of the position of the Scotists and a severe judgment upon it may be seen in the paper by Dr. Vacant, to which we have already referred more than once. It is there said:

'According to Duns Scotus, although the God-Man is the principal Priest of the Mass, He does not directly co-operate; for each Mass is not only applied but also celebrated not by an act of His will, but by an act of the will of the individual priests.

'The Scotists developed this doctrine. They maintained that Jesus Christ is the Priest in the Eucharistic Sacrifice only because He instituted it and conferred on His priests the power to offer it. They derived from this theory two important consequences. The first was that the priests who celebrate are not the ministers and organs of Jesus Christ Himself; but that they offer the sacrifice in the name of, and in dependence on, the Church, to which the Saviour has entrusted it. The second is that the Mass is not an act of the God-Man, that it has not the same value as the sacrifice of the cross, that it only applies part of the benefits of the sacrifice of the cross, and that this application is made by reason of the prayer of the Church and not by reason of an actual offering of the consecrated victim by Jesus Christ Himself.

'This was to deny that the sacrifice of the Mass reproduces the sacrifice of the cross, either in itself or in its effects; it was to prepare the spirit of the doctrines of Protestantism.'[4]

Without minimizing the differences between St. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus,[5] and between the Thomists and the Scotists, it may be questioned whether this judgment of Dr. Vacant is altogether just. It may be the case that Scotus, and the Scotists subsequently, were struggling after

[1] There is a table of the most important differences in Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, p. 336.

[2] Duns Scotus, *Sent.* IV. xiii. 2. For his discussion of the relation of the words 'This is My Body,' 'This is My Blood,' to the consecration, see IV. viii. 1.

[3] *Idem*, *Quæst. Quodlib.* xx. [4] Vacant, *op. cit.* pp. 48, 49.

[5] There are some matters of interest in the discussion in Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffs*, i. 785–99.

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some statement about the Mass which should maintain that it is a sacrifice, and should, at the same time, protect the unique character of our Lord's death on the cross, and allow for the truth that the Eucharistic offering is the act, not of the one priest who celebrates, but of the whole Church.[1] The extent to which the patristic doctrine of the connexion of the Eucharistic sacrifice with the action of our Lord in heaven had fallen out of sight in the West in the Middle Ages deprived them of the key to their difficulties which would have enabled them to do this without disconnecting the action of the priest on earth from that of our Lord.

It cannot be ascertained that the later Middle Ages added much to the development of the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass. That the Eucharist is a sacrifice appears to have been universally held. In what way it is a sacrifice seems to have been regarded as a question on which the Church had not defined, about which theologians might dispute and hold different opinions.

XII. At the close of the Middle Ages, those who believed the traditional teaching of the theologians of the Church that the Eucharist is a sacrifice entered into a period of controversy at great disadvantage in several respects.

1. In the first place, the connexion of the Eucharist with the heavenly offering of our Lord had long been out of sight in the West. The fact that the schoolmen had not incorporated into their systems this part of the Theology of the Fathers and of some liturgical writers of the Middle Ages naturally led to its being ignored by those upon whom their influence was great. Consequently, so far as the two truths that there is only one sacrifice of Christ, and that the Eucharist is a sacrifice, find their consistency with one another in the relation of the Eucharistic sacrifice to the sacrifice of our Lord in heaven as His abiding presentation to the Father of His living Manhood which has passed through death, the position of those who wished to maintain the traditional doctrine of the Church had been undermined by this loss.

2. Secondly, the idea of destruction as a necessary element in sacrifice, which had been imported into the mediæval theology by the sentence of St. Thomas Aquinas which has been quoted, and which in consequence came to be a part of the

[1] It should not be forgotten that Peter Lombard had written (though in supporting the usually rejected position that an heretical or excommunicated priest cannot validly consecrate), 'No one says in the act of consecration, I offer, but, We offer, as though speaking in the person of the Church' ('Nemo dicit in ipsa consecratione, Offero, sed Offerimus, quasi ex persona ecclesiae'), *Sent.* IV. xiii. 1.

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traditional Thomist theory, cramped and limited the notion of sacrifice to an extent which had not previously been the case.

3. Thirdly, the belief expressed very clearly by, among others, St. Gregory the Great,[1] that specific results are the direct outcome of the offering of the Eucharistic sacrifice had been narrowed and hardened by some into a mechanical theory of fixed and certain effect, such as, when controversies arose, writers who held so strongly to the main lines of the traditional Catholic theory as the Dominican Melchior Canus [2] and Cardinal Cajetan [3] thought it necessary to repudiate.

4. Fourthly, a theory had arisen, probably less widely held and less influential than the mechanical ideas of the effects of the mere offering of the sacrifice, which dissociated the Eucharist from the action of our Lord on Calvary by describing the sacrifice of the cross as for original sin and the sacrifice of the Mass, as a separate and parallel act, as for actual sin. It was supposed by some that this view had the authority of St. Thomas Aquinas and his teacher, Albert the Great. The treatise *On the Venerable Sacrament of the Altar*, which was printed with the works of St. Thomas Aquinas, and a sermon ascribed to Albert the Great contained the passage:

'The second reason for the institution of this Sacrament is the sacrifice of the altar, against a certain daily ravage of our sins; so that, as the Body of the Lord was once offered on the cross for original sin, so it is offered in a parallel way (jugiter) for our daily sins on the altar, and in this the Church has the precious and acceptable office of appeasing God beyond all sacraments or sacrifices of the law.'[4]

It is certain that the theory in question was not held by either St. Thomas Aquinas or Albert the Great; it is almost certain that the treatise and the sermon from which the above quotation is made were not rightly ascribed to them; there is a possibility that the passage itself was only an awkwardly expressed statement not intended to bear any such meaning as that placed upon it.[5] Nevertheless, the existence of this

[1] See part ii. of this article, October 1901, p. 93.
[2] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.* XII. xiii. 11.
[3] Cajetan, *Quæst. atque Quodlib.* (*De Sacr. Euch.*).
[4] *De venerabili Sacr. Altaris*, ap. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Opuscula*, xxi. (al. lviii.); Albert the Great, *De Sacros. Euch. Sacr. Serm.* i.
[5] On these points, see Vacant, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–42, *note*; *Revue Anglo-Romaine*, i. 400–409, ii. 252–260, 302–308, iii. 723–730; *Church Quarterly Review*, April 1896, pp. 41, 42.

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view and the possibility afforded by this passage of associating it with two great names were influential circumstances.[1]

Catherinus was a Dominican writer of the first half of the sixteenth century, who became Bishop of Minori in A.D. 1547 and Archbishop of Conza in A.D. 1551. It may be doubted whether the Jesuits Vasquez and Suarez and the Dominican Melchior Canus were right in ascribing to him a theory making the sacrifice of the altar a distinct sacrifice, instituted for different purposes, from the sacrifice of Calvary, which they stigmatize as 'clearly absurd,' 'plainly contrary to the Catholic faith,'[2] 'a mad dream,'[3] and inconsistent with the doctrine which rests upon Scripture, tradition, and reason alike.[4] That he should, at any rate, have come perilously near to it, and have been charged with it by competent theologians, may afford an additional illustration to that supplied by the passage ascribed to Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas of the notion of the separation of that which is done at the altar from that which our Lord did on the cross.

XIII. Whether or not it was the design of Pope Innocent III. and the Lateran Council of A.D. 1215 to make acceptance of the doctrine of Transubstantiation obligatory in the Western Church,[5] the practical issue of the work of the Pope and the Council, subsequently aided by the teaching of St. Thomas Aquinas, was that the affirmation of Transubstantiation came to be regarded as the right and necessary way of expressing the belief that the consecrated bread and wine are the Body and Blood of Christ. This state of affairs, however, did not escape protest. A significant instance is afforded by the Dominican writer John of Paris about A.D. 1300. The position taken up by this divine was not simply a revival, as has sometimes been thought, of the teaching set out in the twelfth century by Rupert of Deutz, who had maintained the continued existence of the substance of the bread and wine on the grounds that it is not the method of the Holy Ghost to destroy and of the analogy of the Incarnation.[6] The attitude of John of Paris was distinctly nearer to

[1] See Kidd, *The Later Mediæval Doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice*, pp. 58–103.

[2] Vasquez, *Comm. in 3 p. S. Thom.* lxxxiii. 1, disp. ccxxi. cap. 4.

[3] Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.* XII. xiii. 11.

[4] Suarez, *In 3 p. S. Thom.* lxxxiii. 1, disp. lxxix. sect. i. See also Cajetan, *op. cit.*

[5] See part ii. of this article, October 1901, p. 107.

[6] Rupert of Deutz, *De Trin. et Operibus ejus: In Exod.* ii. 10. Cf. the attack on Rupert in Bellarmine, *De Sacr. Euch.* iii. 11, 15. It should be remembered that some theologians who asserted the change (*con-*

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acceptance of the doctrine current in his time. In his treatise *On the Presence of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar* he wrote:

'I intend to defend the real and true presence (veram existentiam et realem) of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar, and that it is not there only as by way of sign (sicut in signo). And though I hold and approve the solemn opinion that the Body of Christ is in the Sacrament of the altar by means of the conversion of the substance of the bread into it itself (in ipsum), and that the accidents remain there without a subject, yet I do not dare to say that this is of faith (quod hoc cadat sub fide); but the real and actual presence (vera et realis existentia) of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar can be securely held otherwise (potest aliter salvari). Nevertheless, I solemnly declare, that if it be shown that the aforesaid method has been positively affirmed (determinatum) by a sacred canon, or by the Church, or by a General Council, or by the Pope, whose power is that of the whole Church (qui virtute continet totam Ecclesiam), I do not wish anything I say accounted as said, and am ready to recall it at once. And if it has not yet been positively affirmed, but it shall come to be so affirmed, I am ready to assent to it at once.'[1]

'For the substance of the bread to remain under its own accidents in the Sacrament of the altar can be understood in two ways. First, the substance of the bread may be held to remain in the Sacrament of the altar under its own accidents in a subject of its own (in proprio subjecto); and this is untrue, because in this case there would not be association of properties (communicatio idiomatum) between the Bread and the Body of Christ, nor would it be true to say, The bread is the Body of Christ, or "My flesh is really (vere) food." Secondly, the substance of the bread may be held to remain under its own accidents, not in a subject of its own (non in proprio supposito), but in relation to the being and subject of Christ (tracta ad esse et suppositum Christi), so that in this way there would be one subject in the two natures. And this is true.'[2]

This treatise of John apparently expressed the opinion of other divines at Paris besides himself.[3] It was, however, condemned by the Bishop of Paris, who deprived John of the professorship which he held. On this deprivation he had

versio) of the substance of the bread and the wine into the Body and Blood of Christ denied that this involved the destruction of the substance of the bread and the wine; see *e.g.* St. Thomas Aquinas, *S.T.* III. lxxv. 3.

[1] John of Paris, *Determinatio de modo existendi Corp. Christi in Sacramento Altaris alio quam sit ille quem tenet Ecclesia*, pp. 85, 86 (edition of 1686).

[2] *Ibid.* p. 86. The view of John of Paris was stigmatized as heresy by Bellarmine, *op. cit.* iii. 11, 16.

[3] John of Paris, *op. cit.* p. 97.

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determined to appeal to Pope Clement V.; but died in A.D. 1306 before he had done so.

A little later than John of Paris, Durandus of St. Pourçain, also a Dominican, without very definitely opposing the ordinary form of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, expressed as his own opinion a theory differing from it; and he regarded the question of the method of the change of the substance of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ as open. This Durandus, who is to be distinguished from the two Bishops of Mende of the same name in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was a professor of theology in the University of Paris, afterwards Bishop of Puy-en-Velay, and then of Meaux. He died in A.D. 1333. In his treatise on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard he asserted the 'change (*conversio*) of the substance' of the bread and the wine into the Body and Blood of Christ as true and as taught by the Church, though he allowed that other methods of the presence of the Body of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament are, in the abstract, possible.[1] On the way in which this 'change of the substance' is brought about, he wrote,

'Saving a better judgment, it can be thought that, if in this Sacrament there comes to pass a change (conversio) of the substance of the bread into the Body of Christ, this takes place in this way, that the form of the bread ceases to be (quod corrupta forma panis), but the matter of the bread is under the form of the Body of Christ (materia ejus sit sub forma corporis Christi) suddenly and by the power of God, as the matter of nourishment is under the form of the person nourished by the power of nature. . . . Now it is clear that the aforesaid method of the change (conversio) of the substance of the bread into the Body of Christ is possible; but the other method which is commonly held is unintelligible; neither has either of these been more approved or condemned by the Church than the other.'[2]

William of Occam, a native of Ockham in Surrey, known as the 'Invincible Doctor,' was a member of the Franciscan Order. Like John of Paris and Durandus of St. Pourçain, he was a professor of theology in the University of Paris. In A.D. 1322 he became the English Provincial of the Franciscans. From A.D. 1328 to A.D. 1347, when he died, he took refuge from the hostility of Pope John XXII. at the court of Lewis, the King of Bavaria. In philosophy he was a Nominalist. Of his general theological position it has been said by a writer of genius,

'Occam discusses many questions, and the conclusions which he establishes do not form a consistent system; but we see certain

[1] Durandus of St. Pourçain, *In Sent. Lomb.* IV. xi. 1.
[2] *Ibid.* IV. xi. 3 (5).

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principles which he stoutly maintains. He is opposed to the Papal claims to temporal monarchy and spiritual infallibility. Moreover, he shows a remarkable tendency to assert the authority of Scripture as the supreme arbiter of all questions in the Church. The Pope may err; a General Council may err; the Fathers and Doctors of the Church are not entirely exempt from error. Only Holy Scripture and the beliefs of the Universal Church are of absolute validity. Occam seems to be groping after what is eternal in the faith of the Church, that he may mark it clearly off from what is of human ordinance and concerns only the temporary needs of the ecclesiastical system.'[1]

It was from such a point of view that William of Occam examined the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. On this subject he claimed that he had no intention of diverging from the current doctrine taught at Rome. He appears to have departed from his general principle of the absolute validity of the teaching of Holy Scripture and the universal Church alone on the ground of a supposed revelation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation to the Church at some later time than the period of the Fathers. Thus, while he allows that there is nothing in the New Testament which is inconsistent with the continuance of the substance of the bread and the wine after consecration, and that, apart from any decision of the Church, it would be reasonable to suppose that it does so continue to be, and that differing opinions on this point have from of old been held within the Church, he adds the definite statement:

'The substance of the bread and the wine ceases to be, and the accidents alone remain, and under them the Body of Christ begins to be. This is clear to the Church by some revelation, as I suppose; and therefore the Church has so decided (determinavit).'[2]

In spite of his general principles, then, William of Occam accepted the ordinary teaching of his day in the Western Church, that in the consecrated elements the substance of the bread and the wine has been changed into the Body of Christ, and that of the bread and the wine only the accidents remain, on the ground of Church authority. That he could do so, and at the same time maintain the conformity with reason of the opinion of the continued existence of the substance of the bread and the wine in the consecrated sacrament, was the more possible because of the depreciation

[1] Creighton, *History of the Papacy*, i. 41 (edition of 1897).
[2] Occam, *Quodlib. Sept.* iv. 34, 35.

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of human reason which characterized the thought of his school.[1]

The latter half of the fourteenth century was marked by the teaching of John Wyclif, at one time Master of Balliol, and later the incumbent of several benefices in succession, of which the last was the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where, after ten years' residence, he died in A.D. 1384. Like Occam, Wyclif had a mind of the scholastic type. Unlike him, he was a Realist. Both divines agreed in assigning the highest value to the authority of Holy Scripture. Wyclif went far beyond Occam in his rejection of the authority of the Church.

The most notable feature in the teaching of Wyclif was his doctrine of 'dominion.' The maxim that 'dominion is founded in grace' was made the starting-point of a theory that, since every temporal or spiritual possession is the gift of God, and since no one whom mortal sin excludes from a state of grace is capable of receiving any gift from God, therefore the bishop or priest who is in mortal sin can perform no spiritual action, and the proprietor who is similarly out of a state of grace does not really own his estate. Closely connected with this theory was his denial of the ordinary doctrine of the visible Church and his affirmation that the Church consists of those who will ultimately be saved.

These theoretical positions and his attacks on the ecclesiastical system and the morals of the Pope, bishops, and clergy, led Wyclif to the consideration and discussion of the doctrine of the Eucharist. He does not appear to have denied that the word Transubstantiation might be used in an innocent sense. He affirmed repeatedly that the Body of Christ is present in the consecrated sacrament. The current doctrine that the substance of the bread and the wine is changed at the consecration into the Body of Christ, so that after consecration the substance of the bread and the wine no longer exists, but the Body of Christ is the only substance and is present and is received with the accidents of the bread and the wine, he vehemently rejected.

In A.D. 1381 Wyclif published a series of statements on the subject of the Holy Eucharist. It contained twelve propositions, of which the most important are the following:

[1] See Gieseler, *Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*, iv. 170, 171 (English translation). For a view that Occam represented his real opinions as theological experiments and that his apparent agreement with the ordinary Church teaching of his time was only a device see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, vi. 165 (English translation).

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'The consecrated Host, which we see on the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but an effectual sign (efficax signum) of Him.'

'The Eucharist has, by virtue of the sacramental words, both the Body and the Blood of Christ really and actually (vere et realiter) in every part of it.'

'Transubstantiation, identification, and impanation . . . are not to be established from Scripture (fundabiles in scriptura).'

'It is contrary to the opinions of saints to assert that there is accident without subject in the true Host.'

'The Sacrament of the Eucharist is in its nature bread and wine, containing, by virtue of the sacramental words, the real (verum) Body and Blood of Christ in every part of it.'

'The Sacrament of the Eucharist is in figure the Body and Blood of Christ, into which the bread and wine are transubstantiated, of which some being (aliquitas) remains after consecration, although, as the faithful believe, laid asleep (licet quoad considerationem fidelium sit sopita).'

'The existence of accident without subject is not tenable.' [1]

A little later, Wyclif made the declaration known as his 'Confession.' In it he said:

'I have often confessed, and do still confess, that the bread in the Sacrament, or consecrated Host, which the faithful perceive in the hands of the priest, is really and actually (vere et realiter) the same body of Christ numerically (idem corpus Christi in numero) and the same substance as was taken from the Virgin and as suffered on the cross and lay dead in the tomb for the holy three days, and rose on the third day, and after forty days ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. The proof of this is, that Christ, who cannot lie, so declares. Nevertheless, I do not dare to say that this bread is the Body of Christ essentially, or substantially, or corporally, or identically (essentialiter, substantialiter, corporaliter, vel identice). . . For we believe that there is a threefold way in which the Body of Christ is in the consecrated Host—namely, virtual, spiritual, and sacramental. Virtual, whereby throughout His whole rule He benefits in the good things of nature and grace. The spiritual way is that whereby the Body of Christ is in the Eucharist and in the saints by means of grace. And the third way, the sacramental, is that whereby the Body of Christ is in the consecrated Host after a unique manner (singulariter). . . . But, besides these three ways of being, there are three other ways more true and more actual (realiores et veriores) which the Body of Christ fitly has in heaven—namely, the way of being substantially, corporally, and by dimension (substantialiter, corporaliter, et dimensionaliter). And men of gross ideas understand no other way of the being of a natural [naturalis: *al.* material, materialis] substance besides these. But they are not at all fit to grasp the mystery of the Eucharist and the subtlety of Scripture.' [2]

[1] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 105. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 115–117.

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In another part of this 'Confession,' Wyclif, as in his earlier propositions, repudiated the idea of 'accident without subject'—that is the existence of the accidents of the bread and wine without their natural substance; and affirmed that there is 'real (verus) bread and wine' in the consecrated Sacrament.[1]

The statements of belief ascribed to Wyclif at the Council of London of A.D. 1382 appear to represent his teaching accurately. Among them were the following:

'The substance of the material bread and wine remains in the Sacrament of the altar after consecration.'

'The accidents do not remain without a subject in the same Sacrament after consecration.'

'Christ is not in the Sacrament of the altar identically, really, and actually, in a proper bodily presence (identice, vere, et realiter in propria praesentia corporali).'

'If a bishop or a priest is in mortal sin, he does not ordain, or consecrate, or baptize.'[2]

Of Wyclif's final position it has been lately said:

'In' 'the *De Eucharistia* and *De Apostasia*' 'he was chiefly concerned to prove that the sacramental elements remained unchanged in substance after consecration: the order of nature was not set aside by special miracle, but Christ's Body was also there by supernatural grace. . . . The vehemence of his constantly repeated protests against the pretension to "annihilate the substance of the bread" by the priest's words of consecration would be hard to understand if it were a question only of the philosophical terms to be employed. But to his mind the adoration of the Host was pushed to idolatrous extremes, and strengthened the hold of superstition on credulous and ignorant fancy. It was clearly connected in his thought with the extravagance of sacerdotal claims, with the impostures and the mercenary claims which he denounced so strongly in the ecclesiastical system of his times, and in the widely extended practices of the Masses for the dead.'[3]

Wyclif's statements that the Body of Christ is not present in the consecrated Sacrament 'essentially, or substantially, or corporally, or identically,' or 'identically, really, and actually, in a proper bodily presence,' and that 'the Sacrament of the Eucharist is in figure the Body and Blood of Christ,' have often been understood as meaning that the consecrated bread and wine are only symbols of the Body and Blood and not the Body and Blood of Christ themselves. It is probably a truer

[1] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 131.

[2] Council of London (A.D. 1382), Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 1890, 1891.

[3] Capes, *The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 120.

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interpretation of his meaning and purpose that he was endeavouring in a scholastic fashion to find a way of asserting the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament, and of, at the same time, distinguishing the way in which Christ is present on the altar from that in which He is present in heaven, and, also, of avoiding what seemed to him the insuperable logical contradictions of the current explanations;[1] and that his phraseology respecting the Eucharist as being 'in figure' the Body of Christ is parallel to the method of expression by which St. Ambrose contrasted the 'shadow' ('umbra') of the Jewish Law, the 'symbol' ('imago') of Christian worship, and the 'reality' ('veritas') which is in heaven.[2]

The 'confession' and subsequent explanation of Sir John Oldcastle, made in A.D. 1413, are of some interest. In them Oldcastle declared his belief that

'the most worshipful Sacrament of the altar is Christ's Body in form of bread, the same Body that was born of the Blessed Virgin, our Lady Saint Mary, done on the cross, dead and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which Body is now glorified in heaven';[3]

and that in the Eucharist there are both 'the real (verum) Body of Christ' and 'real (verus) bread.'[4]

In the early part of the fifteenth century, the influence of the opinions of Wyclif in Bohemia was great. But it appears to have been less with regard to the Holy Eucharist than with regard to other matters. John Hus, while agreeing with Wyclif on many subjects, seems to have maintained belief in the current form of the doctrine of Transubstantiation;[5] and it is doubtful whether the charges brought against Jerome of Prague of denying both it and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament were true.[6]

In Germany, about half a century later, John Wessel, who was born in A.D. 1429 and died in A.D. 1489, in early life a Realist, afterwards a Nominalist, so far departed from the current doctrine that he does not appear to have recognized

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Trialogus*, iv. 1–10.

[2] See part i. of this article, July 1901, p. 358, note[2].

[3] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 438; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 354. The confession was in English. The spelling has been modernized above.

[4] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, p. 444; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 356; Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 206.

[5] See Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, vii. 309, 322, 356, 370.

[6] See Hagenbach, *History of Christian Doctrines*, ii. 361 (English Translation).

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any essential difference between the presence of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament and that which may be found elsewhere; and his teaching that he who believes eats the Body of Christ without Communion was apparently intended in a very different sense from the phrase in the mediæval office books by which, following the words of St. Augustine,[1] the priest was directed to say to a sick man who was unable to receive Communion, 'Brother, in this case real faith is sufficient for thee, and good intention; only believe, and thou hast eaten.'[2] For his treatise *On the Sacrament of the Eucharist* contains the following passages:

'Expressly must the word of the Lord be observed, "Except ye shall have eaten, ye will not have life in you." But they who believe in Him have real (veram) life. Therefore, they who believe in Him are those who eat His flesh.'[3]

'Wheresoever His Name is blessed . . . there is He really (vere) present not only with His Godhead and goodwill, but also corporally. . . . I do not say that it is granted to every Christian man that he can have Christ sacramentally present by means of the Eucharist whenever he wishes; for this is granted to priests only. But I say that the Lord Jesus is really (vere) present to one calling on His Name, really (vere) present, not only with His deity but also with His flesh and blood and whole humanity. For who will doubt that the Lord Jesus is often corporally present to His faithful ones in their agonies, though His session at the right hand of the Father is not abandoned because of this? Who will doubt that this can happen simultaneously in such a way (ita) outside the Eucharist as (sicut) in the Eucharist?'[4]

'So did the Magdalen eat of Him when she sat at the feet of Jesus, when first she loved much. . . . So to partake of His flesh and blood, is rather to eat than if ten thousand times we should receive the Eucharist at the altar from the hand of the priest with a dry heart and a cold will, even though in a state of salvation.'[5]

XIV. Throughout the period from the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, the attempts of individuals to find or assert a doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist other than that usually held were met with stern repression by the authorities of the Western Church. In the early years of the fourteenth century, John of Paris, as has been already stated, was deprived of his professorship by the Bishop of Paris for a guarded questioning of the

[1] St. Augustine, *In Joan. Ev. Tract.* xxvi. 1.

[2] See Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia*, i. 89 (edition of 1846). For the 'symbolical Communion' of the Middle Ages, see Pullan, *History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 236.

[3] John Wessel, *De Sacr. Euch.* p. 10.

[4] *Ibid.* 24. [5] *Ibid.* 28.

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doctrine that the substance of the bread and wine does not remain in the consecrated Sacrament. In A.D. 1381, in the controversy with Wyclif, the University of Oxford made a solemn declaration that,

'By the sacramental words, duly pronounced by a priest, the bread and wine on the altar are transubstantiated or substantially changed (convertuntur) into the real (verum) Body and Blood of Christ, so that after consecration there do not remain in the venerable Sacrament the material bread and wine, which were there before, in the two substances or natures, but only in the species of the same, under which species the real (verum) Body and Blood of Christ are actually contained (realiter continentur), not only symbolically or figuratively (figurative seu tropice), but essentially, substantially, and corporally, in such a way that Christ is really (veraciter) there in His own proper bodily presence.' [1]

In A.D. 1382 the Council of London condemned as not only 'erroneous' but also 'heretical' the statements ascribed to Wyclif to the effect that 'the substance of the bread and the wine remain in the consecrated Sacrament'; that 'the accidents do not remain without a subject'; that 'Christ is not present identically, really, and actually in a proper bodily presence (identice, vere, et realiter in propria praesentia corporali)'; and that the Sacraments administered by a bishop or priest in mortal sin are not valid.[2]

In A.D. 1413 Archbishop Arundel of Canterbury delivered to Sir John Oldcastle a statement of doctrine declared to be obligatory in which it was said,

'The faith and the determination of Holy Church touching the Blissful Sacrament of the altar is this, that after the sacramental words be said by a priest in his Mass, the material bread that was before is turned into Christ's very Body, and the material wine that was before is turned into Christ's very Blood, and so there leaveth on the altar no material bread, nor material wine, the which were there before the saying of the sacramental words.' [3]

In A.D. 1415 and 1416 the Council of Constance included the statements about the Holy Eucharist ascribed to Wyclif by the Council of London of A.D. 1382 in the list of propositions which it condemned;[4] asserted that 'the whole Body

[1] *Definitio facta per Cancellarium et Doctores Universitatis Oxoniensis de Sacr. Altaris A.D. 1381*, Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 59 (ii.) (edition of 1679).

[2] Council of London of A.D. 1382, Hardouin, *Concilia*, vii. 1890, 1891.

[3] *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, pp. 441, 442; Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 355. This statement was in English. The spelling has been modernized above.

[4] Hardouin, *Concilia*, viii. 299, 302; cf. 909, 915.

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and Blood of Christ are really (veraciter) contained under the species of bread as well as under the species of wine;'[1] placed the statements ascribed to Wyclif among those which Jerome of Prague was required to anathematize;[2] and connected the doctrine of 'the transubstantiation of the bread into the Body' with his ultimate condemnation.[3]

It has been mentioned that the Church in the West entered the period of inquiry and controversy which began in the sixteenth century with certain disadvantages with regard to the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, one of the greatest of which was the failure to remember the connexion of the offering of the Church on earth with that of our Lord in heaven. As to the doctrine of the Presence of Christ in the consecrated Sacrament, the Church in the West was similarly hampered by the extent to which it had become committed to the philosophical theory of the change of the substance of the bread and the wine so that, after the consecration, of the bread and the wine only the accidents remained.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. XI.—THE CHURCH AND EDUCATION.

1. *Resolutions passed by the Joint Committee of the Convocations of Canterbury and York sitting in Committee*, July 1901.
2. *The Coming Education Bill.* By J. H. YOXALL, M.P. Published by the National Union of Teachers. (London, 1901.)

IN our last number we devoted considerable space to the discussion of the whole question of education in this country, and we feel that we need hardly demand the pardon of our readers for again recurring to a subject which, however little it may lend itself to entertaining treatment, is of supreme importance. We stated then that, in our opinion, the most really pressing need for the country—fundamentally, probably more pressing than any other—was an efficient system of education, and we are glad to quote in support of our contention a statement by a political leader whose peculiar position of detachment has made his insight into the trend of public opinion as remarkable as his incapacity to carry out his ideas

[1] Hardouin, *Concilia*, 381. [2] *Ibid.* 457. [3] *Ibid.* 565.

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practically. In his speech at Chesterfield on December 17 last, Lord Rosebery stated, quite correctly, we believe, that what the majority of the nation, certainly what the great body of the middle and working classes, demand is efficiency, and that especially in education:

'But last, and perhaps greatest of all these issues and questions that underlie the efficiency of our nation—not of our services, not of any particular branch of our nation, but of the nation as a whole—I mean education—(loud cheers)—in which we are lagging sadly, and with which we shall have peacefully to fight other nations with weapons like the bow and arrow if we do not progress. We have nothing like a national system, but a great chaos of almost haphazard arrangements.'

The loud cheers which greeted this reference to education, and especially the efficiency of education, expressed, we believe, correctly the sentiments of the country, and the Government which does not realize this is doomed to receive a very serious blow. We are not, we regret to say, at all hopeful that anything wise or statesmanlike will be produced by the present Government; but it is the duty of the Church to recognize the situation, to take the opportunity now offered to formulate a wise and comprehensive policy, and to press this policy on the nation in a dignified and weighty manner.

Is it doing this? There are some among its members who have grasped what is needed, but there are many who have not, and the whole management of the question has shown the most singular incapacity and inefficiency. We will give an illustration. As is now well known, certain proposals were agreed upon at a joint Committee of the two Houses of Convocation last July. The last of these stated 'that in view of the grave issues involved in the conclusions arrived at in the foregoing resolutions, a united effort be made by Churchmen to urge upon his Majesty's Government the necessity of introducing and pressing during the coming session legislation on the lines therein indicated.' How was this resolution acted on? What was done? The answer is, Nothing. No one knew that the two Convocations had met; no report was sent to the press; no one realized that any resolutions had been passed. Here was a Church policy formulated. It was adopted by the only completely representative Church body that exists (however inadequate that may be); it was adopted, some reports say, unanimously, others, by large majorities, but as the public are not considered worthy of being informed concerning the deliberations of this body, we

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cannot speak exactly; it is, we believe, on the whole a very wise scheme. Yet the matter was allowed to remain quite dead. During the autumn the Church Conference was to meet; the Diocesan Conferences in most dioceses were to be called together. Many of them had to meet without having heard of it. At last accidentally, in an unauthorised way, these resolutions appeared in a corner of the *Guardian* newspaper. We have seldom seen a more miserable example of political incompetence. Even to this day we believe that many churchmen have never heard of these resolutions, that many of them have never had their meaning brought home to them, and that many of those interested are not aware that what are called the resolutions of a Committee are really resolutions of the whole of the Northern and Southern Convocations, and that the word 'Committee' is only a technical term.

We might multiply instances. The Bishops met, we were informed by the press, at the beginning of November in solemn conclave to consider this question; but they did nothing, or if they did anything they allowed it to remain in the obscurity which they seem to consider befits their opinions.[1] At a joint meeting of the Boards of Education of London, Rochester, and St. Albans, the Convocation resolutions were generally approved of. The meeting was singularly unanimous, and the expressions of opinion were strong. These bodies are very important representatives of public opinion; we might expect that some attempt would be made to make their opinions known. We believe that some report did appear in small print in one or two papers. We ourselves succeeded in discovering it in the *Guardian*, and we believe that it was also found in the *Times*. We may be mistaken, but we venture to think that a meeting presided over by the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Bishop of St. Albans, and representing the Church educational opinion—lay and clerical—of somewhere about 6,000,000 people and of many hundreds of churches, ought with a little trouble to make its voice heard somewhat more distinctly. We do not wish the Church to be political, but there are certain political questions on which it ought to confess its opinion in a clear and weighty manner.

We are not much concerned to apportion the blame. We believe that the Church is suffering in this matter from not possessing a leader—that the initiative is coming from

[1] The Bishop of Gloucester (*Guardian*, December 18, 1901) says they are unanimous.

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below and finds it hard to make its voice felt. We believe, and we wish to express our opinion strongly and decisively, that the Church is suffering from the absence of leisure among the Bishops, who are its natural leaders, to attend to its concerns. So long as they are hampered by dioceses which have the population of kingdoms, and attempt, with the assistance of one or two chaplains, to manage the corresponding mass of routine business and of diocesan details, so long they will be unable to do much of their proper duty. The Bishops, we believe, glory in their large dioceses; they are exhilarated by the sense of work, and by the almost miraculous amount of energy they are enabled to exhibit. They feel that they are grappling with their dioceses, and they are often doing so magnificently. But while they are absorbed in the management of their overgrown and populous areas, and accomplishing, often at an age when they might demand the retirement of literary ease, a mass of work which few professions in the kingdom can rival, they seem to forget their position as leaders of the whole Church. The Church wants leaders. The great body of the Church—particularly of the laity—looks naturally to the Bishops to take upon themselves this function. How can they do so if absorbed in the details of diocesan management? We are wandering somewhat from our point, but our text has suggested a telling illustration of a great need. As long as our Bishops—and particularly our leading Bishops—are burdened with excessive dioceses, they will fail in a great part of their duty, while the very exhilaration of the work which they are accomplishing will make them blind to defects which outsiders can see.

The action of the Church was naturally hampered, owing to the failure of its leaders to indicate the policy which had been adopted. But a good deal has been accomplished. Some twenty-one Diocesan Conferences appear to have been held in the autumn. Of these St. David's, Wakefield, Manchester, St. Albans, Peterborough, Rochester, Lichfield, Exeter, and Chester adopted the Convocation resolutions—some definitely, some generally. At Oxford a similar scheme was outlined by Sir William Anson, and secured the general assent of the clergy present. Lincoln recommended the Convocation scheme to its Diocesan Board of Education for discussion. Ripon passed a long resolution of its own on similar lines. Bath and Wells, Bristol, York, and Truro were less definite, but all desired something. Llandaff demanded equal treatment. At Carlisle, Gloucester, Winchester, and

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Liverpool education appears not to have been discussed. Various other representative bodies have supported the resolution, such as a meeting held at Truro, at which Mr. Athelstan Riley made an able speech, and, as we have said, a large joint meeting of the Board of Education of London, Rochester, and St. Albans.[1]

It would have been well if the proposals had been discussed more amply, but we are justified, we believe, in regarding them as fixing the basis of a united Church policy. Before, however, we discuss them in detail, let us ask what should be the principles of a Church policy? It should, in the first place, aim at making the education of the country as efficient as possible. And it should press upon the Government the importance of this. It should absolutely refuse to allow itself to be a party to any inefficient, cramped system, to anything that is intended to retard education or to restrict its influence. In the next place, it should aim at securing for all children for whom it is legitimately responsible a sound religious education—not merely instruction in religious subjects or in Biblical knowledge by unsympathetic teachers, but an education based as far as possible on religion. It could claim that by so doing it would confer the greatest possible benefit upon the nation, that a sound moral and religious training are as essential for the well-being of the nation as intellectual progress or technical skill. In the third place, it should demand equality of treatment for its own schools and for the schools of every other religious body. It should ask for justice, and concede justice, believing that a sound Nonconformist or Roman Catholic education is infinitely better than one purely secular, and that real religious equality in the eyes of the law can be the only wise basis for national education. With these principles in view, we propose now to discuss the main headings of the proposed legislation.

I. The first point in the scheme as proposed is the creation of a single educational authority to deal with all education, primary and secondary, within certain local areas. It is not always definitely stated, but it is always implied, that the area should be the administrative county, *i.e.* that

[1] One of the disadvantages of this inadequate discussion in the proper place is that those who are inclined not to acquiesce proceed to write to the Church papers. A very few persons are in that way able to create the appearance of being an important body. We have attempted to estimate the value of this correspondence. Many of the letters simply show that the writers have not understood the proposal. This is not their fault, but the fault of their leaders. The remaining objections do not seem to represent any large number of individuals.

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every county and county borough should have its educational authority. This is not a point peculiar to the Church scheme, although it is, we believe, essential to the working of it. It is a point on which we should find ourselves in harmony with a large body of public opinion. The creation of one body for managing all education, primary and secondary alike, is demanded by all interested in secondary education and by a large number of educational reformers. It is, in fact, necessary to prevent overlapping and undue competition between different schools and authorities. A question on which there is a larger amount of difference of opinion is as to how this body is to be created. There is, however, a preponderant opinion in favour of making it a Committee of the County Council. As to its members, it would probably consist, as to one-half, of members of the County Council, and the remainder of representatives of various bodies interested in education, or of persons co-opted for the same reason. We do not wish to go into further details. The essential point is that it should not be a body directly elected *ad hoc*. That this should be so was the recommendation of the Commission on Secondary Education. It appeals to common sense and knowledge of human nature. It is directly opposed to all those who wish education to continue in the future to be the arena of partisan and sectarian passions. We believe that for a wise and sane educational system the two points of a single authority, and a single authority acting as a Committee of the County Council and not elected *ad hoc*, to be essential.

The advantages may be summed up as follows. We want an orderly system, but we want above all things to avoid over-centralization and excessive uniformity. Education must be adapted to the different localities; it must be managed by bodies of sufficient size to be open to public opinion, to be free from smaller local jealousies, and capable of attracting able and competent men. All these qualifications the County Council satisfies. In the reorganization of our local self-government the County Councils have shown themselves singularly capable. They attract for the most part good men, and have done their work well. Parish Councils are futile. District Councils are largely in the hands of the least progressive local farmers. County Councils have for the most part managed the work entrusted to them, including education, exceedingly well. They are ready, we believe, to undertake the work; and, as was stated at one of the Diocesan conferences, they will treat religious questions fairly and honestly.

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There is only one objection which we have heard. It is suggested that the County Councils will be so anxious to create an educational 'ladder' from the primary school upwards that they will sacrifice higher educational advantages to the lower. We do not really fear that. The standard of higher education must be set on the one side by the universities, on the other by the commercial needs of the district. No doubt facilities will be given for the clever boys of the elementary schools, by scholarships and in other ways, to rise, as they have always been able to do in the past history of the country; but the standards will be fixed by the needs of the learned professions on the one side, and by the scientific need of men of mechanical skill and linguistic culture on the other. We certainly do not believe that by making education more democratic we shall make it less efficient than it has been.

There are details of organization which we do not feel that it is our place to work out, for example the position to be assigned to the smaller municipalities within the county area. For London, the right principle has probably been laid down in the following motion passed at the meeting of the London, Rochester, and St. Albans joint boards:

'That London should be dealt with on the same fundamental principle as the rest of the country—viz. (*a*) That of making education an integral part of municipal self-government in county and borough; and (*b*) that of bringing both classes of schools into close relations with local authority.'

The exact method in which this should be carried out is again not a matter on which we need express an opinion.

II. The second point is that the Church demands equal treatment, as a simple matter of justice, for all elementary schools. The following are the two resolutions:

1. That all schools be financed, as far as the cost of maintenance exclusive of repairs of the structure in voluntary schools is concerned, out of public funds, whether Imperial or local: and that it be no condition of participation in these funds by voluntary schools whether any form of religious instruction be, or be not, taught in those schools.

2. That the funds needed for capital expenditure on the School buildings, as well as for necessary extensions and structural alterations, be provided by the body to which the school belongs, but that the managers be not liable for any other expenditure.

This implies a definite claim for justice. A large portion of the nation desires a different type of religious education from that provided in Board schools. It demands that, as far as is reasonably possible, schools should be provided which

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give such an education, and it claims that it is just as fair that part of the rates paid by Nonconformists should be given to such schools as that part of what others pay should go to undenominational schools. This claim is made simply on the ground of justice. If one part of the nation have the education which they desire paid for entirely out of public funds, so should the other part.

It has been asked, Is it wise for the Church to give up the voluntary system? The answer simply is that it is necessary. At a recent meeting the Archbishop of Canterbury made an appeal in favour of the voluntary system, and stated that the reason it was failing was that the younger clergy were indifferent to education. The accusation is, we believe, most unjust. There has been no falling-off in subscriptions. What proportion of these come from the clergy themselves we do not know, but the amount that they give is often considerable, and although clerical incomes have since 1870 been reduced nearly 50 per cent., their subscriptions have not been reduced. The real difficulty lies in the inevitable change which is the result of making education directly the business of the State. A generation brought up when there were only voluntary schools will continue to do what they have previously done, under changed conditions; a new generation arises which notices the change and adapts itself to it. The difficulty, further, is the increased expense. Let us look simply at the facts. Since the Aid Grant was given subscriptions have increased. The voluntary schools, therefore, have all the Aid Grant and the increased subscriptions, and in many cases an increased Government grant. Yet they are in as bad a state financially as they were before the Aid Grant was given,[1] and that entirely through the increased cost of education. Does not this speak for itself? It is not slackness or failure of effort; it is the inevitable result which must come sooner or later when a voluntary system competes with a State system. It is largely just because many of the clergy care for educational efficiency that they feel that it is no longer right that their schools should be hampered by inadequate means for the sake of bolstering up a system which has neither justice nor expediency to commend it.

But, it will be remarked, the resolutions do not ask for complete equality. The Church still undertakes to provide

[1] The amount of the Aid Grant was 5*s.* a head, unequally distributed among different schools. Since 1897 the average cost per head of each child in elementary schools has increased more than 5*s.* a head. This speaks for itself.

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the buildings and all necessary permanent additions and alterations. As there has been some doubt in interpretation, it may be stated that the intention of the resolutions is that everything which is now charged in Form IX. should be paid by the Local Authority, *i.e.* the necessary annual repairs and renewals of premises, but that all capital expenditure must be borne by the body to which the school belongs. It may be objected that this is not absolutely fair. Looked at in an abstract way, that may be so. Practically it is, we believe, reasonable, and at any rate it is not disadvantageous to the Church. The school is an adjunct to the church. It is often used for many other purposes besides day-schools—for Sunday-schools, classes, meetings, &c. It is part of the church property, and may naturally and reasonably, therefore, be provided by the Church. Moreover if alterations were provided out of the rates the school buildings could not revert to the Church, at any rate to that extent. We do not think an alternative proposal is so wise, that the Church should pay for the religious teaching. We may put it quite strongly in this way, that if public funds were used to provide undenominational religious teaching, which the churchman objects to, it is equally reasonable that they should be used to provide other sorts of religious teaching, although some one else objects to it. A vast majority of the nation that thinks about these things is agreed that education ought to be religious. If we all thought alike there would be no difficulty in providing it quite fairly. As we do not, the fairest way is, as far as is practically possible, to devise a scheme which shall put all types of school in an equal position. Moreover as a matter of fact if the Church were to undertake to pay for religious teaching it would have to pay more than it does at present.

III. The next point is, What share in the management of its schools must the Church give? The claim that there shall be no aid from the rates given unless a voice in the management be given to the ratepayers is one which may be considered fundamental. This claim is provided for by the following resolution:

'3. That the government of every school, and especially the appointment and dismissal of the teachers, be left in the hands of the present Committee of Management, with the addition of certain members appointed by, or under rules made by, the Local Authority, such additional members not to exceed one-third of the whole number.'

There are two sides from which this resolution may be viewed. Does it concede so much as the State or the rate-

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payers may demand? And does it safeguard the religious teaching of the schools? As to the first point, if any one considers the question a moment he will see that the Local Authority will be in a very strong position. It will finance the schools; if the strict legal requirements are not fulfilled, if there is any legitimate defect, it will be able to refuse to continue their support. It will audit the accounts, or at any rate see that they are properly audited. The managers whom it appoints will be quite competent to see that the schools are properly managed. There is one further concession that will be demanded, and ought certainly to be granted, namely, that the Local Authority should have a veto on the appointment and dismissal of teachers. This, provided that it is required to state its reason for objecting, in writing, would be reasonable and proper. Not only should the Church avoid all appearance of claiming excessive power, it should also realize that to possess it is bad. The possibility of appeal will remove the danger of acting unjustly and unfairly, to which the best men are liable if uncontrolled.

But this proposal has also been severely criticized from the other side. It has been maintained that it would in certain cases produce an impossible condition of affairs. In a Welsh village a hostile County Council would appoint a local Nonconformist minister on the board of managers, who would simply devote himself to creating a disturbance. We have no doubt that there will be villages in which difficulties will arise, but that must be the case whatever happens. It is the greatest mistake to legislate for extreme cases. The local Nonconformist minister may try and make himself disagreeable, but if he does so he will at once lose all his influence. Some parsons are cantankerous. Difficulties and disturbances will always arise if people are tactless. The rights of the Church are quite sufficiently guaranteed; and if the County Council or the local agitator act in a purely partisan way their power will soon decline, while if the clergyman does not act reasonably it will be his own fault if he ceases to control the education of the school.

To imagine cases where the unreasonableness of individuals will cause friction is never a strong form of objection. No one should ever legislate for single instances. The suggestion that has been put forward in some quarters, that the Local Authority should be represented in the associations which have been formed for the distribution of Aid Grants, may be dismissed. This would be an absolutely unreal concession. Such bodies are far too large to exercise

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any direct influence. The offer on our part would be delusive, and would appear so at once. The intervention of these bodies would cause needless complication. But we think that in the interests of efficiency it would be desirable that facilities should be granted or arranged for grouping schools in contiguous areas. Such an arrangement will certainly be made in the case of Board schools, which will have to be managed by local managers and will be formed into convenient groups. It would be very beneficial for the efficiency of voluntary schools that those in adjacent parishes should be allowed or encouraged, or even compelled, to group themselves. In many small parishes the efficiency of the schools, whether Board or voluntary, depends upon the clergy, and not all clergy are efficient school managers. Such groups, whether in town or country, would not be unwieldy, would minimize the danger of personal friction, would promote efficiency, and would do away with the isolation which hampers so many of our smaller parishes.

IV. The fourth point is expressed as follows:

'4. That whenever a reasonable number of parents desire that religious instruction in accordance with their own belief should be given to their children, opportunity for such instruction should be secured to them by statute in all elementary schools, provided that this can be done without expense to the managers.'

This is really the protection of minorities. If the system which we have sketched be carried out, it will probably be found that gradually in many towns and districts the supply of Church and denominational schools will, at any rate approximately, adapt itself to the demand. And provision to bring this about ought to be inserted in the bill. The same rule should hold as at present prevails in Scotland, that in deciding whether a school is necessary, regard should be had to the religious beliefs of the parents. It will become possible for the Local Authority to see that particular bodies have schools in certain localities adapted to their needs, like the Jewish schools under the London School Board. But in many country districts the minorities are so small as to make the provision of different schools impossible. It is to protect these minorities, whether in town or country, that the conscience clause is required. But that clause is a relic of the days when it was considered sufficient to prevent religious teaching. This is a sort of negative justice, which implies that we do not mind if our children are brought up without any knowledge of religion, provided that they do not

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learn what we think wrong. This is a most one-sided sort of justice. If the schools in our villages are supported out of public funds, the Nonconformist minority may reasonably demand that as far as possible facilities should be granted for their ministers to teach their children in a class-room at stated hours. In towns where the School Board system is supreme, the clergy of the Church of England may reasonably make the same demand.

We regret to find that a small section of the clergy are inclined to reject this proposal. It is stated that the devoted clergy of St. Peter's, London Docks, who possess, we believe, a monopoly of the education of their curiously isolated district, have intimated that they will close their schools rather than admit any erroneous teaching to be given within their walls. Surely this is not either wise or right. What would be their own position if they were a small minority among Scotch Presbyterians? Their children would have to go to the only school. If they were granted the right of teaching twice a week, would they refuse it? Would they consider that the Presbyterians were making a compromise with religious truth by allowing it? They would probably complain of the infringement of the principles of religious liberty if they were not allowed. We must be perfectly just. We must allow others exactly what we should claim ourselves. There are times when our own conscientious adherence to our religious principles, if it is injurious to the religious belief of others, comes perilously near to self-will.

We have in this and the last number of the *Review*[1] sketched a scheme, a scheme which we believe to be just and wise. Is there any reason for hoping or expecting that it will be carried out? We may say at once that what has been suggested is not put forward without good authority. That in substantial outline, at any rate, it has commended itself to many of those best qualified to take a broad view of the question, without political or sectarian prejudice. But that the Government will rise to a great and wise measure we very much doubt. There have been rumours that we are to have another dole. It is time surely for the Church to say that it does not want any more doles, that it wants wisdom and justice. There have been rumours that the question of giving rate aid to voluntary schools is to be left to local option. We cannot imagine a more unstatesmanlike proposal. There are many things that local option can well decide, but the position of religious education is a national question, and should be

[1] See *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1901, p. 160.

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settled by the nation. Educational progress demands that the religious question should be settled, and not that it should be stirred up. To introduce local option would make every town and county in England a scene of bitter religious strife. Moreover such a system would be absolutely unworkable. The income would be precarious, and the imposition of a county rate would be impossible if the whole county did not share in the benefit of it. It has been rumoured that certain persons have said that if voluntary schools are supported out of the rates they will refuse to pay them, as they refused to pay Church rates. Such threats deserve attention only when they have justice behind them, and the person who would have justice on his side in refusing to pay rates is the churchman, who has to support both his own schools and those which give what he considers most inadequate religious instruction.

What will be done we do not know. We are firmly convinced that if the Government introduce a wise, comprehensive, and complete measure they will pass it, provided they have any determination, and that they will raise very high their position in the country. If they introduce a one-sided and incomplete bill, the fiasco, to which we have become accustomed, will be repeated. And we doubt whether any Government will be able to survive many such failures. As for the Church, we are convinced that a comprehensive Bill will be passed—if not by a Government which is reputed to be favourable, by some other Government. We do not believe that the great body of the electors have the slightest desire to treat Church schools unfairly,[1] that they are enamoured of School Boards or of political Nonconformity. They will not resent a wise and fair scheme. What they will resent is any attempt to injure education, or any one-sided and narrow policy. We may be quite certain that attempts will be made to confuse the issue, and that those friends of education who have never spent a farthing of their own money on schools will denounce as the enemies of education a Church which has spent over 40,000,000*l.* The only thing that remains for us to do is to formulate a wise policy—that, we believe, has been done—and to spare no effort in pressing home our demands. The Church, if united and determined, is a strong body—stronger than either its friends or its

[1] Very important from this point of view is the pamphlet by Mr. Yoxall, which represents the opinions of a Liberal member of Parliament who is a leading official of the National Union of Teachers. It is completely without any opposition to voluntary schools, and outlines a scheme into which the present proposals would fit easily and naturally.

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enemies believe. If its policy at the present crisis be unwise or narrow, if it allows its demands to injure the construction of a wise educational scheme, if it attempts to gain any illegitimate advantage, it will alienate large sections of the country; but it will not alienate them by a sober and sincere policy.

SHORT NOTICES.

I.—New Testament.

The Epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude. By the Rev. Charles Bigg, D.D. 'The International Critical Commentary.' (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.)

The lack of access to libraries, which Dr. Bigg fears may have detracted from the completeness of his book, has perhaps added to it the more excellent qualities of lucidity, directness, and a kind of open-air good sense. Useful as frequent references to the opinions of other writers are, they interrupt the attention of the reader and may be spared without too much regret if they are, as they sometimes may be, signs of an exaggerated literary habit which is in these days to some extent obscuring truth. There are as many references of the kind as need be in this book, and it fulfils admirably the great business of a commentary, that, namely, of helping the reader to grasp not merely the meaning of particular words and phrases, but the purpose of the whole epistles. This end is reached, however, in an unusual way. There are none of those analyses, paraphrases, headings, and other aids of arrangement by which the student has been so securely guided through several of the letters of St. Paul. Here the notes run straight on without a break, each difficulty is dealt with rather briefly as it comes, textual criticism (in which Dr. Bigg does not appear to be much interested) is mingled with exegesis, and its problems are solved as a rule with more reference to the intrinsic probability of separate readings than on broad principles of documentary relationships, and there are no detached notes or excursuses. And yet any one who studies the introductions will gain such an insight into the mind of the writers of these epistles that he ought to be able to follow their argument without much difficulty.

In the notes a few faults might be found. Dr. Bigg has a downright way of crashing through a difficulty to reach a fair working interpretation which contrasts unfavourably with the patience of Hort's fragment. In 1 Peter i. 4, for instance, τετηρημένην εἰς ὑμᾶς, he rejects the rendering 'until you,' because 'this sense appears to be foreign to our passage, and "until you" for "until your days" is a very singular, if not impossible, use of the preposition.' But reasons might be given for considering 'until you' suitable to the passage, and it is worth discussion whether a very singular use of the preposition might not be a possible one here. He seems also to mistrust

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too much the nicety of New Testament Greek, as in 1 Peter iv. 3. where the perfect participle πεπορευμένους has surely been used on purpose, implying probably that a habit had been formed—they not only walked but had become habitual walkers in these evil ways. Here and there this leads to positive mistakes, as in 1 Peter iv. 6, ἵνα κριθῶσι μὲν σαρκὶ ζῶσι δὲ πνεύματι, where the tense of the subjunctive κριθῶσι can hardly have any reference to *time* at all; and in 2 Peter i. 17, λαβὼν δόξαν φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης, where it would certainly be natural that ἐνεχθείσης should go before λαβὼν in point of time. and the addition of καὶ between the participles in the quotation from Thucydides really would appear to make the difference which Dr. Bigg denies. These, however, are comparatively trifling details, and hardly affect the usefulness of this most original commentary.

The heart of the book is in two sections of the introduction on Doctrine, Discipline, and Organization in 1 Peter,' and 'St. Peter and St. Paul in the New Testament.' The life and character of the two apostles are sketched with vigour and sympathy: St. Peter in particular is presented to us in a very beautiful picture—

'a labouring man, uneducated, rough in speech and manner, open-minded and docile, but bearing the stamp of his class who in England, and presumably elsewhere, are tender-hearted but slow. They have seen too much of the hard realities of life to be greatly elated or greatly depressed. But they make fine soldiers, who will follow their captain to the last, and fall where he has placed them . . . he is often spoken of as ardent and impulsive, but our Lord called him Cephas, "Rock" . . . the Gospels paint him as a man of slow understanding, but strong conviction, of tender, but not demonstrative feeling, with an exquisitely delicate conscience, and a deep sense of the majesty of God . . . we may imagine him as a shy, timid, embarrassed man, apt on a sudden emergency to say and do the wrong thing, not because he was hasty, but because he was not quick. He was one of those who become leaders because they have been called and appointed, not because nature seems to have marked them out for command . . . the Lord loved John better, but He trusted Peter more.'

St. Paul, on the other hand, was 'well-born, probably wealthy, well educated, full of fiery conviction and prompt resolution, a natural leader of men in times of great excitement'; more important still, he was a man whose whole life was changed by 'a blow struck from above with overwhelming force and instantaneous effect.' No doubt the way had been prepared, but the fact remains, 'in one moment he became a Christian.' But this is not all. The steady growth of Peter, the astounding conversion of Paul, were harmonious with the natures of the two. 'Every man is born an Aristotelian or a Platonist,' said Coleridge, and Dr. Bigg evidently believes him. It is the difference between the Disciplinarian and the Mystic, difficult terms of which no definition is given in this book, though we do find what is more useful, a good description of the two characters.

'A Disciplinarian is one who hears God speaking to him; a Mystic is one who feels the presence of God within. The former says, "Christ is my Saviour, Shepherd, Friend, my Judge, my Rewarder"; the latter says, "Not I live, but Christ liveth in me." The former sedulously dis-

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tinguishes the human personality from the divine; the latter seeks to sink his own personality in the divine. Hence the leading Disciplinarian ideas are Grace considered as a gift, Law, Learning, Continuity, Godly Fear—in all these human responsibility is kept steadily in view. But the leading Mystic ideas are Grace as an indwelling power, Freedom, the Inner Light, Discontinuity (Law and Gospel, Flesh and Spirit, World and God), and Love. Nothing is more difficult than to define these two tendencies in the abstract, because they run into one another in shapes of manifold diversity. Yet it is easy in practice to see the difference between, for instance, William Laud and George Fox. A great part of the difficulty of discrimination arises from the fact that many people use mystic language, though they are really and truly disciplinarians.'

Here, then, is the difference between not only St. Paul and St. Peter, but also the Pauline and Petrine epistles. Here, we feel as we read his commentary, is the proof which satisfies Dr. Bigg that 1 Peter is what it professes to be, a letter of St. Peter's from beginning to end. He gives due consideration to the *Testimonia Veterum*, and finds in them on the whole a strong chain of evidence, but something else has made up his mind for him. He is fully conscious of the resemblance in words, phrases, and sometimes in connexion of ideas between 1 Peter and certain epistles of St. Paul, but he sees that there is no 'Paulinism' in 1 Peter; but that, on the contrary, words like πίστις, χάρις, πνεῦμα are used there as a Disciplinarian must use them, in the Pauline epistles as a Mystic uses them. The same difference of mind is visible all through, and 1 Peter is to him just what St. Peter would have written, and just such a letter as must have been found side by side with the Pauline letters, if the Apostolic Church really represented the abiding variety of human mind and life. Thus the truth which Baur saw and distorted is declared again in a better form. 'The dogmatic teaching of the two apostles was identical,' but 'in the practical sphere St. Peter differs widely from St. Paul, not as one who misunderstands a teacher, but as one who looks at things from a different point of view.'

'There are, as is well known, grave practical differences between eminent and sincere Christians. Is it absurd to maintain that these differences have always existed, that they are to be found in the Gospels, that they correspond to the ancient and inevitable distinction between the Realist and Nominalist, that they caused as much heat in primitive times as in our own, that they brought even apostles into sharp antagonisms, that in effect St. Peter was the first great High Churchman, and St. Paul the first great Low Churchman?'

In this there is, perhaps, an exaggerated vivacity of expression, and it must, we think, be allowed that Dr. Bigg has not taken quite so true a view of St. Paul as he has of St. Peter. His argument, moreover, will have little weight with those who have been trained to trace the pedigrees of phrases rather than the development of living minds, but there are probably many who will feel that this commentary has disclosed to them a reality in the writings of the New Testament which they knew little of before. Among these will be men who have themselves been troubled by talk about conversions of a kind which they have never experienced, and which they somehow

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know they never will experience; parish priests too, especially in the country, who have been perplexed by what has seemed to them false confidence based on a simple, strong, yet curiously limited faith in many of their poorer parishioners; some, again, who in their heart of hearts confess that much of what they read in St. Paul is alien to them, and who find more guidance, encouragement, and above all sympathy in this affectionate reverent epistle of St. Peter, which presents no new ideas but makes old truths certain to them. Such men will understand that it is Mysticism which has been opposed to their Disciplinarianism, and they will recognize with conviction the same opposition in the New Testament where it passes into the harmony to which all moods belong.

When, however, we turn from 1 Peter to 2 Peter a more difficult problem presents itself. Dr. Bigg thinks both were written, not indeed by St. Peter's own hand, but by his direction and under his supervision. In both he must be supposed to have employed a secretary or draughtsman who put his thoughts into Greek for him. This prevents our building much on comparison of words or phraseology; but if a likeness in the thought which lies behind the words can be discovered that would really be an argument for a common authorship. Dr. Bigg thinks he can discover such a likeness, particularly in the habit of verbal repetition of a peculiar kind, and in the manner in which tradition is blended with the use of the Hebrew Scripture. It will be necessary for those who would understand the force of his argument to read not only the introductions but the notes on all three epistles, for in this as in other matters the notes fill up and reinforce the introductions. The *Testimonia Veterum*, with Dr. Bigg's comments, leave the impression that nothing certain can be proved from them. That there is nothing in the vocabulary, style, or subject-matter of 2 Peter which demands a later date than the apostolic age, and that 'traces of the second century are absent at those points where they might have been expected to occur,' does, in our judgment, seem to be fairly proved. But here again we feel as we read that what has convinced Dr. Bigg is his own certain (as it seems to him) recognition of the very same disciplinarian apostolic mind in 2 Peter as in 1 Peter.

'What history teaches us is that, both in secular and religious affairs, the broad catholic party, the party which has no name, always exists and is always powerful. It is Reason, flanked on both wings by Emotion, on the left by eagerness for the future, on the right by strong affection for the past. Both Emotions belong to Reason, and Reason knows how to use them in time and in measure. It shapes that view of Christianity which we find in the Synoptic Gospels, in the Book of Acts, and in the Epistles of Peter. It is a disciplinary and logical view; it regards the Bible as a continuous revelation, and it limits the right of private judgment. The "Judaisers" never found a place in the Canon, though James sheltered them as far as he could. On the other wing, the author of Hebrews leans towards St. John, the Catholic Mystic, and, finally, in St. Paul we find the Protestant Mystic.

'Thus we gain an intelligible view of the early Church, and thus we see the value of 2 Peter. Value is not the same as authenticity. Yet, if

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it has been shown that the Epistle fills a definite place, represents a definite party, and expresses the views that were really held by St. Peter, something not inconsiderable has been effected towards the removal of hostile preoccupations.'

As to the question, Did 2 Peter copy from St. Jude, or St. Jude from 2 Peter? Dr. Bigg gives many good reasons for supposing that the latter is the case. When, however, he says that 'the two Epistles must have been written at nearly the same time,' that 'in fact both Epistles may be samples of a circular that was addressed to many groups of Churches at the same time,' we cannot help suspecting that 'copying' is hardly the word to use. They cannot, indeed, be based on a common document, but they have had their expression determined by some common impulse—discussion, the words of a preacher, or some influence which was in the air at the time, though we cannot even make a guess at its nature.

However that may be, it is a pity Dr. Bigg should say that if 2 Peter be not really the work of St. Peter, it is 'neither more nor less than a forgery.' Eusebius appears to have thought that it was perhaps not by St. Peter, yet he was willing to believe it all but worthy of a place in the Canon; and we might well believe that, though we could not explain its origin, there was nothing connected with that origin which ought to be called by the harsh name of forgery. We have it in the Canon now secure, useful indeed to many still, and enlightened with some of the most splendid thoughts which are to be found in the New Testament, for all of which *laus Deo*. The immediate effect of this commentary will doubtless be that many will make a venture of faith and try what may be gained by studying the New Testament and the history of the apostolic age afresh on the working hypothesis that the epistle is St. Peter's.

Justification by Faith, and other Sacred Trusts in Harmony and Correlation. By H. W. Holden, Vicar of North Grimston. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1901.)

Nothing could illustrate Dr. Bigg's meaning better than this book. It is in many respects a good one, and sets forth with earnestness and force the great truth that loyal obedience and service is required of those who would enjoy salvation—that is, 'life and health.' And yet it seems just to miss the mark, because it is written by a Disciplinarian who cannot take the Mystic's point of view. There are, perhaps, people who say that by one act of faith all is gained, and henceforth there is no need of obedience and good works, but if they therefore live in sloth and disobedience they are hypocrites, and there is no need to confute them: Gospels and Epistles have done that once for all. But Mr. Holden is not thinking of these men only; he has in mind those mystical Churchmen and Dissenters who, though they may be wrong in some things, such as neglecting sacraments or the discipline of the Church, are not really so mistaken as he thinks about Justification. Their lives bear witness that they too, in practice, treat Justification as a state which continues, though they describe it, when they define the theological position, as some-

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thing which has taken place once for all at some moment in the past. In this they are not wrong, for St. Paul, the Apostle who has taught us the doctrine of Justification, does the same. It was in accordance with his mystical nature to lay stress on the moment of change—the *Discontinuity*—and he always does. Mr. Holden is mistaken about Rom. v. 1; for though the Revised Version, having regard to the ordinary English use of the participle, has kept the translation 'being justified' for δικαιωθέντες, it is impossible to take this as a strict present; the aorist participle refers to a particular point of time, not to a continuous state. St. Paul does, indeed, here and everywhere, urge us to live as men who have been justified ought to live, but Salvation, not Justification, is what he tells us we must work out. It is quite true that in much popular teaching all this further work and glad service are passed over, and harm is done thereby, and Mr. Holden's treatise has, therefore, a legitimate purpose; but the popular teacher, if sincere, is in practice at one with him, only, being strongly mystical, he lays all stress on the new starting-point, and would have the rest follow naturally, as a matter of course. It is important to remember that in the case of the true Mystic it does follow: for the greatest marvel in his position is just this; with him the discontinuity is so thorough, the initial impulse so strong, that the power of temptation appears to be really broken, more than it ever is for the Disciplinarian, at least until he nears the end of his course. He, on the other hand, has aids and consolations which the Mystic lacks, and no true servant of Christ may be wholly Mystic or wholly Disciplinarian. St. Paul himself, if we trust the evidence of the Pastoral Epistles, became more disciplinarian as he grew older.

What Mr. Holden says at the beginning of his book about Justification being 'world-wide and time-long,' and of the 'larger hope' which is thus brought in, is beautiful, though from St. Paul alone it could hardly be proved; he has been listening to St. John, 'the Catholic Mystic.' It would have been well, however, to make clear —what no doubt he means—that all Justification, wherever and whenever it is or has been given, is 'only for the merit of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.'

The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, with some Proofs of their Independence and Mutual Relation. By James Houghton Kennedy, D.D. (London: Methuen and Co., 1900.)

Dr. Kennedy considers that the letter described in 2 Corinthians ii. is not to be found in 1 Corinthians, but has not been altogether lost. The end of it has, he believes, been preserved, and is now to be read in the last four chapters of our 2 Corinthians. This fragment was joined on to another fragmentary letter—our 2 Corinthians i.–ix., the latest written of the three—of which the end had been lost, and the piece thus compounded was published at some time after Clement had written his Epistle to Corinth. Professor Hausrath had already, in 1870, argued that the lost letter was identical with these chapters,

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but against his theory lay the serious objection that no reference can be found in them to the as yet unsettled case of the offender. Dr. Kennedy has reached his own conclusion, to which this objection does not apply, independently, having been led to study the question by a remark once made in his hearing by Dr. Reichel, Bishop of Meath, and he defends it with great skill from many points of view. Many nice questions of interpretation are touched on in the course of exposition, the most important of which is that of the meaning of *ἀναγινώσκειν* in 2 Cor. i. 13 and iii. 2, in both of which places very good reasons are shown for believing that St. Paul, perhaps turning vulgar usage to account, gives the word its old sense of 'recognize' or 'acknowledge.' In 2 (3) Cor. i. 17 Dr. Kennedy has printed the false reading *βουλευόμενος* in his text, though he translates, and grounds an argument on, *βουλόμενος*. This is an interesting book, not merely in respect of its professed object, but also as giving the reader a glimpse into a scholar's workshop.

The Letters of St. Paul to Seven Churches and Three Friends. Translated by ARTHUR S. WAY, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

IT is always difficult to grasp the meaning of a letter which was written a long time ago to a person or persons whose mind and circumstances we only know in part, and the fact that we feel this difficulty when we read the letters of the New Testament, while it affords an argument for their being genuine, hinders us from making a proper use of them. Mr. Way was, therefore, well advised in rendering St. Paul's Epistles into the language of our modern life, and in attempting by his method of translation to add the connecting links which the reader needs. He has written an interesting preface in which he defends the printing of a very large number of passages as scraps from hymns. It is doubtful whether the defence is good. The idea is interesting, and each passage which he prints in this way is worth careful examination, but the habit of continually quoting poetry is a rather vulgar one from which St. Paul was probably free. The book, however, is excellent, and the sketch life of St. Paul which it contains will be useful.

The Bible and its Theology. By G. VANCE SMITH, B.A. Fifth edition, revised, and partly rewritten. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1901.)

THE reappearance of a book which owed its importance mainly to the fact that it was directed against Dr. Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* strikes us as unfortunate. The reader finds it difficult to traverse a somewhat ancient field of controversy, and although Dr. Vance Smith has made some slight attempt to bring his book up to date, he fails, as we think, to be effective because he is to some extent beating the air. The conditions of the battle between Unitarianism and the Faith of the Church are altered. During the last forty years the advance of criticism has put a new aspect on old problems; it has shown combatants on both sides of the controversy that they

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have something in common. It is surely less than fair to credit recent theologians with views which great divines of the last generation felt themselves bound to defend, but which have yielded to the spirit of scientific inquiry. We do not, accordingly, feel called upon to examine Dr. Vance Smith's position *de novo*. He certainly does not do justice to the writers in *Lux Mundi* if he supposes that they wish in any sense to discountenance 'more rational and truthful views of the origin, character, and interpretation of those Scriptures in which the common forms of theological belief claim to find their justification.' Indeed, with much that he says about the character of the Old Testament, the nature and conditions of prophecy, the development of Jewish faith, &c., many, if not most, instructed Churchmen nowadays would find themselves largely in agreement. On the other hand, the discussion of some important points of New Testament theology (*e.g.* the history of the Logos doctrine and the significance of Christ's atoning death) seems to us disappointingly slight and superficial. There is indeed some force in the writer's incidental criticism of Dr. R. W. Dale's 'argument from experience or consciousness,' but what we are chiefly interested to learn is whether Dr. Vance Smith has any positive contribution to make to religious problems, apart from the not very formidable criticism by which he seeks to discredit historical Christianity. The nearest approach to a constructive policy is to be found in his plea for 'the combination and organization of religious men of every name, for united Christian work in one grand national brotherhood, on the basis of Christ's teaching.' But he admits that this ideal can only be attained by the abolition of every 'creed of human devising.' It is strange that a writer who pleads so earnestly for the liberty of criticism should not perceive that in asking us to accept 'the spirit and word of Christ' as the basis of Church unity he is simply begging the very questions which criticism raises. The sincerity of Dr. Vance Smith is unquestionable, but neither in learning nor argumentative ability is he a powerful representative of modern Unitarianism.

Two Lectures on the Gospels. By F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)

The first of these lectures, which were delivered at the Cambridge Extension Summer Meeting in 1900, deals with the text of the Gospels. The second is concerned with their composition and origin. In the first lecture Mr. Burkitt's main points are two. He claims that 'the work of the textual critics of our generation has revealed the existence of' an 'interpolated edition of the Gospels as a literary work, which by its very existence shows that the four Gospels were already collected together about A.D. 150. The Gospels as separate works are yet older, but this interpolated edition is, I think, the earliest witness to their existence as the four volumes of a Canon.' And, secondly, he concludes his lecture with a discussion of 'the most important variation of all, viz. the omission or retention of the last twelve verses of St. Mark's Gospel.' From the evidence on this passage Mr. Burkitt argues, firstly, that 'the mutilation must

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have been originally accidental; all our copies, therefore, are ultimately descended from a single imperfect copy which had lost its last leaf'; and, secondly, that 'a gospel which survives in a single imperfect copy, must have been, at least for a time, out of fashion,' 'lying neglected and forgotten in the tiny library of some early Christian, perhaps at Rome, perhaps at Alexandria.'

These different conclusions illustrate Mr. Burkitt's conception of the value of the modern science of textual criticism as something more than 'a machine to enable the student to construct a text of the New Testament which shall be complete, correct, and free from interpolations.' We know from Mr. Burkitt's other writings on textual criticism, such as his contributions to *Texts and Studies*, how suggestive as working hypotheses his theories may be, and those contained in the lecture before us are certainly important. The most important is that which affects the Canon of the Four Gospels, and the evidence, as he marshals it, seems to us stronger than in regard to the conclusion of St. Mark. The *data* on which Mr. Burkitt builds up his theory are the so-called 'Western Non-Interpolations,' *e.g.* St. Luke, xxii. 43, 44, xxiii. 34*a*, etc. By the method of exclusion Mr. Burkitt localizes their origin in the West, showing that, while they were not part of the Four Gospels as originally current in the East, and are absent from Origen's text, they are at home in the West, even in Africa, where so many later corruptions never penetrated. But further than this, Mr. Burkitt argues—and this is the really important new contribution—that the insertion of these details by all the authorities at the same point in different gospels (and that not always the right place, as in the case of the *Pericopæ Adulteræ*) proves that 'the ultimate source of all these additions to the narrative is not floating tradition or a non-canonical document, but a single interpolated edition of the Four Gospels themselves.' This 'glossed edition of the Four Gospels' we may put at latest about the middle of the second century. The absolutely essential point on which the truth of Mr. Burkitt's theory must depend is the distribution of the *phenomena* over the Four Gospels, and that in exactly the same authorities. Otherwise, all that can be maintained is a glossed edition of some one or more separate gospels. From St. John the only passages quoted are the *Pericopæ Adulteræ* and the passage about the Angel at the Pool; from St. Matthew the addition in xx. 28, and one or two other passages where, however, the manuscript authority for the additions varies very much. Besides the distribution of the *data* over the Gospels we have also to bear in mind the present uncertainty as to the history of the so-called Western text, of which these readings are characteristic. Mr. Burkitt reminds us early in his first lecture that, though we are 'beginning to be clear in what direction the next move' in textual criticism is to be 'we are still in the transition period between the new and the old.'

In the second lecture Mr. Burkitt begins by a brief discussion of the Synoptic problem, in which he takes up the position that the document which the first and third evangelists have independently

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used is St. Mark's Gospel itself, and not an Ur-Marcus. The main difficulty in this view is, of course, the omission by St. Matthew and St. Luke of many of St. Mark's peculiarities; and in regard to this Mr. Burkitt adopts generally the view of Sir John Hawkins in his invaluable *Horæ Synopticæ*,[1] that many of those peculiarities may well have been passed over by the later evangelists as 'needless or even offensive.'

A large section of the lecture is devoted to the Fourth Gospel. Mr. Burkitt begins by quoting approvingly the language of Matthew Arnold in *God and the Bible* in regard to this Gospel, and some pages later (p. 67) adopts his conclusion, viz. 'that the work was issued in St. John's name, and very likely with his approval, by one who had gathered his materials from the lips of the Apostle.' Mr. Burkitt's own position is clear from such language as this (p. 66):—'Such a proceeding helps us to understand how the brief and pregnant words of Christ came to be amplified into the theological lectures which we read in the Fourth Gospel.' And again: 'That we have in it [*i.e.* the Fourth Gospel] throughout the accurate report of an eyewitness is surely inconceivable; at the same time there are too many indications that the writer of it had access to genuine traditions, *i.e.* to the memory of an Apostle, for us to reject it altogether as an historical source.' After referring to the statement in a Catena connecting the writing of the Gospel with Papias, Mr. Burkitt finds an improvement on that tradition in a prologue to a manuscript of the Vulgate—*Codex Toletanus*—quoted in Wordsworth and White's edition. We cannot, however, but think that Mr. Burkitt has to make an unjustifiable emendation in order to 'carry back the story' of the authorship another stage. The traditions of the *Catena* and the *Codex Toletanus* certainly both, as they stand, ascribe the authorship to Papias. The assertions made by Mr. Burkitt, quoted above, are the really important point, and we may hope that he will speak, as he regrets he cannot do in the lecture before us, 'more definitely about the composition and authorship' of the Gospel. All that he says in regard to the traditions mentioned, and also earlier in the lecture in regard to the *Acta Johannis*, is interesting and suggestive, but it is more disturbing than conclusive, and the Extension students cannot fail to have been seriously disturbed by such an ending to the discussion as the following: 'The Fourth Gospel enshrines many true words of the Lord which would otherwise have been lost to us. Like precious stones, their value does not depend upon their setting, and I confidently expect that many of them will come out safe from the laboratory of modern criticism, just as they have already passed safely through the Apostle's memory and the Evangelist's literary method.' The last few pages deal with the *Gospel in Aramaic*, in which Mr. Burkitt insists on the importance of examining the leading ideas of the Gospels as preserved in the Greek, and seeing what are their

[1] The reference on p. 50 to this book should be 102, not 182. On the last line of p. 56 Irenæus is misspelt. Occasionally the English might be more careful, as on p. 10: 'Dr. Hort regarded the majority . . . or to have been.'

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Aramaic equivalents, in the way Professor Dalman has done in his *Worte Jesu*. In the first of two appendices Mr. Burkitt deals at some length with the evidence for and against the *Pericope Adulteræ*, and in the second he gives the prologue from the *Codex Toletanus*, and discusses its relation to Jerome's statements as to St. John in the *De Viris Illustribus*.

Eating the Bread of Life, a study of John vi. 30, *&c., and its relation to the Lord's Supper.* By W. H. K. Soames, M.A. (London: Elliot Stock, 1901.)

This 'pamphlet' of nearly two hundred closely printed pages has been undertaken because the author has 'for some time been of the opinion that the New Testament doctrine of the Lord's Supper might be somewhat more exactly set forth than it has been done in the Prayer-book and Articles, *i.e.* that the modern reaction and rebellion against the doctrinal statements of the Prayer-book and Articles has a certain amount of justification.' At the same time, in the paragraph of the preface which precedes that quoted, sacerdotalism, or the mediæval theory of the 'real presence'—we are not clear which—is spoken of as 'not only unscriptural, but most deadly error.' In the main, Mr. Soames's method is to examine very precisely the language of the sixth chapter of St. John, to which he devotes more than a third of his pamphlet, and then to compare it with the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, with which a large part of the rest is concerned. His examination of St. John vi. leads him (p. 64) to conclude that the expression there found—*eating the flesh of the Son of Man and drinking His blood*—is only a figurative way of saying *He that believeth on Me hath* (already) *everlasting life*, and that 'there is absolutely *no difference* in meaning, or in result,' between *eating the flesh of the Son of Man given for us*, and *believing on the Son of Man lifted up for us*. The acts of eating and drinking were therefore 'quite capable of performance before the institution of the Lord's Supper,' and 'would have been as capable of being fully performed if the Lord's Supper had never been instituted.' There is all through the volume an endeavour to examine the actual words of the Gospel, combined with a curious reading into them of a meaning which the New Testament does not at any rate state expressly. The result—as in the statement just quoted, that 'eating the flesh of the Son of Man does not differ in meaning from believing on the Son of Man'—is not to elucidate, but to confuse, as it seems to us. We cannot follow Mr. Soames into all the detail of his argument or into his position in regard to the use of reason in such matters as those with which he is dealing. He seems to try and reduce everything to 'logical demonstration,' but the weakness of language and of Mr. Soames's use of it in such matters is illustrated by the very irritating number of italicized words which are strewn on every page to help to make the argument clear. As an illustration of the argument, in regard to the meaning of the phrase 'This is My body,' we may quote the following:—'If a man were told to write down "Evil be to him that evil thinks," and he were to write

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Honi soit qui mal y pense, would he not have *done* that which he was told to do? *I.e.* would not the writing down of *Honi soit*, &c., be precisely the *same* thing as writing 'Evil be to him, &c. . . .' It is perfectly true to say that *Honi soit*, &c., IS Evil be to him that evil thinks.' We cannot deny that Mr. Soames is perfectly fearless in the conclusions to which his arguments lead him. He does not hesitate to say that the definition of a sacrament given in the Catechism is unsound, or that, 'according to the New Testament, the Sacrament of Baptism occupies a *far more prominent and important* place in the Christian dispensation than does the "Sacrament" of the Lord's supper.' But he is too dogmatic, and *if* he appeals to the verbal argument, he must not allow himself to be led away from it by figurative or other applications of the *ipsissima verba* of scripture.

Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. By F. G KENYON. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901)

THIS book will immediately take its place as the best of its kind by an English writer. It is exactly fitted for its purpose, which is, according to the Preface, to provide a serviceable handbook to the textual criticism of the New Testament.

The first six chapters deal with the materials for the criticism of the text, and in this Dr. Kenyon gives, what is not to be found conveniently anywhere else, a full account of the various papyri fragments which have been discovered of late years in Egypt. For the rest, the description of the vellum uncials is excellent, and quite as full as is likely to be needed by any but advanced students of the text. It might, however, have been well to point out in connexion with the Codex Bezæ that the arguments of Mr. Brightman really have but a slight bearing on the *provenance*, as distinct from the history, of the manuscript. They make it probable that the Codex was in S. Italy at the time when the liturgical annotations were made, but they do not necessarily suggest that the manuscript was originally written in S. Italy, for the earliest liturgical, not textual, annotator did not do his work before the ninth century. Dr. Kenyon is inclined to reject Mr. Brightman's view because 'we want a locality where Latin was the prevailing tongue, but Greek was still sufficiently known to make it desirable to have copies of the Scriptures in their original language as well as in a translation.' That is true if we are discussing the *provenance* of the manuscript, but not if we are talking of its history. The liturgical annotators never touch the Latin side of the Codex, and so far as they go, they point clearly to the presence of the Codex Bezæ in the ninth century in a locality where the Greek rite and language exclusively obtained. S. Italy, in the ninth century, was just such a place, and there is no reason why the Codex should not have been used there. This is, of course, a distinct question from the one which Dr. Kenyon raises when he suggests that S. Italy was, in the sixth century, too much a Greek-speaking country for Codex Bezæ to have been written there. But does not he read into the condition of S. Italy in the sixth century a

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state of things which only existed either earlier or later? The evidence is not very good, but, such as it is, it suggests that S. Italy was a Latin-speaking country until at least the sixth century and probably later. Procopius, for instance, in his history of the Gothic war, regards S. Italy as Latin not Greek. There are some fine Latin inscriptions of the fifth century at Tropea, and elsewhere; nor is there, as far as we know, any certain evidence for regarding S. Italy as a Greek-speaking country during the sixth century, though, no doubt, there were some Greek-speaking people in S. Italy then, just as there are even now.

In the second part of the book, Dr. Kenyon gives an exceedingly clear account of the growth of textual criticism, and the prevailing theories. Some will think he is too conservative, but that is largely a matter of opinion, and no one can deny the fairness and clearness of his statements. He has introduced, in speaking of the different kinds of text, the notation α text, β text, &c., instead of Antiochian text, neutral text, &c. This system has some advantages. It removes one cause of the bewilderment which beginners experience when they are told that the Western text was predominately used in the East. But it also has its disadvantages. In reading Dr. Kenyon's book we found it very hard to remember that his β text is Blass's α text, and his δ text is W. H.'s β text. Of course this will not affect students who begin by reading Dr. Kenyon's book, but the variety of notations adopted by different scholars adds greatly to the obscurity of an already rather complex subject. Besides, very probably sooner or later scholars will have recognised that the *Western* text is really two texts, a truly Western text represented by the Old Latin, and an Eastern text represented by the Old Syriac. When that fact is recognized in nomenclature, as it is already in practice, by many scholars, we shall have to divide the δ text, and we are inclined to think that *Eastern* and *Western*, names which will really correspond to facts, will be preferable to δ and ϵ or whatever other letter may be chosen.

We hope that Dr. Kenyon's book will be widely used, and that it will attract more attention to the textual criticism of the New Testament, for the importance of textual criticism is probably greater in the New Testament than in most classical authors.

II.—Liturgies.

Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. Edited from the Fifteenth-Century MS. No. 148, with Additions from the Cathedrals Records and Woodcuts from the Sarum *Processionale* of 1502. By Chr. Wordsworth, M.A., Master of St. Nicholas's Hospital, Sarum. (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1901.)

A good and critical edition of the Sarum Processional is much needed. The reprint of Dean Henderson (Leeds, 1882) was privately issued, and is now very scarce, and Mr. Wordsworth's new volume does not take its place. Moreover there are several points

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which give the Processional a special interest: it was the last of the service books to be evolved, and is to a considerable extent built up out of material drawn from elsewhere; therefore an account of its origin and the tracing of its component part would lead to interesting studies: also such items as were not borrowed from the Antiphonal, Gradual, &c., consist for the most part of picturesque rites of an exceptional kind, which have an attraction of their own and are quite independent of the general interests of the Divine Service or the Mass or the other Sacramental Rites: such services as those peculiar to Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Even, which, with the Candlemas rites, form the nucleus of the whole Processional, deserve now such study and exposition as the present state of comparative liturgiology is at last qualified to give, or at least to begin to give; and such studies as these ought to precede the much-needed recovery of some at least of these services for modern Anglican use.

Mr. Wordsworth in the present volume does not give us this *desideratum*, but he gives us a valuable contribution towards it. One-third of his volume is taken up with a Salisbury manuscript, which well deserves publication, and he has added to its value by supplying so far as possible two lamentable lacunæ, by adding valuable foot-notes and incorporating in an improved form the curious woodcuts elucidatory of the ceremonial, which had already been reproduced by Dr. Henderson in his reprint. This first part is undoubtedly the most satisfactory; a clear idea is gained of the manuscript, and its history and scope are well expounded. It does not cover the same ground as the ordinary printed Processional; for, to mention one point, it only deals with the close of the procession on ordinary occasions, not with the whole course of it, but on the other hand it gives specially full directions in places where the regular Processional is silent.

A Service Book is always more interesting in proportion as it can be run to earth; and such a speciality of interest this manuscript undoubtedly possesses, for it belongs to the Salisbury Cathedral Church itself, and every page is full of local colour and of special points.

The rest of the volume is taken up with more miscellaneous material: much of it is very valuable, but it is difficult to keep a steady course through it; even when a solid and substantial dissertation on the subject of the Chapels and Altars of the Cathedral Church is reached, and the reader begins to congratulate himself on having recovered his way, he is again bewildered by finding that through an unfortunate mistake the notes to it have been printed from a wrong draught, and that an appendix of supplementary notes must also be consulted.

We have not got, then, a new edition of the Processional, still less that new and critical edition of it which is needed, but we have got a very valuable mass of materials, the product of much labour on Mr. Wordsworth's part and many researches and a most generous communicativeness on the part of Mr. A. R. Malden, the Salisbury

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Registrar. Students of the Salisbury Rites will find these materials indispensable, and the future editor of the ideal Processional will have to work systematically through them and utilize them on every page of his final and definitive edition. When will he arise and give us the fascinating volume that our soul desires?

Instead of sighing it will perhaps be better to point out one or two special things of interest in this collection of documents. The Kalendar is noteworthy, and later on in the volume there is its twin brother the Obit Kalendar of the Cathedral, which is full of fascination. The Inventories, again, cannot be read without a delightful pang of regret, and the elucidation of the topography of Cathedral and Chapter House is of great value. These are only a few of the larger items; for the rest we must refer the reader to the book itself: he will probably complain of the disordered state of the bill of fare, but he will be obliged to acknowledge that he has a rich banquet provided for him.

The Prayer Book: its History, Language, and Contents. By EVAN DANIEL, M.A. Twentieth edition, revised and enlarged. (London: Wells Gardner & Co., 1901.)

CANON DANIEL'S book has long had a position of its own, and has been proved of value to many generations of school teachers and others; it has now reached its twentieth edition, and the opportunity has been taken of revising and adding to its contents. The main addition is a section of 120 pages on the Articles, which, however valuable in itself, is out of place in a book dealing with the Prayer Book, since the Articles are no more part of the Prayer Book than Sternhold and Hopkins's *Psalms* or *Hymns Ancient and Modern*. The preface of the new edition points also to other new matters—the Latin Canon of the Mass, some reports of Convocation, and some Catenas which are of very varying degrees of value—and to a wide-reaching work of revision. Unfortunately a study of the book soon brings disappointment in this respect, and shows that the revision has not been nearly drastic enough; in the account of early and mediæval liturgies there are serious blunders or wholly misleading statements left surviving on nearly every page, some representing the state of liturgical knowledge some thirty or forty years ago, and some not even that. It seems a churlish thing to speak thus of an old friend, but the fact is undeniable; and when the public is loudly informed that the book has been revised up to date a reviewer who deems this claim unjustifiable in common honesty can only warn the public that he does not find it so. Moreover this is not only the case with mere technicalities of scholarship or refinements of ancient history; such matters as the *Te Deum* and the Creeds are not dealt with as they deserve, two inconsistent accounts are given of the *Nunc dimittis*, and many other such blemishes are allowed to remain, to the great bewilderment of the reader.

It is true, no doubt, that the main value of Canon Daniel's book is not touched by these points, for it is principally useful as an exposition of the Prayer Book and an explanation of its language; but

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unquestionably a great opportunity has been realized only to be lost, and students of this work, if they pursue their studies further, will unfortunately have to unlearn a good deal that they have learnt. For old friendship's sake we cannot but wish it a really revised twenty-first edition.

The Blessing of the Waters on the Eve of the Epiphany: the Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Russian Versions, edited or translated from the Original Texts. The Latin by JOHN, MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., the rest for him, and with his help in part, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt. D., D. Lit. (London: H. Frowde, 1901.)

As appears from the title, this volume is a collection of most of the existing orders for the consecration of water at the Epiphany—Roman, Orthodox (both Greek and Slavonic), Syrian, and Coptic—either in the original text or in translation or both. A regret may be expressed at the outset that the editors have not completed the collection by including the Armenian order; while the inclusion of the Greek order of the 'Little Consecration' seems superfluous, since it appears to have no necessary relation to the Epiphany.

Among the events commemorated by the festival, and in the East generally the most prominent among them, is the Baptism of our Lord; and the solemn blessing of water for the purposes of 'holy water' is a not unnatural element in this commemoration. All the Eastern orders conform more or less closely to a common type. The Greek order, which is clearly the original, is used after the 'prayer behind the ambo' of the liturgy on the Eve of the Epiphany, when a procession, with lights and incense and the singing of *troparia*, is made to the font. It opens with five lessons (Isa. xxxv.; lv.; xii. 3 to the end; 1 Cor. x. 1–4; St. Mark i. 9–11), with a *prokeimenon* (Ps. xxvi. [xxvii.] 1) before the Apostle, and an *alleluia* (Ps. xviii. [xxix.] 3) before the Gospel, and a litany, during which the priest says a prayer inaudibly, after the Gospel. The consecration follows, consisting of the poem of St. Sophronius of Jerusalem, 'O supereessential Trinity,' as a 'prologue,' if desired, and the prayer 'Great art Thou, O Lord,' being an act of praise commemorating the creation, visible and invisible, and our Lord's Incarnation and Baptism, passing into a prayer for the consecration of the water, appealing to the renewal of man by water and Spirit, the Flood, the passage of the Red Sea, and Elijah on Carmel, and ending with an invocation of the Holy Ghost, a prayer for the benefit of the use of the water, an intercession, and a doxology. After a prayer of inclination our Lord's baptism is symbolically commemorated by the baptism of the Cross in the consecrated water during the singing of the *apolytikion* of the Epiphany, Ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ βαπτιζομένου σου. The people are then sprinkled with the water, and the procession returns from the font, while an *idiomelon* is sung, and the liturgy is concluded by the distribution of the *antidoron* during the singing of Ps. xxxiii. (xxxiv.)

The Syriac order is given in two forms, a longer (described in

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the manuscript as translated from the Greek) and a shorter, which is perhaps an abridgment of the longer.[1] The order opens with an anthem (Ps. lxxvii. 16) and a series of lessons, according to the longer form seven in number (Ex. xv. 22–25, 4 Reg. ii. 19–22, Ezek. xlvii. 1–12, Isa. xi. 11–xii. 6, Acts viii. 26–39, Heb. x. 15–25, St. John iv. 24). After the Gospel a procession with lights and incense and the singing of anthems is made to the river or pool or well to be blessed, the deacon carrying a vessel in which some of the water is to be brought back. Arrived at the water, the deacon recites a litany, after which the priest recites a 'prayer of incense.' In the shorter form the Creed follows; and after this the consecration proceeds. In the shorter form this consists of two long prayers, one of which is the 'Great art Thou, O Lord,' and a formula of signing the water; while the longer form adds three more prayers. After the consecration, while the *Trisagion* is sung, the priest 'draws the water,' *i.e.* he fills the vessel. After a concluding prayer the procession returns to the church, and the vessel of consecrated water is deposited on or near the altar till the Mass has been celebrated.

The Coptic order, after the manner of Coptic rites, is closely assimilated to the structure of the Mass. After 'the thanksgiving,' 'the prayer of incense,' the Lord's Prayer, and *Miserere*, ten lessons are read (Hab. iii. 1–19; Isa. xxxv. 2; xl. 1–5; ix. 1, 2; lvii. 15, 16; Bar. iii. 35–37, iv. 1–4; Ezek. xxxvi. 25–29; xlvii. 1–9; 1 Cor. x. 1–13; St. Matt. iii. 1–17) with a 'psalm' (Ps. cxiii. [cxiv.] 3, 5) before, and a litany after, the Gospel; after which the kiss of peace is given with the usual accompaniments, and the priest says the salutation and 'Lift up your hearts,' &c., and proceeds to the consecration, consisting of the prayer, 'Great art Thou, O Lord,' with the *Sanctus* inserted after the commemoration of the angelic hierarchy. The Lord's Prayer follows, with its embolism; then a prayer of inclination, the signation of the water, with the formula 'One holy Father' &c., and Ps. cl. The people 'take a blessing from the waters,' *i.e.* receive some of it to drink and to carry away, and anthems are sung meanwhile; and the office concludes with a prayer of thanksgiving.

It will easily be seen that these rites are fundamentally identical, and consist of a Mass of the Catechumens, extended, according to the custom of vigils, by the multiplication of lessons; followed by the consecration, the essential element of which is the prayer, 'Great art Thou, O Lord.'

The Roman order is essentially similar in type, however much this similarity is disguised by what looks like accretion. After the Compline of the Eve or the ninth lesson of the Mattins of the festival, a procession moves to where the vessel of water stands, with lights and incense and a responsory; Pss. xxviii. (xxix.), lxvii. (lxviii.), xc. (xci.) with their antiphons, a second responsory, and the Litany with special suffrages follow, and after this a prayer of exorcism over the water. After a lesson (Numb. xx. 2–6), a sort of Gradual and Alleluia, and a Gospel (St. John vii. 37–39*a*), the priest recites three

[1] Another Syriac order, with differences of detail, is given in M. Ant. Marsil. Columna, *Hydragiologia sive de aqua benedicta*, Rome, 1586.

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exorcisms over the water, and three over the salt, and commixes the two with *Haec commixtio*, and adds three more exorcisms over the mixture. After *Dominus vobiscum*, *Sursum corda*, &c., he recites a proper preface, in the middle of which he exorcizes the water once more and baptizes the Cross, which is brought to him from the sacristy by a 'godfather' in solemn procession. The *Sanctus* follows the preface, and then another exorcism, and a post-sanctus beginning—and this is interesting—in Gallican form, *Vere sanctus*, leading up to the Lord's Prayer with *Libera nos*. The water is sprinkled on the people while *Asperges me* is sung; a second Gospel (St. Luke iii. 21–iv. 7) and *Te Deum* follow; and two sets of short *preces* with collects and the sprinkling of the church with the water conclude the rite.

It is clear that this office is constructed roughly after the pattern of a procession followed by a Mass; only the enormous multiplication of intercalated exorcisms destroys its simplicity and dislocates its structure.

The editors have not attempted to write the history of the ceremony, and have confined themselves to a few facts given in the table of contents. Nor would it be easy to write such a history without investigations which would not perhaps repay the trouble they would demand. In the East the night of the Epiphany naturally became a season of solemn baptisms, and perhaps tended to eclipse Easter night in this respect. Its title, Τὰ φῶτα, was derived from the torches of the neophytes and their symbolic relation to the sacrament of 'illumination.' When special seasons of baptism became practically obsolete our Lord's baptism was still commemorated, and the solemn baptisms would seem to have left traces of themselves in two forms. The bathing of pilgrims in the Jordan on the Epiphany is a well-known instance of one form of the survival, and the Nestorian custom of bathing in a pool is another.[1] The second form is found in the rites of consecrating holy water. Already in the fourth century at Antioch the people carried away some of the water of the fonts to serve as holy water for the year (S. Chrys. *Hom.* 24 *de Bapt. Christi*), just as they may be seen to do on Easter Even on the Continent at the present day; and the rites under discussion would seem to be a survival and adaptation of the old custom. The Copts till a century or two ago combined both forms, the people plunging into the water after its consecration in the 'Epiphany tank.'[2] The Greek order, from which the others are certainly derived, is at least as old as the end of the eighth century, since it occurs approximately in its present form, except that the lessons are only three and the baptism of the Cross seems to be wanting, in the Barberini *Euchologion* of about 795 A.D.;[3] and its style would probably justify us in regarding it as at least two centuries older. And Dr. Budge shows reason (p. vii) for supposing that the Syriac version was made by the indefatigable James of Edessa in about 700 A.D.

[1] Maclean and Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, p. 334.

[2] Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, ii. p. 346.

[3] Goar, *Euchologion*, ed. 1730, p. 375.

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When the Epiphany was accepted in the West the Baptism of our Lord took a secondary place among its commemorations, the first place being taken by the visit of the Magi; and though for a time it was treated in Africa and the Gauls as a season of solemn baptism, the Roman See set its face against this usage, and it was in time abolished. And there seems to be no reason to suppose that the blessing of the waters is a survival of any obsolete Western use; rather it was probably a comparatively late borrowing from Greek custom, and may well have originated in South Italy, which belonged to the Byzantine Empire and the patriarchate of Constantinople till the Norman Conquest, while the Greek rite and mixed Greek and Latin rites survived, and in fact survive till the present moment. The Latin order found its way into the Roman *Rituale* in the sixteenth century, and though it was not covered by Paul V's approbation of the reformed *Rituale* it continued to be included in it till it was prohibited by the Decree of the Congregation of Rites of January 11, 1725; and even after this it continued to be printed in some editions till the end of the eighteenth century. It was criticized by Lambertini even before he discovered that it had not the approval of Paul V, and though he disclaimed the intention of reprobating it as a whole and confined his criticism to certain points in it, and after he became Pope (Benedict XIV) would not have bishops abolish it where it was popular and of long-standing use, it seems clear that he did not like it.[1] It continued in use till a few years ago in the church of S. Andrea della Valle; and it was Lord Bute's assistance at the rite in this church which seems to have suggested to him the publication of the present volume. In 1890 a new and simpler form, which is in fact only the ordinary office for the blessing of water in a new setting, was approved by the Congregation, and is printed in the modern editions of the *Rituale Romanum*.[2] The old form was contained in several local *Ritualia*, *e.g.* those of Venice,[3] Osimo,[4] Gran,[5] and Freising;[6] while at Nardo there was a mixed Greek and Latin order, a conflate of the Greek and the Roman rites.[7] In the *Ritualia* of Brixen[8] and Regensburg[9] the rite is assigned not to the Epiphany, but to St. Stephen's Day, and the order is simpler.

Perhaps none of these offices will much commend themselves to English readers, however sympathetic. The claims implied for the effectiveness of the consecrated waters will seem excessive for what is at best a mere 'sacramental.' The worst of them in this respect

[1] See Dichlich, *Dizionario sacro liturgico*, i. 2nd ed., Venice, 1824, *s.v.* 'Aqua.'

[2] *E.g.* ed. Tournai, 1898.

[3] See *Rito Veneto antico detto Patriarchino illustrato* (Dichlich, *u.s.*).

[4] Luc. Fanciulli, *Di alcuni antichi riti della cattedrale di Osimo*, Rome, 1805.

[5] *Rituale Strigoniense*, Buda-Pesth, 1858, p. 323.

[6] *Rituale Frisingense*, 1673, p. 439.

[7] Seb. Paoli, *De Ritu ecclesiae Neritensis exorcisandae aquae in Epiphania*, Naples, 1719.

[8] *Sacerdotalis Brixiensi pars altera*, Brixen, 1710, p. 222.

[9] *Rituale Ratisbonense*, Salzburg, 1673, p. 335.

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is the older Roman order, with its laboured exorcisms and rather extravagant petitions; and perhaps no one will regret its abolition.

The editing of the present volume is scarcely satisfactory. We have already regretted its incompleteness in not including the Armenian order, and we may add that it is not obvious why the Slavonic text is not given; and if a translation of the Latin was called for, why not still more a translation of the Greek? The original texts do not seem to be open to criticism, but the translations are sometimes deplorable. That of the Latin is slovenly, and sometimes misleading; *e.g.* throughout *exorciso* is extraordinarily rendered 'command,' while *exhibere* scarcely means 'manifest' as here used, nor is *salutare sacramentum* adequately rendered by 'a mystery of health.' The other translations are careless and sometimes quite wrong: *e.g.* a passage in the Coptic (p. 127) rendered, 'Thou art He through whom in the beginning the powers of the understanding were disturbed,' whatever that may mean, is a perfectly simple translation of the Greek (p. 145) *σὲ τρέμουσιν αἱ νοεραὶ . . . δυνάμεις* (the Angels to wit).

Pontifical Services. Illustrated from Miniatures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. With Descriptive Notes and a Liturgical Introduction by WALTER HOWARD FRERE, Priest of the Community of the Resurrection. 2 vols. (*Alcuin Club Collections*, Vols. III. and IV.). (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901.)

THE two volumes of *Collections* issued by the Alcuin Club for 1899–1900, unlike as they are in other respects, agree in this, that both alike illustrate the services of the mediæval Pontificals. The first of the two appeals more especially to those who approach the services from the point of view of liturgical history, with the desire to understand their structure and to see how they came to be what they are; the other more especially to those who look on them from the archæological or even the artistic side, with the desire to understand the nature and the mode of performing the acts directed by the rubrics. In his liturgical introduction Mr. Frere confines himself almost entirely to two forms of service not now represented in the English Prayer-book. He deals in the first place with the Order for the Consecration of Churches, and shows how the ceremonies of translating and enclosing relics and the preliminary ceremonies for preparing the altar and the church for their reception have been conjoined with 'the one universal and unvarying feature of the whole history,' the celebration of the Eucharist by the bishop in the new church; and how the different types of service-books have each contributed to the making of the form. So in the case of the Profession of Nuns he shows how the original conception of the consecration of virginity has been somewhat obscured by the combination with it of ideas drawn from the monastic profession, and the addition of other elements, symbolic or dramatic, which formed no part of the original tradition, but found a place in the order at an early date. He has, in fact, aimed at doing for these services what he has

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done elsewhere for the forms of Ordination, and he has fulfilled his object with more detailed method, and with equal clearness and success. On the subject of the consecration of churches, moreover, he draws from his work some practical suggestions, such as it is to be hoped may result in greater uniformity of practice than now prevails in the Church of England. Of the second volume it may be said that it supplies an abundance, perhaps a disproportionate abundance, of illustrations of the Ordination services; and that most of the services represented in the Pontificals find some representation. The plates are taken in the main from the Corpus Christi College MS. 79, apparently begun for a bishop of St. Davids, finished (as regards the bulk of its contents) for Clifford, Bishop of London, in the early years of the fifteenth century, and supplemented some years later when in the possession of Philip Morgan, bishop, first of Worcester, and afterwards of Ely. The Lansdowne MS. 451, also apparently the book of a fifteenth-century bishop of London, supplies another series. The sixteenth-century book of Bishop Longland, of Lincoln, furnishes two plates, and a German Pontifical (B.M. MS. Add. 14805) supplies a good series of illustrations of the ceremonies of Ordination. The descriptions and explanations accompanying the plates are very full and clear. The plates themselves are of somewhat unequal merit, probably because the miniatures, by reason of their colouring or their distinctness were not all equally good subjects for photography. But on the whole the series is good; and the two volumes, taken together, form an important contribution to the study of the Pontificals.

Forms of Prayer with Thanksgiving to Almighty God; for use in all Churches and Chapels within this Realm, every Year, upon the Anniversary of the day of the Accession of the Reigning Sovereign, or upon such other day as shall be appointed by Authority. (London: J. B. Nichols, 1901.)

THE new form of Accession Service which has at last been issued is a great improvement on its predecessor. The objectionable features have been removed and the whole has been given a fresh turn through being permissory so far as the Divine Service is concerned; at the Eucharist, however, where there is no question of breaking in upon the continuity of Psalms and Lessons, the use of the special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel is prescribed. Three of the old prayers are retained; one—viz., the Prayer for Unity—is unaltered, but the other two have been much pruned and amended. In place of the old Collect there is provided an adaptation of the Coronation prayer *Deus qui populis tuis*. Unfortunately this adaptation is very clumsily done, and suffers from that disease which besets many like attempts, viz. the tendency to wander off into phrases which properly belong to some other position in the services; in the course of the two and a half lines here inserted there are reminiscences of two passages in the Prayerbook, which are wholly alien to the prayer, and have a most jarring effect. It is a great pity that the service should be defaced by such a hybrid as is the resultant of these operations.

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This Collect is rightly printed with its full doxology as the Collect of the Communion Service, but, where it is printed to be used as a Memorial 'after the first Collect at Morning or Evening Prayer,' it should, according to old rule and the analogy of the Prayerbook, have been printed without its full ending.

A new feature and a valuable one is the provision of a third form of service consisting of *Te Deum*, Lesser Litany, Lord's Prayer, Suffrages, and Collects, and concluding with the Blessing. It will be noticed that the subdivision of the *Te Deum* has been amended, but not the subdivision of the Lord's Prayer. It is probable that this service will become the most general form of commemorating the anniversary.

Order for Special Services, authorised by the Most Reverend the ARCHBISHOP OF CAPETOWN *and* METROPOLITAN *for Use in His Own Diocese, and . . . throughout the Province of South Africa, on the Day of the Coronation of His Majesty King Edward VII.* (London, Capetown, and Aberdeen, N.B., 1901.)

WE can heartily congratulate the Archbishop of Capetown on having issued such an excellent order to be used by the Church of South Africa on the coming Coronation Day. The main features are, first, a special service consisting of *Veni Creator*, the Litany, and the more important prayers out of the old Coronation Service; and, secondly, a special order for the Communion Service, with the collects, epistle, gospel, and anthems from the *Liber Regalis*. The versions of the prayers are dignified and rhythmical, and they are all, with the exception of the proper preface and post-common, based upon those used at the coronation of James I. We have no hesitation in saying that this order might be used with great advantage on the Coronation Day throughout the Empire. It may be noted also that Mr. Macpherson, of St. Paul's, has written easy music for the anthems, so that such choirs as cannot grapple with Handel's elaborate settings will be able to sing some of the same anthems as are sung in Westminster Abbey during the great solemnity.

The Confirmation and Communion of Infants and Young Children. By the Rev. HENRY HOLLOWAY. With a Preface by the Right Hon. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, President of the English Church Union. London: Skeffington and Son, 1901.)

IT is well known to scholars that the custom of the Primitive Church, as of the Eastern Churches at the present time, was to confirm and give Communion to infants as well as to baptize them. This, however, is unknown to very many Church people; and it has been carefully ignored by not a few who have had knowledge of it. The author of the book under review has attempted to put an end to this ignorance of, and ignoring of, an important fact. Without being himself a scholar or an historian, as is obvious from his book, he knows the results and conclusions of critical and historical investigation on this subject; and he has shown, in a method which will appeal to many readers who have not opportunity or capacity for

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much study, that the rule of the Church of England which requires knowledge of the Church Catechism from any before they may be confirmed is a grave departure from the practice of the Primitive Church. He points out, still more emphatically, and occasionally in terms which show more indignation than caution, that the ordinary custom of the English bishops as to the age for Confirmation is a further departure from primitive practice even than the rule of the English Church. Without advocating any immediate restoration of the primitive practice, he urges that, at the least, the rule of the Church of England should be complied with, and children 'brought to the bishop to be confirmed by him so soon as they can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments,' 'and be further instructed in the Church Catechism set forth for that purpose.' It is difficult to resist the conclusion that either the formularies of the Church of England ought to be altered by proper authority or bishops should cease to insist on age qualifications for Confirmation in violation of the Book of Common Prayer.

Mr. Holloway's book is enriched by a Preface from Lord Halifax. It is dedicated to Mr. Athelstan Riley. The frontispiece consists of an interesting photograph of a fifteenth-century font in the parish church of Gresham in Norfolk, representing the Confirmation of infants.

Studies in Ceremonial. Essays illustrative of English ceremonial. By the Rev. VERNON STALEY, Author of *The Ceremonial of the English Church*, &c. (Oxford and London: Mowbray and Co., 1901.)

THIS little book contains eleven short essays, the subjects of which are 'Genuflections at the Consecration of the Eucharist,' 'Signing with the Cross at the Creed,' 'The Position of the Reader of the Liturgical Epistle,' 'The Posture of the Hearers of the Liturgical Epistle,' 'Bowing at the Name of Jesus,' 'Bowing towards the Altar,' 'The Altar-Frontal,' 'The Altar-Lights,' 'The Silken Chalice-Veil,' 'The Chalice-Pall,' and 'The Biretta.'

The essays are very carefully and clearly written. They contain a large amount of information on the subjects with which they deal. As a piece of historical and antiquarian work, Mr. Staley's book is likely to be very useful and is worthy of much praise.

We cannot say we are altogether in sympathy with the tone of parts of *Studies in Ceremonial*, or with the apparent object of the writer in the publication of it. Mr. Staley and others who, as we understand, give practical effect in the ordering of their churches to the principles of which he is an advocate, appear to us to exaggerate the need of conformity in the ceremonial of the present day to that in use in the first half of the sixteenth century. We cannot think it either required by the law of the English Church or in itself expedient that the ceremonial of our churches should be in a large number of matters an exact reproduction of that which existed in A.D. 1548. The 'Ornaments Rubric' is unduly pressed when it is taken to mean, not only that, for instance, the use of Vestments,

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Altar-Lights, and the Censer is lawful in the Church of England, but also that the Vestments are to be of the exact pattern, the Altar Lights of the exact number, and the Censer used in exactly the same way as in the 'second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' And, while a general resemblance in some matters of ceremonial may be of value in illustrating the continuity between the existing Church of England and that of earlier times, the same value cannot reasonably be attached to an exact correspondence as to details. Signs of the common possession of life and belief and ordinances of grace by the Church of England and the Church of Rome and the Eastern Churches at the present time are no less important than such marks of continuity; and considerations of utility as well as of ceremonial tradition ought to be taken into account.

III.—Church History.

The Development of Doctrine from the early Middle Ages to the Reformation. By John S. Banks. (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901.)

Professor Banks endeavours, within two hundred and fifty pages, to sketch the development of doctrine during thirteen centuries of Christian history. Beginning with Gregory the Great, he leaves his readers at the Vatican Council. His book is based mainly upon the works of Seeberg and Loofs, with references to Harnack, Fisher, and other writers. The task of compilation has, we think, been very ably performed. The book suffers, naturally, from its extreme compression. This is felt especially in the earlier half, in which the author essays to treat the scientific theology of the Middle Ages within a compass hardly greater than that allotted afterwards to Luther and Calvin only. Such an enterprise is of course difficult; nor is its success much to be desired. It represents, surely, a great distortion of historical perspective. It is true that the author has endeavoured to free himself from the antique grudge against the Schoolmen.

'We need not agree with the harsh judgment once passed on scholasticism as "revealed metaphysics." Excessive as was the attention paid to form, the substance of divine truth was not wholly forgotten. Incarnation and redemption may have been overlaid with theory and definition, but they were believed in as saving truth. Nor can we fail to recognise and honour the lofty motives which animated the greatest teachers in the long series—their passion for truth, their vast erudition, their strenuous faith and industry and invincible patience. They succeeded as completely as men could with their light and on their methods' (p. 123).

Yet the author's estimate of their success may be gathered from the following: 'With the Reformation a new era opens in Christian history. The interpretation of Scripture, the views taken of Christian life and doctrine, underwent a transformation. We feel at once that we breathe different air and see everything in a different light' (p. 125). The author is content to rejoice in that light. He assumes the greatest question to which his subject gives rise, the substantial

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soundness of Luther's position. 'We cannot wonder that Luther's discovery of truth was gradual' (p. 127). Now if it were true, and universally acknowledged, that Luther and Calvin had 'discovered truth,' and had, by their single force, lifted theology clean from its old hinges, the attention paid to them in this book would not be disproportionate. But they were emphatically men who knew in part; their influence was confined and partial; it bore powerfully upon particular doctrines: it told upon particular races; it did not embrace theology as a whole or move Christendom as a whole. It is the conception of Christian doctrine as a whole which is chiefly lacking in these pages. Of the forms assumed by different doctrines at different periods we hear a great deal; but of the mediæval conception of theology as a vast universe of truth, with all its parts in harmonious relation, no impression at all is given us. And yet it is only in view of this their master principle that the Middle Ages, whether as regards faith or morals, can be conceived with justice. For it was to this principle, of the unity of life and truth, that the Middle Age made, not only its noblest, but its most disastrous sacrifices. Neither of the dominance nor of the disappearance of this principle does the author of this book seem conscious. Indeed it has been the work of thoroughgoing Protestantism to destroy the very instinct to which such an ideal appeals.

In one other matter, and perhaps in one only, is the work before us open to exception. It is the author's attempt to bring the Eucharistic teaching of the Reformers into harmony with his own view of what is meant by the word 'spiritual.' It is in this direction only that the enterprise of the Reformers fails to satisfy him. 'On the nature of the two Sacraments' we are told (p. 157) 'Luther retained much of the old teaching. His unfortunate obstinacy here sprang chiefly from his regard for the literal sense of Scripture; the "is" of Matthew xxvi. 26 seemed to him to preclude any other course.' His 'obstinate' opposition to Zwingli is twice again referred to (pp. 174, 261). The author's ingenuous attempts at accommodation are not a little curious. 'Luther affirms the "eating with the mouth" (*manducatio oralis*) as much as a believer in transubstantiation could. . . . Yet Luther held transubstantiation as little as Zwingli. And this being the case he must have held the bodily presence in some special and, we should say, unreal sense' (p. 169). Yet his sense of it was so far real that, on the strength of their divergence, as is noted with regret, 'Luther would not acknowledge Zwingli as a Christian' (p. 172). In the same fashion we are told of Melanchthon that 'if, as Dr. Seeberg says, he maintained "the bodily presence of Christ," it must have been in some sacramental sense' (p. 188). The oddest example of the author's solicitude in this regard occurs in his treatment of Calvin. We have followed the author's method of writing exactly:

'Calvin affirms a real presence of Christ even in his bodily nature. . . . It is not enough to speak of a spiritual fellowship with Christ; he has described his flesh and blood as actual food. . . . Yet what can this be but a spiritual presence, especially when we know that

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Calvin held to the figurative interpretation of the words of institution? . . . What is meant by the real spiritual presence of a body is not clear. The difference between Luther and Calvin is that one holds a bodily, the other a spiritual presence of Christ' (pp. 225–6).

This fancied opposition between 'bodily' and 'spiritual' pervades the discussion of Eucharistic doctrine. And yet we gather from p. 170 that there is such a thing as a 'spiritual body.' We cannot resolve the author's difficulty; but may deprecate the introduction of 'must-have-beens' into the treatment of such delicate matters. It would be better to say simply that the Reformers' faith upon this vital question possessed a vigour which is almost painful to certain of their descendants.

In a concluding chapter the author asserts himself to good purpose against 'critical historians of our day' who complain of a 'contradiction between the early evangelical teaching of Luther and his later dogmatic position' (p. 257). The reference is to Professors Loofs and Harnack. He declares that there is great exaggeration in such teaching as that 'in Luther's Reformation the old dogmatic Christianity was discarded, and a new evangelical view substituted for it;' and that 'the history of dogma was brought to an end.' 'Our critics find it convenient to ignore the differences between the use and abuse of dogma.' Dogma is necessary in some form, and 'the advocates of "undogmatic" Christianity and Churches have human nature and history against them' (p. 259). 'We cannot but think that there is even greater exaggeration in much that is written about Luther's "retention of Catholic dogmas." As we have seen, the most serious case is in regard to the docrine of the sacraments, but we know no other of equal importance. Set against this the revolution in the case of other doctrines. Really the gravamen of the charge is in the Reformers holding the necessity of a doctrinal test in the Church at all' (p. 260). Having planted his nail, the author proceeds to hammer it home.

'Would our modern critics,' he asks, 'accept the doctrines apart from the dogmas, the early Luther apart from the later one? There is nothing to indicate that they would, but much the other way. For anything that appears they differ as much from the doctrines which Luther held dearer than life as from the dogmatic utterances of the later creeds. Is it not simply throwing dust in our eyes to write as if the only quarrel were with dogma and creed, when it is really with the doctrines which the Reformers admittedly held in common with the apostles of the Lord?'

This is true, and shrewdly put.

The book is the fruit of able and careful work; we could wish it had been written from a less contracted standpoint.

The Dawn of the Reformation. By HERBERT B. WORKMAN. Vol. I. 'The Age of Wyclif.' (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1901.)

MR. WORKMAN'S little book is worthy of all praise. It belongs to the same series as the volume previously noticed, and whether as regards knowledge, judgment, or temper, it is entirely creditable to its source. Among the difficulties on account of which the author pleads indulgence is not only 'the pressure of a busy pastorate,' but that 'of

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readily obtaining the necessary books. . . . As things at present exist, Manchester is the only city in which it is possible for the provincial student to find the sources he needs. This is especially unfortunate for Nonconformity. Our strength lies in provincial centres, where the intelligent study of Church history, as distinct from compilation, is almost an impossibility.' Be that as it may, Mr. Workman's book is nothing if not the outcome of intelligent study. The author has mastered his material; he has digested it fully; and is enabled to present it freshly, and with the lightness and clearness which come of grasp. He writes, too, with a detachment to which, in his view, his position as a Nonconformist well conduces. He has to treat really of the cracks and fissures of the mediæval Church system, but they are in no way to him matter of satisfaction. He tells, with interest and sympathy, a plain story, and trusts it to point its own moral. His subject constitutes an unhappy chapter, but a chapter which is completely closed. He is well content to dispose the pall of charity over a past which there is no reviving. The author has read, if not profoundly, at any rate with his eyes open, and his book has the dignity and value of a personal judgment. For a work so little ambitious in scope one cannot say more in praise.

After describing the fourteenth century as a time 'of contradictory and abortive efforts at reform standing out against a background of spiritual fatigue and defeated aspiration,' the writer sketches 'the causes of the downfall of the Papacy.' These he finds, first, in 'the virtual overthrow by the popes of the most venerable institution in the world, the Holy Roman Empire;' then in the abandonment of Rome and the shock it gave to the feeling of Christendom. The opening of the book is occupied with an account of the Papacy at Avignon, its corruption, its rapacity, the sacrifice of its supreme neutrality, and its subservience to France. A summary is given of the steps taken progressively in England to counterwork the Avignon system, culminating in the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. This series of measures, in the view of the writer, redeems the age from barrenness. 'In her canon law the Papacy had found the anvil upon which she had forged her claims. The canon law,' he declares most truly, 'was a part of the very *esse* of the mediæval Church. To weaken its hold, to deny its authority, was in itself to prepare for the disappearance of that Church. This was precisely the task that the great statutes of the fourteenth century accomplished' (pp. 55–6). A chapter entitled 'Seers and Dreamers' describes the political enterprises of Pope John XXII. and the ferment of contemporary thought as represented by Dante, Marsiglio of Padua, and William of Ockham. In connexion with this some pages are given to 'the revolt of the Spiritual Franciscans.' In the latter and larger part of the book we are introduced to the Oxford of Wyclif, the strife between seculars and regulars, Nominalists and Realists; and shown how 'Wyclif's Realism lay at the root of all his views of the Church.' The author's judgment of Scholasticism is declared as follows:

'This great movement had, in earlier years—the age of Anselm and Abailard—brought deliverance to the human mind, the opening of the

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eyes of the blind, and the reconciliation of reason and faith. Her energies were now exhausted, her vital force spent. If in common repute Scholasticism, unjustly, stands damned for ever, the cause must be found in the worse than uselessness of her latter days. History has too often forgotten her splendid services in the abiding memory of her servile follies and parrot repetitions. As an intellectual movement, her work finished with Ockham. Even Wyclif, judged as a Schoolman, does little more than gyrate on a well-beaten path' (pp. 147–8).

In the course of a very good and brief account of Wyclif's opinions, there appears a judgment which we think unfortunate. 'Wyclif's break with the Papacy was part of a new idea that he had formed of the Church. The politician had become a Presbyterian reformer for whom the whole ecclesiastical position was at fault, and who desired to leave the parish priest as little fettered by ecclesiastical superiors or rival orders as he is in Scotland or Switzerland to-day' (p. 175). This passage would leave an ordinary reader—and Mr. Workman's book is not written for experts—with the impression that Wyclif was a Presbyterian before the time; the truth contained in it needs much more careful statement. Authority being necessary, and the papal, by the Schism, having annulled itself, Wyclif found the seat of authority in 'God's law' and in its example and precepts of Christian living. The true 'limbs of Christ' were all, whether priests or laymen, who strove to 'kunne and kepe Goddis lawe'; His true priests those who, whether prelates or 'lewd men,' strove to keep it themselves and to 'preach it freely to other after their power.' In an hierarchy constituted with such an end, the most essential element would necessarily be the faithful parish priest; and that not because of any peculiar virtue in his degree of order, but because of the direct ministry of teaching and example which it entailed. As to Wyclif's positive views upon the constitution of the Church at large, we are not aware that he had any programme. His immediate aim was to restore the standard of Christian living, and, as a means thereto, to vindicate the right of simple priests—priests, that is, who shared his views of priestly duty—to go forth among the people with 'God's law' in their hands, undeterred by the inhibition of a 'Cæsarean' prelate. In his 'symple prestis' simpleness meant, not only a russet gown, but all that was opposed to the prevailing Cæsareanism in the ministration of the things of God. It was not against prelates and religious that Wycliffism inveighed, but against 'worldly prelates' and false religious. Wyclif looked for salvation to the priestly order; a reformer had no plank to cling to but the priestly order after the prelacy had foundered in the person of its chief. Yet to speak of him as becoming 'a Presbyterian reformer' with 'a new idea of the Church' is to suggest associations which are foreign to the era. It is loose suggestions of this kind which have made Wyclif's name the shuttlecock of parties. There is so much truth in them that they are fatally misleading. We are persuaded that the writer, whose historical instinct is generally so sure, will see that it is precisely a matter of this kind which calls for the nerve and patience of the historian.

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Mr. Workman gives a sufficient account of the singular discussion which has arisen of late as to the authorship of the Wycliffite versions of the Bible. We think he will prove to have been a little rash in 'rejecting' the view of the editors of those versions, to the effect that 'from the first the most active and powerful measures were taken to suppress them.' He is a bold man who attempts to go behind the work of Messrs. Forshall and Madden. The manuscripts survive and tell their own story.

We are glad to see that Mr. Workman, in the account in his concluding pages of the decline and fall of Wycliffism, dismisses as in his opinion 'an unfortunate historical blunder' the idea that the followers of Wyclif were 'the levellers of the Middle Ages, half fanatics, half communists.' It would be interesting to disentangle the elements which are involved in this misconception. Such it certainly is. It would be strange indeed if men professing principles subversive of civil order should have been found in alliance with a political party, and appealing, as the Wycliffites constantly did, to the intervention of the civil power.

This is, if we may say so, a most encouraging book. It treats of the decadent Church of the later Middle Ages; it is written by a modern Nonconformist minister; it has no pretension; and it is excellent.

Fénelon: his Friends and his Enemies, 1651–1715. By E. K. SANDERS. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1901.)

THE first question which most people will probably ask on reading this deeply interesting book is, 'Who is E. K. Sanders?' This is a question which we are totally unable to answer. E. K. Sanders may be a lady or may be a gentleman; and, if the latter, may be a layman or may be a clergyman—though the name does not occur in Crockford. The book appears without Preface, Introduction, or Dedication, and there is nothing in its contents to furnish a clue to the identity of the author. A few slight touches lead us to conjecture —though the inference may be quite wrong—that it is the product of a lady's pen; and, as it is highly inconvenient to a reviewer to be debarred the use of the personal and possessive pronouns, we shall venture, with humble apologies if it be wrong, to adopt their feminine forms; and if it may be presumed that this is *her* (?) first appearance in the field of literature, we would give her a hearty welcome, and predict for her a successful career. The *subject* of the book is well worthy of the attention of English readers; the *tone* is admirable; the *style* pure, vigorous, and robust; and the estimate taken of the various characters eminently fair and judicial. The writer is no indiscriminate admirer of the great archbishop; indeed, if she errs at all, it is in the opposite direction, especially in the opening pages, which, to speak frankly, rather prejudiced us against her. But her own work is a sufficient proof that these pages require a little modification. We agree with her that Fénelon did not 'attain perfection. Who ever did? But such terms as 'ambitious,' 'headstrong,' 'jealous,' 'his self-confidence,' 'a little spark of malice'—all of which

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occur in the first page—give quite a wrong keynote to the true character of the man, and, to say the least, want qualifying and toning down.

Turning from the writer to the subject of the volume, are we right in thinking that Fénelon does not require to be rehabilitated?—that the verdict of posterity has been in his favour, not in that of his enemies? This was the opinion of a good judge, John Keble, who, in his sorely misjudged but most beautiful *Tract for the Times No.* 89, writes: 'Mysticism is not a *hard* word, having been customarily applied to such writers as Fénelon and William Law, whom all parties have generally agreed to praise and admire.'[1] Hallam, the historian, a man of a singularly different type of mind from Fénelon, speaks with unwonted enthusiasm of 'the characteristic sweetness of Fénelon's disposition,' 'the noble zeal of Fénelon,' 'his object of all the noblest';[2] and another equally unlikely historian, Lord Macaulay, is quite as enthusiastic in Fénelon's praise.[3] E. K. Sanders, therefore, has no need to apologize for her hero. She has simply to record facts which tell their own tale; and when that tale is told in the exquisite language of Fénelon himself—exquisite even in its English, much more in its native dress—it is all the more impressive.

The facts are simply these. François de Fénelon (1651–1715) was of noble birth, and belonged by instinct and education to the *noblesse* as clearly as his rival, Bossuet, belonged to the *bourgeois*. This fact, unimportant in itself, accounts, to our mind, very greatly for the differences between them. His uncle, the Marquis de Fénelon, treated him as a son, and sent him in due time to the College of Saint Sulpice, then under the direction of M. Tronson, an excellent man, who acquired a great influence over him, and did much to the formation of his religious character. In the seminary of Saint Sulpice Fénelon received the tonsure, and worked for some years as a parish priest in connexion with that institution, until at the age of twenty-seven he was appointed by the Archbishop of Paris (De Harlai), at the instigation of King Louis XIV., principal of the Nouvelles Catholiques, a sort of college for the instruction and confirmation of Huguenot ladies who were inclined to the Roman faith. He lived with his uncle at St. Germain des Prés, and was there brought into contact with the brilliant circle which surrounded the throne of the Grand Monarch; notably with Bossuet, then at the height of his fame, with whom he formed a friendship mingled with reverential awe. But Fénelon himself soon leapt into fame by writing an able treatise on the invalidity of Huguenot orders. This increased the king's favour towards him, and the result was that, after ten years'

[1] *On the Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers*, published afterwards in a separate volume.

[2] See *Literature of Europe*, iii. 417, 522, 557.

[3] See the essay on *Mirabeau and the French Revolution*. For evidence of the high estimation in which Fénelon was held by Englishmen in the eighteenth century, see Abbey and Overton's *English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ch. ix., 'Enthusiasm.'

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work at the Nouvelles Catholiques, he was appointed to the direction of a mission to convert the heretics of Poitou and Saintonge. But Fénelon's idea of conversion was by argument and love, not by brute force, and his pious soul utterly recoiled from the notorious system of 'dragoonades' which the king employed to effect his purpose. So he gladly returned to his more congenial work at the Nouvelles Catholiques, until he was appointed tutor to the king's grandsons, the eldest of whom, the Duke of Burgundy (then only seven years old), was of course in the direct line of succession to the greatest throne in Europe. It was a post for which Fénelon was admirably adapted, for he always loved children and knew their ways. His personal charm, which attracted all ages and classes to him, was nowhere so conspicuous as in his relation to the young; and at the same time he could rule them absolutely with a firm yet light hand. Bossuet had been tutor to the elder Dauphin, and had taken his duties most conscientiously; but he was not so well fitted for such an office as Fénelon, who at once produced a marvellous change for the better in his most distinguished pupil, and retained a life-long influence over him, which no loss of Court favour could impair. Fénelon held this office for five years. In 1695 he was raised at a bound to the Archbishopric of Cambrai, and he desired to resign his tutorial office; but the king would not hear of it. His rise had been extraordinarily rapid, and was sure to make him enemies, who soon had the opportunity of making their enmity felt. It began to be whispered that he was tainted with heresy, and was defending a noted heretic. The heresy was what was called Quietism; the heretic, the famous Madame Guyon. That this unfortunate lady had, in the fervour of devotion, expressed some wild and untenable views, and that she could not bear the searching, not to say bullying, cross-examination of Bossuet, the foremost theologian of the day, is readily admitted; but with her main theses, divested of their extravagances, Fénelon thoroughly agreed.

'The basis of their opinions,' writes E. K. Sanders, 'was similar: the realization of God's presence; the recognition of His perpetual and complete direction, not only of the external circumstances but of the actual minds of believers, was the stimulus of his daily life. If this were Quietism, then he was as guilty as the visionary herself' (p. 106).

But it was a little more than this: or, at least, it might be more definitely stated. Fénelon maintained strongly the doctrines of an inner light; of mystical union with God; of a pure and disinterested love of God without any thought of self, or even of salvation, intermingled with it; of the passive submission of the human will to the Divine Will, technically but rather absurdly called 'abandonment,' which among other things affected the nature of prayer, making it all to be summed up in one petition, 'Thy Will be done.' And as all this agreed with Madame Guyon's views, his chivalry and his sense of truth, no less than his piety, led him so far to defend a poor defenceless woman who was being cruelly persecuted. To fortify his opinions he wrote a book entitled *L'Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie Intérieure*, which was all the more exasperating

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because it was unanswerable; for he showed clearly that similar views had been held by men who were universally regarded as saints of the Church. But he had to do in the first instance with a man of just that type of mind from which anything like what is vaguely termed mysticism is utterly abhorrent. One is loth to believe that a great and good man like Bossuet was jealous of the extraordinary attractiveness and rapid rise of Fénelon, who a short time before had been infinitely inferior to him in reputation and influence. One would rather hope that, to his intensely practical mind, such lofty, and perhaps dreamy, speculations as those of Fénelon really seemed dangerous. But that Bossuet's whole conduct in this crisis towards Fénelon was, to use the mildest term, peculiarly harsh and vindictive is quite obvious. The king, who combined the utmost strictness in doctrine with the utmost laxity in practice, was only too ready to lend a willing ear to any charge of heresy, and, after a very unsatisfactory conference, Fénelon was banished the Court and required to remain in perpetual exile in his distant diocese. He appealed to Rome, and Rome behaved, as she had so often behaved before to her most faithful children, with great meanness and shiftiness. She could not afford to offend the eldest son of the Church, who was also the most powerful sovereign in Europe; so, after many exercisings and no less than two years' delay, the Pope, though he still called Fénelon *piissimo, santissimo, dottissimo*, issued a Bull declaring his *Maximes des Saints* heretical.

Fénelon submitted absolutely and unreservedly to the Papal judgment, and issued a pastoral letter to his diocese, forbidding his flock to keep in their possession the book over which he had spent a year and a half of labour. His alienation from the Court was completed by the unwarrantable publication, without his knowledge, of his immortal *Télémaque*, written privately for the use of his pupil, in which his ideal monarch is described as being exactly what Louis XIV. was *not*, however much he might pretend to be.

Here Fénelon's public life ends. For the rest of his days he lived in his distant diocese, universally respected and beloved, in spite of Papal Bull, royal displeasure, and episcopal malevolence, by his simple flock. And well, indeed, he might be! For he dwelt among them as a true father in God, sympathising with and personally alleviating the wants and sorrows of the poor, exercising a boundless hospitality to other classes, and striving to lead all to a better and higher life. He employed his pen in writing his *Spiritual Letters* and other works in his own inimitable style.

Would he really have been happier or more useful if he had continued to bask in the sunshine of Court favour, and had obtained the cardinal's hat and been ranked among the princes of the Church? Surely the Court of Louis XIV. was no place for such as Fénelon; for its religion was a hollow sham, and its impurity only too true a reality; and its head was one with whom he could never have had any real sympathy. Louis and his Court seem to us to have been even worse than his English contemporary, Charles II., and *his* Court. Thackeray, with his usual insight, hits exactly one of the

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points of difference between the two monarchs: 'Charles II. was a rogue, but not a snob; whilst Louis XIV., his old square-toes of a contemporary—the great worshipper of Bigwiggery—has always struck me as a most undoubted and Royal Snob.'[1] The volume before us lays rather too much stress on Fénelon's 'downfall,' 'his disgrace,' 'his banishment,' 'his exile,' expressions which occur perpetually. But his reputation he never lost. All good men who know anything about him revere the memory of Fénelon; and perhaps we may fitly conclude this notice with the simple tribute of one of them, which is more touching than better poetry:

'The love of God with genuine ray
Inflam'd the breast of good Cambray,
And banish'd from the prelate's mind
All thoughts of interested kind;
He saw, and writers of his class
(Of too neglected worth, alas!)
Disinterested love to be
The Gospel's very A B C.'[2]

Religious Writers of England. By the Rev. P. M'Adam Muir, D.D. (London and Edinburgh: A. and C. Black, 1901.)

Personal preference and limits of space have dictated the selection of names in these very interesting sketches. Of course each reader will find some names and miss others, which may lead him to accuse Dr. Muir of arbitrary choice, but on the whole the book justifies its author's claim as being 'fairly representative of different phases of belief and life which have appeared in successive epochs of English Christianity' down to, but excluding, the Victorian era. Caedmon, Bede and Alfred each find a place, as representing early times, in Dr. Muir's list. The slight notices of these writers might well have been somewhat amplified, and we should have welcomed some description of the extremely beautiful monument which has been raised to the memory of Caedmon on the abbey hill at Whitby, an allusion to such further stores of learning as are contained in Dr. Plummer's edition of Bede, and some attempt to direct the reader to the copious Alfred literature which the millenary commemoration scheme called forth. Dr. Muir thinks that Chaucer can hardly be ranked among the distinctively religious writers of England, and he selects Wycliffe and Langland as expressing respectively the voice of the university and of the people in the fourteenth century. We must excuse in a book of these small dimensions the considerable gap between the time of Alfred and of these last-named writers. From the poetry of Lydgate and the prose of Peacock Dr. Muir passes to Fisher, More, Tyndale and Latimer, and his accounts of them combine literary and biographical details in a pleasing narrative. In the seventh and eighth chapters he reaches 'the marvellous beauty and majestic calm' of Hooker's great work, the sermons and devotions of Bishop Andrewes, and the writings of Dr. Donne. A chapter on Bishop Hall can hardly be called quite satisfactory which makes no

[1] *The Book of Snobs*, ch. ii.
[2] *Poems of John Byrom*, 'On the Disinterested Love of God.'

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mention of *The Balm of Gilead*, and when his acceptance of the rectory of Halsted was recorded, a word should have been added to distinguish this Halsted in Kent from the town of the same name in Essex. The poems of George Herbert and the splendid prose of Jeremy Taylor are each the subject of a chapter, and in the following chapters Baxter, Bunyan, and George Fox are chosen as examples of quite a different kind of piety. The chapter on Richard Sibbes, Quarles, John Hales, and Chillingworth concludes with some account of three works which have all derived their title from an expansion of 'the duty of man.' Some great and small names are grouped together in the next group—John Howe, John Owen, South, John Scott, Sir Thomas Browne and Vaughan. An account of the *Spectator*, of Watts and of Doddridge, brings us again to three great names, Butler, Law, and Wesley. Dr. Muir is somewhat too much inclined to lay stress on the irrelevancy of the argument of the *Analogy* in present controversies, but he helps the reader to admire the great bishop—great as a theologian, great as an apologist, great as a thinker, and greatest of all, as a man. There are some aspects of Law's teaching which do not attract such notice from Dr. Muir as they deserve and require, and both Churchmen and Wesleyans will probably think that much is left to be desired in the necessarily brief account of Wesley. The survey concludes with two chapters on Whitefield, Newton, Cowper, James Hervey, and Thomas Scott. We are pleased with the collection of names in the book as a whole, but one question we must ask. Where is the notice of George Crabbe, whom, as Dr. Muir no doubt remembers, the great Sir Walter thought fit to quote in *The Heart of Midlothian*?

Books Received.

The Life of the Master. By John Watson, D.D., with sixteen illustrations by Corwin Knapp Linson (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 25*s.*). This is a beautifully printed, beautifully illustrated book. It will to many be a very attractive present to give at Christmas or other times, especially among those who admire the theological writings of 'Ian Maclaren.' We are not quite certain that the style or method is one that pleases us very much, but to many, we do not doubt, the modern method of putting things will be attractive and perhaps helpful.

The English Theological Library. General Editor, Frederic Relton, A.K.C. With General Introduction by Mandell Creighton, sometime Lord Bishop of London. *A Relation of the Conference between William Laud, late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit.* A new edition with introduction and notes by C. H. Simpkinson, M.A., Balliol College, Oxford. (London : Macmillan and Co., 8*s.* 6*d.*) An excellent edition of a book which is a landmark in English controversial Theology.

Preparatio, or Notes of Preparation for Holy Communion. Founded on the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for every Sunday in the year. With Preface by the Rev. George Congreve, M.A., of

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the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 6*s*.)

The Fatal Opulence of Bishops. By HUBERT HANDLEY, M.A. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1*s*.) A cheap reprint.

Examinations in Religious Instructions. By Rev. C. W. FOSTER, M.A. (Grimsby: Roberts and Jackson.)

Christianity and Judaism. By GUSTAV H. DALMAN. Translated from the German by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A., Hebrew Teacher at Merchant Taylors' School. (London: Williams and Norgate.)

The Canonists and the Crisis. By ATHANASIUS. (London: Thomas Baker.)

Behold a Sower. A Popular Illustrated Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1900–1901.

On the Love of God, by ST. FRANCIS DE SALES, with Notes and Introduction by W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., and *Thoughts of Pascal*, translated and edited by C. S. JERRAM, M.A., both belonging to the delightful collection of Books of Devotion published by Methuen and Co., of which we have already noted other numbers.

On Bishop Westcott. A sermon preached in Durham Cathedral on Sunday, November 3, 1901, by the Rev. A. S. FARRAR, D.D., Canon of Durham, Professor of Divinity in the University of Durham. An estimate of Bishop Westcott by one well qualified to speak of his intellectual position and literary work.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Argyle and the Isles. By J. R. ALEX. CHINNERY-HALDANE, D.D. (Edinburgh: St. Giles Printing Company.)

An Examination of Harnack's 'What is Christianity?' A paper read before the Tutors' Association on October 14, 1901, by W. SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., Lady Margaret Professor, and Canon of Christ Church. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1*s*.) A very valuable paper, to which we hope to refer again later.

A Commemoration of K. Edward the Confessor. A sermon preached in Westminster Abbey on the Festival of his Translation. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., 6*d*.)

Stanley's Life of Thomas Arnold, D.D., Headmaster of Rugby. Teachers' Edition, with a Preface by Sir JOSHUA FITCH. (London: John Murray. 6*s*.) A useful reprint of the life of one who may be fitly described as a great prophet among schoolmasters.

In Memoriam, by Alfred Tennyson, with a Commentary by L. MOREL, LL.D. (2*s*. 6*d*.) An edition which would be delightful if there were no commentary. Uniform with this is *Isopel Berners*, by GEORGE BORROW. The text, edited with introduction and notes, by THOMAS SECCOMBE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

The Olde Irishe Rimes of Brian O'Linn, illustrated by S. ROSAMOND PRAEGER (2*s*. 6*d*.), and *Old King Cole's Book of Nursery Rhymes* (6*s*.); both beautiful gift books for children. (Macmillan and Co.)

The Boys' Odyssey. By C. PERRY. (Macmillan.) Stories from Homer are sure to be popular, especially with boys.

'*Mary and the Wood-Pigeons*,' by Mrs. MOLESWORTH (Macmillan), is a charming little fairy-story.

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Edward the Exile, by MARY M. DAVIDSON (Hodder and Stoughton), is an historical romance in which history predominates; the wanderings of the exile, Edward, the son of Edmund Ironsides, serving to introduce minute and often striking descriptions of various European courts, towns, monasteries, manuscripts, &c.

The World and Winstow. By EDITH HENRIETTA FOWLER. (Hodder and Stoughton.) The principal characters are well drawn, and among the lesser there are various clever and amusing types. The sketches of children though slight are especially charming.

The Westminster Biographies: John Henry Cardinal Newman. By A. R. WALLER and G. H. S. BURROW. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., Ltd.)

Handbooks for Bible Classes. Edited by Professor MARCUS DODS, D.D., and Rev. ALEXANDER WHYTE. *The Pastoral Epistles.* A new translation. With introduction etc. by Rev. J. P. LILLEY, M.A., Arbroath. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.)

From the S. P. C. K.

In the Days of St. Anselm, by GERTRUDE HOLLIS, gives an excellent picture of the time, and is well worth reading.

In *One Woman's Work* the character of the heroine, whose courage no adversity can daunt, is well drawn. A somewhat similar type is Patience Bernard in *A Girl's Resolve*, though in this case the difficulties are not brought into prominence.

Ethel Hardman is the story of a successful singer, and deals with rather more complex characters.

In Luck's Way, by C. MALLANDAINE, brings out strikingly the serious consequences which may result from a single act of deception.

Kitty, by ADELA FRANCES MOUNT, describes with a certain pathos the hard life of a motherless child with a reprobate father, whom she finally reforms.

From Playground to Battle Field. By FREDERICK HARRISON. The latter part of the story, in which the two schoolboys serve as soldiers under Wellington, is exciting and well told. *Little John Cope* is another boy's book.

Church Facts and Festivals. Short papers for young children.

The Churchman's Remembrancer. We notice that the Rev. W. A. Fearon is described as headmaster of Winchester, although he resigned last Easter, and that no headmaster of Westminster is mentioned, although Dr. Gow has been appointed more than six months. We hope that the remainder of the information is of a different character.

The Dawn of Day. This is an excellent parish magazine.

Little Citizens. Written and illustrated by EDITH FARMILOE.

Wise Saws and Modern Instances. By MARY E. BELLAIRS.

Golden Sunbeams. Vol. V.

The Children's Pictorial Natural History. Pictured by CATON MOORE PARK.

The Soul's Daily Audience of God. By Rev. E. L. CUTTS.

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We have also received a very ample and varied series of Calendars and Almanacks, especially various editions of the *Churchman's Almanack*, the merits of which are well known.

From Skeffington & Son.

Catechisings for the Church and Sunday Schools on our Saviour's Work. By the Rev. J. HASLOCH POTTER and the Rev. A. E. W. SHEARD.

The Second Advent and Prayer. By a PARISH PRIEST. 1*s.*

Thirsting for the Living Waters, and other Sermons. By the late ROBERT TRIMMER, formerly Hon. Canon of Winchester, and Rector of Holy Trinity and St. Mary's, Guildford. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Protestantism of the Reformed and Catholic Church in England, and *The Catholicity of the Reformed Church of England.* By ARTHUR GALTON.

Eighty Outline Lessons on the Church Catechism. By the late Rev. HENRY STEWART, with Preface by GEORGE BODY, D.D., Canon Missioner of the Diocese of Durham.

From Mowbray & Co. (Oxford and London.)

The Story of the Promise. By the Rev. CHARLES C. BELL.

Peace, Perfect Peace. A Few Messages of Comfort from various Sources. Selected by ELIZABETH SNUSHALL.

The Brechin Case. The theological defence of the Bishop of Brechin, before the Episcopal Synod of 1860. Edited and abridged by J. COMPER, one of his former Presbyters.

The Practical Religion. By the Rev. VERNON STALEY. (3rd ed.). 1*s.*

Why I am a Churchman: an Apologia pro Vita mea. By JOSEPH HAMMOND, LL.B., Vicar of St. Austell and Canon of Truro. A series of papers by a well-known writer, reprinted from the *National Church.* They contain the arguments which influenced him in joining the Church, and are likely to be very useful in many places.

From Home Words publishing office.

Hand and Heart. Illustrated Tales Volume for 1901. Edited by H. SOMERSET BULLOCK, 2*s.*

The Fireside. Pictorial Annual, 1901. Conducted by the Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D., 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Day of Days Annual. Vol. XXX. Edited by CHARLES BULLOCK, 2*s.*

Home Words. Conducted by Rev. CHARLES BULLOCK, B.D. Formerly Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester.

From the Church of England Sunday School Institute.

The Church Worker. Vol. XX. 1901.

The Boys' and Girls' Companion. Also *An Address to Sunday School Teachers*, by the Rev. Canon HENSLEY HENSON; and other tracts. *The Child and the Prayer-Book.* By JOHN DICKENSON, B.A. *Bible Scenes and Pictures.* By the Rev. ROBERT R. RESKER. This seems to be a very good course of Sunday School Lessons.

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Reviews and Magazines.

The Indian Church Review has some interesting papers, especially 'Modern Hindu Reforms,' by the Rev. C. E. Gardner, S.S.J.E., and 'An Eucharistic Eirenicon,' by the Rev. W. R. Carson (from a liberal Roman Catholic standpoint). There are also articles on 'The Training of the Missionary,' by the Principal of Dorchester, and 'Missionary Problems in East Africa,' by the Venerable Archdeacon of Magila, and 'Some Ancient Ordination Ceremonies,' by the Rev. W. K. Firminger.

The Journal of Theological Studies (October 1901) is full of interest to the scholar. The longer articles are 'Further Remarks on the History of the Creed,' by the Rev. W. Sanday. 'The History of the Theological Term "Substance," Part II.,' by the Dean of Christ Church. 'The Clementine Literature,' by the Rev. A. C. Headlam. 'The Syriac text of the Apostolic Church Order,' by the Rev. L. P. Arendzen, and a note on πώρωσις and πήρωσις, by the Rev. J. Armitage Robinson.

By far the most interesting articles in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (October 1901) are the contributions of the editor, Mr. C. G. Montefiore. He discusses 'The Desire for Immortality,' and reviews Krauskopf, 'Rabbi's Impressions of the Ober-Ammergau Passion Play,' and Loisy, 'Études Bibliques' and 'La Religion d'Israël.' These discussions of Christian doctrines by a liberal and able Jew are full of interest. The remaining contributions are chiefly details in Jewish history.

The *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* is the organ of German orthodoxy and is largely devoted to Lutheran history and theology. The September number begins 'Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Sakramentslehre Luther,' von Pastor Karl Thimme. The October number, 'Luthers Stellung zu den sittlichen und sozialen Nöten seiner Zeit und ihre vorbildete Bedeutung für die Evangelische Kirche,' von Prof. D. R. Seeberg in Berlin. The December number contains an article on 'Die Messianische Erwartung in den alttestamentlichen Apokryphen,' von Pfarrer Couard in Klinkow.

In the *Dublin Review* (October 1901) there is a review of 'Canon Gore on the Eucharist,' by the Very Rev. H. I. D. Ryder.

The *Expositor* (November 1901). The most interesting article is probably an able review of 'Professor Harnack on our Lord's Resurrection' by the Rev. Samuel McComb. Professor Ramsay has an article called 'Corroboration,' in which he speaks with his usual scorn of those who disagree with him. Other articles are 'Cyrus, the Lord's Anointed,' by the Rev. Arthur Carr; a further note on the use of Enoch in 1 Peter, by Professor J. Rendel Harris; and 'Notes on Select Passages in the Old Testament' from papers by Dr. Field, the well-known editor of the *Hexapla*. In the December number Professor Ramsay is interesting on 'The Cities of the Pauline Churches,' and the Rev. George Milligan writes on the 'Roman Destination of the Epistle to the Hebrews.'

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October 1901 (Université Catholique de Louvain). A. Van Hoonacker, 'L'hypothèse de M. Wendt

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sur la composition du quatrième évangile'; C. Callewaert, 'Les premiers chrétiens furent-ils persécutés par édits généraux ou par mesures de police?' F. X. Funk, 'La date de la Didascalie des Apôtres.' Among the reviews is one of a translation of Mr. W. Ward's *Life of Cardinal Wiseman.*

Revue de L'Orient Chrétien (1901, No. 3). S. Vailhé, 'Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux Frères Grapti; Griefs de l'Hellénisme contre la Russie'; Dom P. Renaudin, 'Les Églises Orientales et Orthodoxes et le Protestantisme'; V. Ermoni, 'Rituel copte du Baptême et du Mariage'; and other papers. It is the principal organ of the Roman Church in relation to Eastern Christianity.

Revue Biblique Internationale, October 1901. (The organ of the School of Biblical Studies established at the Dominican Monastery of St. Stephen in Jerusalem.) Pont, 'Le nom divin est-il intensif en hébreu?' Th. Calmes, 'Études sur le prologue du quatrième évangile.' Lagrange, 'L'Inscription de Méra, Études sur les religions sémitiques.' There are some inscriptions and other archæological notes. The archæological work of the convent of St. Stephen is probably the most efficient in Jerusalem.

The Presbyterian and Reformed Review, October 1901. (Philadelphia.) 'English Theistic Thought at the close of the Century' (Benjamin L. Hobson), 'Psychology as a Natural Science' (Edward N. Griffin), 'James Martineau' (Frank H. Foster), are the principal articles. The interest of the Review is mainly philosophical.

In the *Critical Review* the most interesting notice is that of Professor Moberly's 'Atonement and Personality.' 'Canon Moberly has given to the world a book which is far above the level even of the best theology. It can only be described as the most impressive English contribution to strictly dogmatic literature made during the last ten or twenty years. Its range and penetration are of the greater order.'

In the *Classical Review* for October is a review of Swete's 'Introduction to the LXX', by E. H. Blakeney; in that for November 'Blass's Gospel of St. Matthew,' by F. C. Burkitt.

The *Expository Times* suffers from the very sketchy character of most of its articles, but it is always fully up to date. The most interesting contribution to the November number is Mrs. Lewis's account of a palimpsest she has deciphered. It contains among other matter a leaf of the Septuagint with variants from the Hexapla.

The *Edinburgh Review* for October contains an article on 'Rome and the Novelists,' describing the different ways in which Roman Catholicism is treated by several well-known novelists. Reasons for the frequent choice of the subject are suggested. 'Magic and Religion' gives a summary of Andrew Lang's attack in *Magic and Religion* upon Frazer's facts and theories in the *Golden Bough.* The article begins with the assumption that the history of religion need not deal with the truth of religion. It is written in a fair spirit, and inclines in favour of Andrew Lang's views.

The 'Notes and Memoranda' of the *Economic Review* include a few paragraphs on the Pope's view of Social and Christian Demo-

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cracy. The Rev. C. Fry has contributed an admirable sketch of Bishop Westcott, considering his work in connexion with social reform.

The life of the same Bishop, from a scholastic standpoint, is ably treated by the Rev. J. O. F. Murray, in the *Contemporary Review* for October. 'The Intellectual Strength of the Low-Church Position,' by C. J. Shebbeare, which appeared in the same number, challenges the fundamental doctrines of the Catholic faith, viz. the belief in the Sacraments. The writer ignores the undoubted attitude of the Apostles and those most nearly contemporary with the institution of the Holy Communion with regard to the Sacrament of the altar. The *Contemporary Review* (November) has an exhaustive analysis of Protestantism in France, emphasizing the curious fact that while the attendance in Protestant churches has declined, a Protestant tone of thought is more than ever prevalent.

The *Contemporary Review* (December). Canon Hensley Henson has written a striking article, 'A Plea for the Recognition of Non-Episcopal Churches.' To this subject we shall probably recur later. The Rev. W. W. Peyton is again discussing his old theme under the title of 'Anthropology Reconstructed.'

The *Quarterly Review* (October) gives a life of the Empress Frederick, in which stress is laid on the strong religious undercurrent which constituted the strength of her character. A sketch of Charlotte M. Yonge shows us a distinct and pleasing picture of the authoress.

The *English Historical Review.* E. R. Bevan contributes an article on 'The Deification of Kings in Greek Cities.'

The *Monthly Review* (November). The Editor has produced some remarkable extracts from the writings of the late Amir of Afghanistan, showing the character of the Moslem religion as held by the Afghans.

The *Catholic World* (November). In 'An Episcopal Bid for Reunion,' T. W. Brathewaite speaks with scathing sarcasm of the elastic views of American and English 'Episcopalians' in contrast with the unity in the Roman Church. When, however, he assures us that 'there is no tendency to stampede from Papal authority, even by the smallest aggregation among the hundred of millions of Catholics,' we are inclined to receive his statements with caution. The Rev. Lucian Johnston, in an amusing and interesting article, describes 'The Art of Preaching in Mediæval Times,' dealing in the December number with 'Preaching during the Renaissance.' An article on Mr. Goldwin Smith's 'Guesses at the Riddle of Existence,' by Walter Sweetman, also appears in this number. The writer scorns the theory of Evolution. The Creator he regards as the Supreme Artist, needing no lengthy process to produce His work of art. The cruelty of nature is touched upon, but no ray of light is thrown on the problem.

The *Review of Reviews* for December contains a characteristic 'character sketch' of the Bishop-elect of Worcester.

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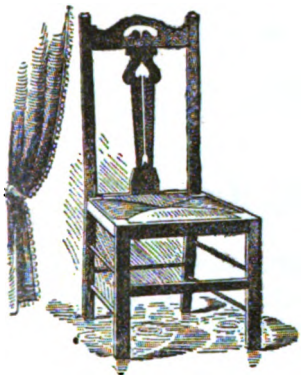

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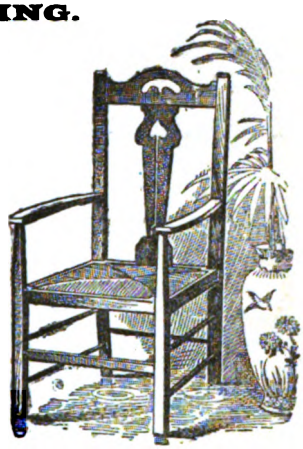

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